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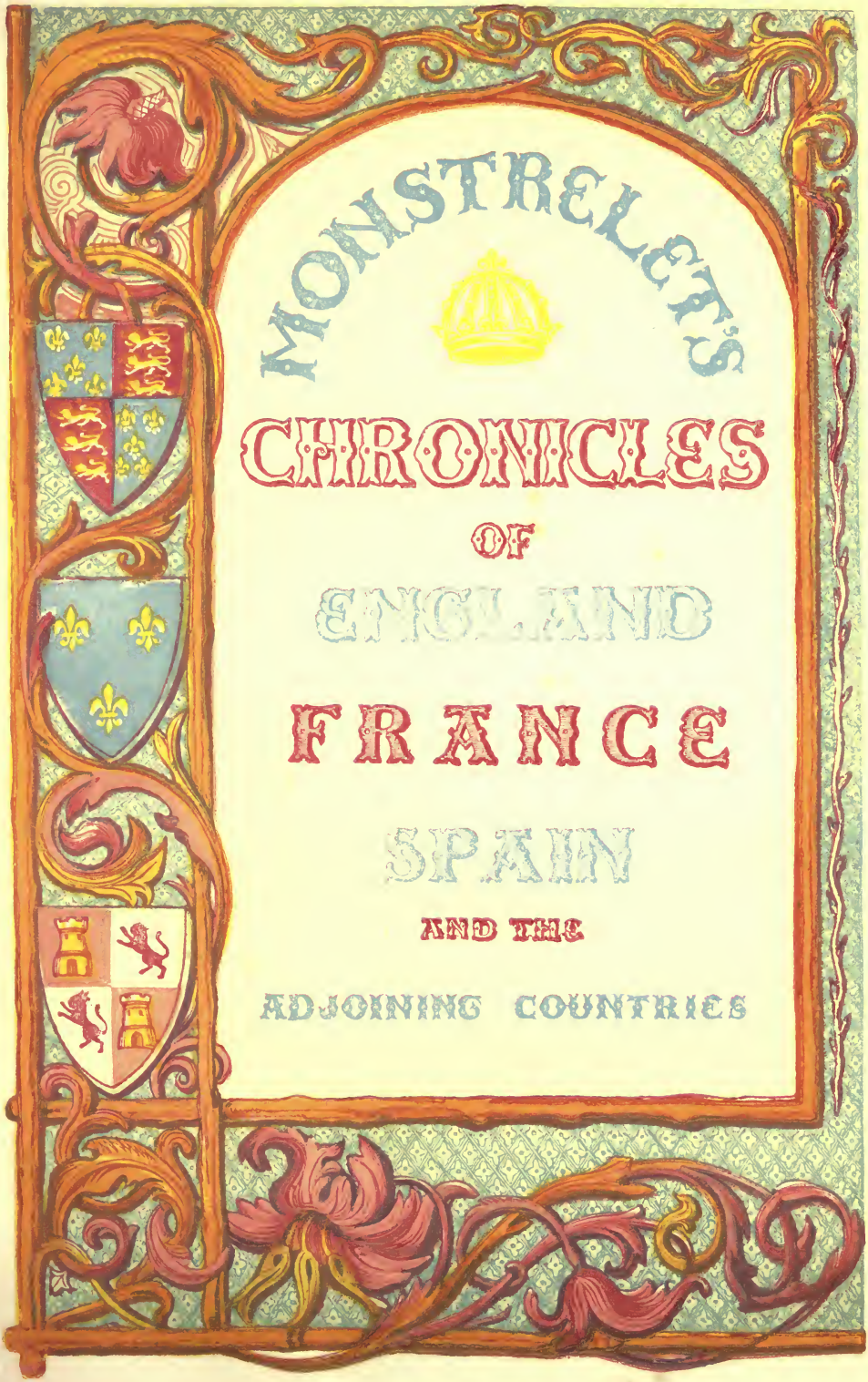
THE CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.


MONSTRELET'S
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
AND THE
ADJOINING COUNTRIES

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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRUEL CIVIL WARS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF

ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY;

OF

THE POSSESSION OF PARIS AND NORMANDY BY THE ENGLISH;

THEIR EXPULSION THENCE;

AND OF OTHER MEMORABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE, AS WELL AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A HISTORY OF FAIR EXAMPLE, AND OF GREAT PROFIT TO THE FRENCH.

BEGINNING AT THE YEAR MCCCC., WHERE THAT OF SIR JOHN FROISSART FINISHES, AND ENDING AT THE YEAR MCCCCLXVII., AND CONTINUED BY OTHERS TO THE YEAR MDXVI.

TRANSLATED BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
WILLIAM SMITH, 113, FLEET STREET.
MDCCCXL.

V.1

9248
25/11/90
2 vol
b

LONDON :
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS,
WHITEFRIARS.

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113
P.76
184
V.1
Cop.2

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Chronicles of Monstrelet form an immediate continuation of those of Froissart, and although not possessing all the spirit-stirring vigour of the chivalric pages of the Canon of Chimay, which exhibit in that respect merit altogether unsurpassed, yet they are by no means deficient in descriptive power; and as an historical authority, the accuracy of the dates and transcripts of official documents render the work invaluable as a store-house of ascertained facts, and in that respect superior to its predecessor, who is not famed for such scrupulous nicety.

It may be proper to mention in this place, that the first and second books, carrying on the history of France, and in part that of Europe generally, from the year 1400, when Froissart concludes, to the month of May 1444, are alone the genuine work of Monstrelet. The remainder, in which the history is continued to 1516, many years after Monstrelet's death, is a mere compilation from other chronicles, but as that portion is fully commented on in the annexed essays of M. Dacier and M. de Foncemagne, it is unnecessary to enter further upon the subject.

The merit of the wood-cuts, on which no pains or expense have been spared, needs no eulogium from the pen of the editor. Their pictorial excellence, and the accurate delineation of architecture and costume, give them value; and many of the landscapes and views of places having been made expressly for this work, are invested with an additional interest, as possessing a guarantee of fidelity, in which mere copies of the works of others are necessarily deficient.

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THE LIFE OF MONSTRELET;

WITH

AN ESSAY ON HIS CHRONICLES,

BY M. DACIER.

MATERIALS for the biography of Monstrelet are still more scanty than for that of Froissart. The most satisfactory account both of his life and of the continuators of his history is contained in the "Mémoires de l'Académie de Belles-Lettres," vol. xliii. p. 535, by M. Dacier:—

"We are ignorant of the birthplace of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, and of the period when he was born, as well as of the names of his parents. All we know is, that he sprang from a noble family, which he takes care to tell us himself, in his introduction to the first volume of the Chronicles; and his testimony is confirmed by a variety of original deeds, in which his name is always accompanied with the distinction of 'noble man,' or 'esquire*.'

"According to the historian of the Cambresis, Monstrelet was descended from a noble family settled in Ponthieu from the beginning of the twelfth century, where one of his ancestors, named Enguerrand, possessed the estate of Monstrelet in the year 1125,—but Carpentier does not name his authority for this. A contemporary historian (Matthieu de Couci, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in the course of this essay), who lived at Peronne, and who seems to have been personally acquainted with Monstrelet, positively asserts that this historian was a native of the county of the Boulonnois, without precisely mentioning the place of his birth. This authority ought to weigh much: besides, Ponthieu and the Boulonnois are so near to each other that a mistake on this point might easily have happened. It results from what these two writers say, that we may fix his birthplace in Picardy.

"M. l'abbé Carlier, however, in his 'History of the Duchy of Valois,' claims this honour for his province, wherein he has discovered an ancient family of the same name,—a branch of which, he pretends, settled in the Cambresis, and he believes that from this branch sprung Enguerrand de Monstrelet. This opinion is advanced without proof, and the work of Monstrelet itself is sufficient to destroy it. He shows so great an affection for Picardy, in

* These deeds, and the greater part of others quoted in these memoirs, are preserved in the Chartulary of Cambray. Extracts from them were communicated by M. Mutte, dean of Cambray, to M. de Foncemagne, who lent them to M. Dacier.

divers parts of his Chronicle, that we cannot doubt of his being strongly attached to it: he is better acquainted with it than with any other parts of the realm: he enters into the fullest details concerning it: he frequently gives the names of such Picard gentlemen, whether knights or esquires, as had been engaged in any battle, which he omits to do in regard to the nobility of other countries,—in the latter case naming only the chief commanders. It is almost always from the bailiff of Amiens that he reports the royal edicts, letters missive, and ordinances, &c., which abound in the two first volumes. In short, he speaks of the Picards with so much interest, and relates their gallant actions with such pleasure, that it clearly appears that he treats them like countrymen.

"Monstrelet was a nobleman then, and a nobleman of Picardy; but we have good reason to suspect that his birth was not spotless. John le Robert, abbot of St. Aubert in Cambray from the year 1432 to that of 1469, and author of an exact journal of everything that passed during his time in the town of Cambray and its environs, under the title of 'Mémoriaux*,' says plainly, '*qu'il fut né de bas*,'—which term, according to the glossary of Du Cange, and in the opinion of learned genealogists, constantly means a natural son; for at this period bastards were acknowledged according to the rank of their fathers. Monstrelet, therefore, was not the less noble; and the same John le Robert qualifies him, two lines higher, with the titles of 'noble man' and 'esquire,' to which he adds a eulogium, which I shall hereafter mention;—because, at the same time that it does honour to Monstrelet, it confirms the opinion I had formed of his character when attentively reading his work.

"My researches to discover the precise year of his birth have been fruitless. I believe, however, it may be safely placed prior to the close of the fourteenth century; for, besides speaking of events at the beginning of the fifteenth as having happened in his time, he states positively, in his Introduction, that he had been told of the early events in his book (namely, from the year 1400), by persons worthy of credit, who had been eye-witnesses of them. To this proof, or to this deduction, I shall add, that under the year 1415, he says, that he heard (*at the time*) of the anger of the count de Charolois, afterwards Philippe le bon, duke of Burgundy, because his governors would not permit him to take part in the battle of Azincourt. I shall also add, that under the year 1420, he speaks of the homage which John duke of Burgundy paid the king of the Romans for the counties of Burgundy and of Alost. It cannot be supposed that he would have inquired into such particulars, or that any one would have taken the trouble to inform him of them if he had not been of a certain age, such as twenty or twenty-five years old, which would fix the date of his birth about 1390 or 1395.

"No particulars of his early years are known, except that he evinced, when young, a love for application, and a dislike to indolence. The quotations from Sallust, Livy, Vegetius, and other ancient authors, that occur in his Chronicles, show that he must have made some progress in Latin literature. Whether his love for study was superior to his desire of military glory, or whether a weakly constitution, or some other reason, prevented him from following the profession of arms, I do not find that he yielded to the reigning passion of his age, when the names of gentleman and of soldier were almost synonymous.

"The wish to avoid indolence by collecting the events of his time, which he testifies in the introduction to his Chronicles, proves, I think, that he was but a tranquil spectator of them. Had he been an Armagnac or a Burgundian, he would not have had occasion to seek for solitary occupations; but what proves more strongly that Monstrelet was not of

* They are preserved in MS. by the regular canons of St. Aubert in Cambray.

either faction is the care he takes to inform his readers of the rank, quality, and often of the names of the persons from whose report he writes, without ever boasting of his own testimony. In his whole work he speaks but once from his own knowledge, when he relates the manner in which the Pucelle d'Orléans was made prisoner before Compiégne; but he does not say, that he was present at the skirmish when this unfortunate heroine was taken: he gives us to understand the contrary, and that he was only present at the conversation of the prisoner with the duke of Burgundy,—for he had accompanied Philip on this expedition, perhaps in quality of historian. And why may not we presume that he may have done so on other occasions, to be nearer at hand to collect the real state of facts which he intended to relate?

"However this may be, it is certain that he was resident in Cambray when he composed his history, and passed there the remainder of his life. He was indeed fixed there, as I shall hereafter state, by different important employments, each of which required the residence of him who enjoyed them. From his living in Cambray, La Croix du Maine has concluded, without further examination, that he was born there; and this mistake has been copied by other writers.

"Monstrelet was married to Jeanne de Valbuon, or Valhuon, and had several children by her, although only two of them were known,—a daughter called Bona, married to Martin de Beulaincourt, a gentleman of that country, surnamed the Bold, and a son of the name of Pierre. It is probable that Bona was married, or of age, prior to the year 1438; for in the register of the officiality of Cambray, towards the end of that year, is an entry, that Enguerrand de Monstrelet was appointed guardian to his young son Pierre, without any mention of his daughter Bona. It follows, therefore, that Monstrelet was a widower at that period.

"In the year 1436, Monstrelet was nominated to the office of Lieutenant du Gavènier of the Cambresis, conjointly with Le Bon de Saveuses, master of the horse to the duke of Burgundy, as appears from the letters patent to this effect, addressed by the duke to his nephew the count d'Estampes, of the date of the 13th May in this year, and which are preserved in the chartulary of the church of Cambray.

"It is even supposed that Monstrelet had for some time enjoyed this office; for it is therein declared, that he shall continue in the receipt of the Gavène, as he has heretofore done, until this present time. 'Gave,' or 'Gavène' (I speak from the papers I have just quoted), signifies in Flemish, a gift or a present. It was an annual due payable to the duke of Burgundy, by the subjects of the churches in the Cambresis, for his protection of them as earl of Flanders. From the name of the tribute was formed that of Gavènier, which was often given to the duke of Burgundy, and the nobleman he appointed his deputy was styled Lieutenant du Gavènier. I have said 'the nobleman whom he appointed,' because in the list of those lieutenants, which the historian of Cambray has published, there is not one who has not shown sufficient proofs of nobility. Such was, therefore, the employment with which Monstrelet was invested; and shortly after, another office was added to it, that of bailiff to the chapter of Cambray, for which he took the oaths on the 20th of June, 1436, and entered that day on its duties. He kept this place until the beginning of January, in the year 1440, when another was appointed.

"I have mentioned Pierre de Monstrelet, his son; and it is probable that he is the person who was a made a knight of St. John of Jerusalem in the month of July, in 1444, although the acts of the chapter of Cambray do not confirm this opinion, nor specify the Christian

name of the new knight by that of Pierre. It is only declared in the register, that the canons, as an especial favour, on the 6th of July, permitted Enguerrand de Monstrelet, esquire, to have his son invested with the order of St. John of Jerusalem, on Sunday the 19th of the same month, in the choir of their church.

"The respect and consideration which he had now acquired, gained him the dignity of governor of Cambray, for which he took the usual oath on the 9th of November; and on the 12th of March, in the following year, he was nominated bailiff of Wallaincourt. He retained both of these places until his death, which happened about the middle of July, in the year 1453. This date cannot be disputed: it was discovered in the seventeenth century by John le Carpentier, who has inserted it in his 'History of the Cambresis.' But in consequence of little attention being paid to this work, or because the common opinion has been blindly followed, that Monstrelet had continued his history to the death of the duke of Burgundy in 1467, this date was not considered as true until the publication of an extract from the register of the Cordeliers in Cambray, where he was buried *. Although this extract fully establishes the year and month when Monstrelet died, I shall insert here what relates to it from the 'Mémoriaux' of John le Robert, before mentioned, because they contain some circumstances that are not to be found in the register of the Cordeliers. When several years of his history are to be retrenched from an historian of such credit, authorities for so doing cannot be too much multiplied. This is the text of the abbot of St. Aubert, and I have put in italics the words that are not in the register:—

"'The 20th day of July, in the year 1453, that honourable and noble man Enguerrand de Monstrelet, esquire, governor of Cambray, and bailiff of Wallaincourt, departed this life, and was buried at the Cordeliers of Cambray, according to his desire. He was carried thither on a bier covered with a mat, clothed in the frock of a Cordelier friar, his face uncovered: six flambeaux and three chirons, each weighing three-quarters of a pound, were around the bier, whereon was *a sheet thrown over* the Cordelier frock. *Il fut nez de bas*, and was a very honourable and *peaceable* man. He chronicled the wars which took place in his time in France, Artois, Picardy, England, Flanders, and those of the Gantois against their lord duke Philip. He died fifteen or sixteen days before peace was concluded, which took place toward the end of July, in the year 1453.'

"I shall observe, by the way, that the person who drew up this register assigns two different dates for the death of Monstrelet, and in this he has been followed by John le Robert. Both of them say, that Monstrelet died on the 20th of July; and, a few lines farther, add, that he died about sixteen days before peace was concluded between duke Philip and Ghent, which was signed about the end of the month: it was, in fact, concluded on the 31st. Now, from twenty to thirty-one, we can only reckon eleven days; and I therefore think, that one of these dates must mean the day of his death, and the other that of his funeral;—namely, that Monstrelet died on the 15th and was buried on the 20th. The precise date of his death is, however, of little importance: it is enough for us to be assured that it took place in the month of July, in 1453, and consequently that the thirteen last years of his history, printed under his name, cannot have been written by him. I shall examine this first continuation of his history, and endeavour to ascertain the time when Monstrelet ceased to write;—and likewise attempt to discover whether, during the years immediately preceding his death, some things have not been inserted that do not belong to him.

* "This extract was published by M. Villaret in the xiith vol. of his 'Histoire de France,' edition in 12mo. p. 119."

"Before I enter upon this discussion of his work, I shall conclude what I have to say of him personally, according to what the writer of the register of the Cordeliers and the abbot of St. Aubert testify of him. He was, says each of them, 'a very honourable and peaceable man;' expressions that appear simple at first sight, but which contain a real eulogium, if we consider the troublesome times in which Monstrelet lived, the places he held, the interest he must have had sometimes to betray the truth in favour of one of the factions which then divided France, and caused the revolutions the history of which he has published during the life of the principal actors. I have had more than one occasion to ascertain that the two above-mentioned writers, in thus painting his character, have not flattered him.

"The Chronicles of Monstrelet commence on Easter-day*, in the year 1400, when those of Froissart end, and extend to the death of the duke of Burgundy in the year 1467. I have before stated, that the thirteen last years of his chronicle were written by an unknown author,—and this matter I shall discuss at the end of this essay. In the printed as well as in the manuscript copies, the chronicle is divided into three volumes, and each volume into chapters. The first of these divisions is evidently by the author: his prologues at the head of the first and second volumes, in which he marks the extent of each conformable to the number of years therein contained, leave no room to doubt of it.

"His work is called Chronicles; but we must not, however, consider this title in the sense commonly attached to it, which merely conveys the idea of simple annals. The chronicles of Monstrelet are real history, wherein, notwithstanding its imperfections and omissions, are found all the characteristics of historical writing. He traces events to their source, develops the causes, and traces them with the minutest details; and what renders these chronicles infinitely precious is, his never-failing attention to report all edicts, declarations, summonses, letters, negotiations, treaties, &c. as justificatory proofs of the truth of the facts he relates.

"After the example of Froissart, he does not confine himself to events that passed in France: he embraces, with almost equal detail, the most remarkable circumstances which happened during his time in Flanders, England, Scotland, and Ireland. He relates, but more succinctly, whatsoever he had been informed of as having passed in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland: in short, in the different European states. Some events, particularly the war of the Saracens against the king of Cyprus, are treated at greater length than could have been expected in a general history.

"Although it appears that the principal object of Monstrelet in writing this history, was to preserve the memory of those wars which in his time desolated France and the adjoining countries, to bring into public notice such personages as distinguished themselves by actions of valour in battles, assaults, skirmishes, duels and tournaments, and to show to posterity that his age had produced as many heroes as any of the preceding ones,—he does not fail to give an account of such great political or ecclesiastical events as took place during the period of which he seemed only inclined to write the military history. He relates many important details respecting the councils of Pisa, Constance, and of Basil, of which the

* "The text of Monstrelet is *Pâques Communiaux*. This expression has seemed to some learned men to be equally applicable to Palm as to Easter Sunday. M. Secousse, in a note on these words, which he has added to page 480 of the ninth volume of Ordinances, reports both opinions, without deciding on either. But the sense is absolutely determined as to Easter-day in this passage of Monstrelet, and in a paper quoted by Du Chesne, among the proofs to the genealogy of the house of Montmorenci, p. 224. It is a receipt from Anthony de Waevrans, esquire, châtelain of Lille, with this date,—'the 2d of April, on the vigil of *Pâques communiaux avant la cierge benit*, in the year 1490.' The circumstance of the paschal taper clearly shows it to have been written on Holy Saturday, which fell that year on the 2d of April, since Easter-day of 1491 was on the 3d of the same month.—See l'Art de Vérifier les Dates."

authors who have written the history of these councils ought to have availed themselves, to compare them with the other materials of which they made use.

"There is no historian who does not seek to gain the confidence of his readers, by first explaining in a preface all that he has done to acquire the fullest information respecting the events he is about to relate. All protest that they have not omitted any possible means to ascertain the truth of facts, and that they have spared neither time nor trouble to collect the minutest details concerning them. Without doubt, great deductions must be made from such protestations: those of Monstrelet, however, are accompanied with circumstances which convince us that a dependence may be placed on them. Would he have dared to tell his contemporaries, who could instantly have detected a falsehood had he imposed on them, that he had been careful to consult on military affairs those who, from their employments, must have been eye-witnesses of the actions that he describes? that on other matters he had consulted such as, from their situations, must have been among the principal actors, and the great lords of both parties, whom he had often to address, to engage in conversation on these events, at divers times, to confront them, as it were, with themselves? On objects of less importance, such as feasts, justs, tournaments, he had made his inquiries from heralds, pursuivants, and kings-at-arms, who, from their office, must have been appointed judges of the lists, or assistants, at such entertainments and pastimes. For greater security, it was always more than a year after any event had happened, before he began to arrange his materials and insert them in his chronicle. He waited until time should have destroyed what may have been exaggerated in the accounts of such events, or should have confirmed their truth.

"An infinite number of traits throughout his work proves the fidelity of his narration. He marks the difference between facts of which he is perfectly sure and those of which he is doubtful: if he cannot produce his proof, he says so, and does not advance more. When he thinks that he has omitted some details which he ought to have known, he frankly owns that he has forgotten them. For instance, when speaking of the conversation between the duke of Burgundy and the Pucelle d'Orléans, at which he was present, he recollects that some circumstances have escaped his memory, and avows that he does not remember them.

"When, after having related any event, he gains further knowledge concerning it, he immediately informs his readers of it, and either adds to, or retrenches from, his former narration, conformably to the last information he had received. Froissart acted in a similar manner; and Montaigne praises him for it. 'The good Froissart,' says he, 'proceeds in his undertaking with such frank simplicity that having committed a mistake he is no way afraid of owning it, and of correcting it at the moment he is sensible of it *. We ought certainly to feel ourselves obliged to these two writers for their attention in returning back to correct any mistakes; but we should have been more thankful to them if they had been pleased to add their corrections to the articles which had been mis-stated, instead of scattering their amendments at hazard, as it were, and leaving the readers to connect and compare them with the original article as well as they can.

"This is not the only defect common to both these historians. The greater part of the chronological mistakes, which have been so ably corrected by M. de Sainte Palaye in Froissart, are to be found in Monstrelet; and what deserves particularly to be noticed, to avoid falling into errors, is, that each of them, when passing from the history of one country to another, introduces events of an earlier date, without ever mentioning it, and intermix

* "Essais de Montaigne," liv. xi. chap. 10.

them in the same chapter, as if they had taken place in the same period; but Monstrelet has the advantage of Froissart in the correctness of counting the years, which he invariably begins on Easter-day and closes them on Easter-eve.

"To chronological mistakes must be added the frequent disfiguring of proper names—more especially foreign ones, which are often so mangled that it is impossible to decipher them. M. du Cange has corrected from one thousand to eleven hundred on the margin of his copy of the edition of 1572, which is now in the imperial library at Paris, and would be of great assistance should another edition of Monstrelet be called for *. Names of places are not more clearly written, excepting those in Flanders and Picardy, with which, of course, he was well acquainted. We know not whether it be through affectation or ignorance that he calls many towns by their Latin names, Frenchifying the termination: for instance, Aix-la-chapelle, Aquisgranie; Oxford, Oxonie; and several others in the like manner.

"These defects are far from being repaid, as they are in Froissart, by the agreeableness of the narration: that of Monstrelet is heavy, monotonous, weak, and diffuse. Sometimes a whole page is barely sufficient for him to relate what would have been better told in six lines; and it is commonly on the least important facts that he labours the most.

"The second chapter of the first volume, consisting of thirteen pages, contains only a challenge from a Spanish esquire, accepted by an esquire of England, which, after four years of letters and messages, ends in nothing. The ridiculousness of so pompous a narration had struck Rabelais, who says, at page 158 of his third volume;—'In reading this tedious detail, (which he calls a little before *le tant long, curieux et fâcheux conte*) we should imagine that it was the beginning, or occasion, of some severe war, or of a great revolution of kingdoms; but at the end of the tale we laugh at the stupid champion, the Englishman, and Enguerrand their scribe, *plus baveux qu'un pot à moutarde* †.'

"Monstrelet employs many pages to report the challenges sent by the duke of Orleans, brother to king Charles VI., to Henry IV. king of England,—challenges which are equally ridiculous with the former, and which had a similar termination. When he meets with any event that particularly regards Flanders or Picardy, he does not omit the smallest circumstance: the most minute and most useless seem to him worth preserving,—and this same man, so prolix when it were to be wished he was concise, omits, for the sake of brevity, as he says, the most interesting details. This excuse he repeats more than once, for neglecting to enlarge on facts far more interesting than the quarrels of the Flemings and Picards. When speaking of those towns in Champagne and Brie which surrendered to Charles VII. immediately after his coronation, he says 'As for these surrenders, I omit the particular detail of each for the sake of brevity.' In another place, he says, 'Of these reparations, for brevity sake, I shall not make mention.' These reparations were the articles of the treaty of peace concluded in 1437, between the duke of Burgundy and the townsmen of Bruges.

"I have observed an omission of another sort, but which must be attributed solely to the copyists,—for I suspect them of having lost a considerable part of a chapter‡ in the second volume. The head of this chapter is, 'The duke of Orleans returns to the duke of Burgundy,'—and the beginning of it describes the meeting of the two princes in the town of Hêdin in 1441 (1442). They there determine to meet again almost immediately in the town of

* I have a copy of these corrections, which are introduced either into the body of the text or at the bottom of the page.

† "More slobbering than a mustard-pot;" but Cotgrave translates this, "Foaming at the mouth like a boar."

‡ Chap. 262.

Nevers, 'with many others of the great princes and lords of the kingdom of France,' and at the end of eight days they separate; the one taking the road through Paris for Blois, and the other going into Burgundy.

"This recital consists of about twenty lines, and then we read, 'Here follows a copy of the declaration sent to king Charles of France by the lords assembled at Nevers, with the answers returned thereto by the members of the great council, and certain requests made by them*.' This title is followed by the declaration he has mentioned, and the answer the king made to the ambassadors who had presented it to him.—Now, can it be conceived that Monstrelet would have been silent as to the object of the assembly of Nobles? or not have named some of those who had been present? and that, after having mentioned Nevers as the place of meeting, he should have passed over every circumstance respecting it, to the declarations and resolutions that had there been determined upon? There are two reasons for concluding that part of this chapter must be wanting: first, when Monstrelet returns to his narration, after having related the king's answer to the assembled lords, he speaks as having before mentioned them, 'the aforesaid lords;' and I have just noticed that he names none of them: secondly, when in the next chapter he relates the expedition to Tartas, which was to decide on the fate of Guienne, as having before mentioned it, 'of which notice has been taken in another place,' it must have been in the preceding chapter,—but it is not there spoken of, nor in any other place.

"If the numerous imperfections of Monstrelet are not made amends for, as I have said, by the beauty of his style, we must allow that they are compensated by advantages of another kind. His narration is diffuse, but clear,—and his style heavy, but always equal. He rarely offers any reflections,—and they are always short and judicious. The temper of his mind is particularly manifested by the circumstance that we do not find in his work any ridiculous stories of sorcery, magic, astrology, or any of those absurd prodigies which disgrace the greater part of the historians of his time.† The goodness of his heart also displays itself in the traits of sensibility which he discovers in his recitals of battles, sieges, and of towns won by storm: he seems then to rise superior to himself,—and his style acquires strength and warmth. When he relates the preparations for, and the commencement of, a war, his first sentiment is to deplore the evils by which he foresees that the poorer ranks will soon be overwhelmed. Whilst he paints the despair of the wretched inhabitants of the country, pillaged and massacred by both sides, we perceive that he is really affected by his subject, and writes from his feelings. The writer of the cordelier register and the abbot of St. Aubert have not, therefore, said too much, when they called him 'a very honest and peaceable man.' It appears, in fact, that benevolence was the marked feature of his character, to which I am not afraid to add, the love of truth.

"I know that in respect to this last virtue, his reputation is not spotless, and that he has been commonly charged with partiality for the house of Burgundy, and for that faction. Lancelot Voesin de la Popeliniere is, I believe, the first who brought this accusation against him. 'Monstrelet,' says he, 'has scarcely shown himself a better narrator than Froissart—but a little more attached to truth, and less of a party man.' Denis Godefroy denies this small advantage over Froissart which had been conceded to him by La Popeliniere. 'Both of them,' he says, 'incline toward the Burgundians.'

* The title of the next chapter, 263, but given rather differently by Mr. Johnes.—Ed.

† These are plentiful in the additions made to his work by subsequent chronicles, which form the third book of the present edition.—Ed.

"Le Gendre, in his critical examination of the French historians, repeats the same thing, but in more words. 'Monstrelet,' he writes, 'too plainly discovers his intentions of favouring, when he can, the dukes of Burgundy and their friends.' Many authors have adopted some of these opinions, more or less disadvantageous to Monstrelet; hence has been formed an almost universal prejudice, that he has, in his work, often disfigured the truth in favour of the dukes of Burgundy.

"I am persuaded that these different opinions, advanced without proof, are void of foundation; and I have noticed facts, which, having happened during the years of which Monstrelet writes the history, may, from the manner in which he narrates them, enable us to judge whether he was capable of sacrificing truth to his attachment to the house of Burgundy.

"In 1407, doctor John Petit, having undertaken to justify the assassination of the duke of Orleans by orders from the duke of Burgundy, sought to diminish the horror of such a deed, by tarnishing the memory of the murdered prince with the blackest imputations. Monstrelet, however, does not hesitate to say, that many persons thought these imputations false and indecent. He reports, in the same chapter, the divers opinions to which this unfortunate event gave rise, and does not omit to say, that 'many great lords, and other wise men, were much astonished that the king should pardon the Burgundian prince, considering that the crime was committed on the person of the duke of Orleans.' We perceive, in reading this passage, that Monstrelet was of the same opinion with the 'other wise men.'

"In 1408, Charles VI. having insisted that the children of the late duke of Orleans should be reconciled to the duke of Burgundy, they were forced to consent.—'Sire, since you are pleased to command us, we grant his request;' and Monstrelet lets it appear that he considers their compliance as a weakness, which he excuses on account of their youth, and the state of neglect they were in after the death of their mother the duchess of Orleans, who had sunk under her grief on not being able to avenge the murder of her husband. 'To say the truth, in consequence of the death of their father, and also from the loss of their mother, they were greatly wanting in advice and support.' He likewise relates, at the same time, the conversations held by different great lords on this occasion, in whom sentiments of humanity and respect for the blood-royal were not totally extinguished. 'That henceforward it would be no great offence to murder a prince of the blood, since those who had done so were so easily acquitted, without making any reparation, or even begging pardon.' A determined partisan of the house of Burgundy would have abstained from transmitting such a reflection to posterity.

"I shall mention another fact, which will be fully sufficient for the justification of the historian. None of the writers of his time have spoken with such minuteness of the most abominable of the actions of the duke of Burgundy: I mean that horrid conspiracy which he had planned in 1415, by sending his emissaries to Paris to intrigue and bring it to maturity, and the object of which was nothing less than to seize and confine the king, and to put him to death, with the queen, the chancellor of France, the queen of Sicily, and numberless others. Monstrelet lays open, without reserve, all the circumstances of the conspiracy: he tells us by whom it was discovered: he names the principal conspirators, some of whom were beheaded, others drowned.—He adds, 'However, those nobles whom the duke of Burgundy had sent to Paris returned as secretly and as quietly as they could without being arrested or stopped.'

"An historian devoted to the duke of Burgundy would have treated this affair more tenderly, and would not have failed to throw the whole blame of the plot on the wicked partisans of the duke, without saying expressly that they had acted under his directions and by his orders contained 'in credential letters signed with his hand.' It is rather singular, that Juvénal des Ursins, who cannot be suspected of being a Burgundian, should in his history of Charles VI. have merely related this event, and that very summarily, without attributing any part of it to the duke of Burgundy, whom he does not even name.

"The impartiality of Monstrelet is not less clear in the manner in which he speaks of the leaders of the two factions, Burgundians or Armagnacs, who are praised or blamed without exception of persons, according to the merit of their actions. The excesses which both parties indulged in are described with the same strength of style, and in the same tone of indignation. In 1411, when Charles VI., in league with the duke of Burgundy, ordered by an express edict, that all of the Orleans party should be attacked as enemies throughout the kingdom, 'it was a pitiful thing,' says the historian, 'to hear daily miserable complaints of the persecutions and sufferings of individuals.' He is no way sparing of his expressions in this instance; and they are still stronger in the recital which immediately follows:—'Three thousand combatants marched to Bicêtre, a very handsome house belonging to the duke of Berry (who was of the Orleans party),—and from hatred to the said duke, they destroyed and villanously demolished the whole, excepting the walls.'

"The interest which Monstrelet here displays for the duke of Berry agrees perfectly with that which he elsewhere shows for Charles VI. He must have had a heart truly French to have painted in the manner he has done the state of debasement and neglect to which the court of France was reduced in 1420, compared with the pompous state of the king of England: he is affected with the humiliation of the one, and hurt at the magnificence of the other, which formed so great a contrast. 'The king of France was meanly and poorly served, and was scarcely visited on this day by any but some old courtiers and persons of low degree, which must have wounded all true French hearts.' And a few lines farther, he says, 'With regard to the state of the king of England, it is impossible to recount its great magnificence and pomp, or to describe the grand entertainments and attendance in his palace.'

"This idea had made such an impression on him that he returns again to it on occasion of the solemn feast of Whitsuntide, which the king and queen of England came to celebrate in Paris, in 1422. 'On this day, the king and queen of England held a numerous and magnificent court,—but king Charles remained with his queen at the palace of St. Pol, neglected by all, which caused great grief to numbers of loyal Frenchmen, and not without cause.'

"These different traits, thus united, form a strong conclusion, or I am deceived, that Monstrelet has been too lightly charged with partiality for the house of Burgundy, and with disaffection to the crown of France.

"I have hitherto only spoken of the two first volumes of the Chronicles of Monstrelet; the third, which commences in April 1444, I think should be treated of separately, because I scarcely see anything in it that may be attributed to him. In the first place, the thirteen last years, from his death in 1453 to that of the duke of Burgundy in 1467, which form the contents of the greater part of this volume, cannot have been written by him. Secondly, the nine preceding years, of which Monstrelet, who was then living, may have been the author, seem to me to be written by another hand. We do not find in this part either his style or manner of writing: instead of that prolixity which has been so justly found fault with, the

whole is treated with the dryness of the poorest chronicle: it is an abridged journal of what passed worthy of remembrance in Europe, but more particularly in France, from 1444 to 1453,—in which the events are arranged methodically, according to the days on which they happened, without other connexion than that of the dates.

"Each of the two first volumes is preceded by a prologue, which serves as an introduction to the history of the events that follow: the third has neither prologue nor preface. In short, with the exception of the sentence passed on the duke of Alençon, there are not in this volume any justificatory pieces, negotiations, letters, treaties, ordinances, which constitute the principal merit of the two preceding ones. It would, however, have been very easy for the compiler to have imitated Monstrelet in this point, for the greater part of these pieces are reported by the chronicler of St. Denis, whom he often quotes in his first fifty pages. I am confirmed in this idea by having examined into the truth of different events, when I found that the compiler had scarcely done more than copy, word for word,—sometimes from the Grandes Chroniques of France,—at others, though rarely, from the history of Charles VII. by Jean Chartier, and, still more rarely, from the chronicler of Arras, of whom he borrows some facts relative to the history of Flanders*.

"To explain this resemblance, it cannot be said that the editors of the Grandes Chroniques have copied Monstrelet, for the Grandes Chroniques are often quoted in this third volume, which consequently must have been written posterior to them. There would be as little foundation to suppose that Monstrelet had copied them himself, and inserted only such facts as more particularly belonged to the history of the dukes of Burgundy. The difference of the plan and execution of the two first volumes and of this evidently points out another author. But should any doubt remain, it will soon be removed by the evidence of a contemporary writer, who precisely fixes on the year 1444 as the conclusion of the labours of Monstrelet.

"Matthieu d'Escouchy, or de Couci, author of a history published by Denis Godefroy, at the end of that of Charles VII. by Chartier, thus expresses himself in the prologue at the beginning of his work: 'I shall commence my said history from the 20th day of May, in the year 1444, when the last book which that noble and valiant man Enguerrand de Monstrelet chronicled in his time concludes. He was a native of the county of the Boulonnois, and at the time of his death was governor and citizen of Cambray, whose works will be in renown long after his decease. It is my intention to take up the history where the late Enguerrand left it,—namely, at the truces which were made and concluded at Tours, in Touraine, in the month of May, on the day and year before-mentioned, between the most excellent, most powerful, Charles, the well-served king of France, of most noble memory, seventh of the name, and Henry king of England his nephew.'

"These truces conclude the last chapter of the second volume of Monstrelet: it is there where the real chronicles end; and he has improperly been hitherto considered as the author

* The following is the result of M. Buchon's comparison of the additions to Monstrelet with various chronicles, given in his edition of 1836.

From 1444 to the war of Ghent, in April 1453, the editor has servilely followed the Grandes Chroniques, sometimes disfiguring them and awkwardly transposing the order of the chapters. Here and there a few interpolations from the chronicle of J. du Clercq.

From 1453 to 1466, the text of Du Clercq is followed, but mutilated, and confused in the order of chapters and dates.

With 1467 an addition comprehending the reign of Louis XI. commences, founded on the Chronicle known as "The Scandalous Chronicle."

From 1482 to 1497, including the reign of Charles VIII., is a mere copy of the Chronicles of Desrey.

"For the reign of Louis XII.," says M. Buchon, "from 1497 to 1524, I have been unable to discover what chronicle has furnished materials for the editor's scissors." The compilation concludes with a few pages upon the affairs of 1514 to 1516, the two first years of the reign of Francis I.

of the history of the nine years that preceded his death, for I cannot suppose that the evidence of Matthieu de Coucy will be disputed. He was born at Quesnoy, in Hainault, and living at Peronne while Monstrelet resided at Cambray. The proximity of the places must have enabled him to be fully informed of everything that concerned the historian and his work.

"If we take from Monstrelet what has been improperly attributed to him, it is but just to restore that which legally belongs to him. According to the register of the Cordeliers of Cambray, and the Mémoriaux of Jean le Robert, he had written the history of the war of the Ghent-men against the duke of Burgundy. Now the events of this war, which began in the month of April, 1452, and was not terminated before the end of July in the following year, are related with much minuteness in the third volume *. After the authorities above quoted, we cannot doubt that Monstrelet was the author, if not of the whole account, at least of the greater part of it: I say 'part of it,' for he could not have narrated the end of this war, since peace between the Ghent-men and their prince was not concluded until the 31st July, and Monstrelet was buried on the 20th. It is not even probable that he would have had time to collect the events that happened at the beginning of the month, unless we suppose that he died suddenly; whence I think it may be conjectured that Monstrelet ceased to write towards the end of June, when the castle of Helsebecque was taken by the duke of Burgundy, and that the history of the war was written by another hand, who may have arranged the materials which Monstrelet had collected, but had not reduced to order.

"There seems here to arise a sort of contradiction between Matthieu de Coucy, who fixes, as I have said, the conclusion of Monstrelet's writing at the year 1444, and the register of the Cordeliers, which agrees with the Mémoriaux of Jean le Robert; but this contradiction will vanish, if we reflect that the history of the revolt of Ghent, in 1453, is an insulated matter, having no connexion with the history of the reign of Charles VII., and that it cannot be considered as forming part of the two first volumes, from which it is detached by a space of eight years. Matthieu de Coucy, therefore, who may not perhaps have known of this historical fragment, was entitled to say that the chronicles written by Monstrelet ended at the year 1444.

"The continuator of these chronicles having reported the conclusion of the war between the Ghent-men and their prince, then copies indiscriminately from the Grandes Chroniques, or from Jean Chartier, with more or less exactness, as may readily be discovered on collating them, as I have done. He only adds some facts relative to the history of Burgundy, and carries the history to the death of Charles VII. This part, which is more interesting than the former, because the writer has added to the chronicles facts in which they were deficient, is more defective in the arrangement. Several events that relate to the general history of the realm are told twice over, and in succession;—first in an abridged state, and then more minutely; and sometimes with differences so great, that it seems impossible that both should have been written by the same person †.

"This defect, however, we cannot, without injustice, attribute to the continuator of Monstrelet; for it is clearly perceptible that he only treats of the general history of France in as far as it is connected with that of Burgundy, and we cannot suppose that he would

* From chapter ccxvii. to ccxxxvi. in the translation, third volume, 4to.

† "The capture of Sandwich by the French has been twice told; and also the account of the embassy from Hungary,—the duke of Burgundy's entry into Ghent,—the proceedings against the duke of Alençon,—the account of what passed at the funeral of king Charles VII."

repeat twice events foreign to the principal object of his work. It is much more natural to believe that the abridged accounts are his, and that the first copiers, thinking they were too short, have added the whole detail of these articles from the Grandes Chroniques, or from Jean Chartier, whence he had been satisfied with merely making extracts.

" From the death of Charles VII., in 1461, to that of Philip duke of Burgundy, we meet with no more of these repetitions. The historian (for he then deserves the name) leaves off copying the Chronicles, and advances without a guide : consequently, he is very frequently bewildered. I shall not attempt to notice his faults, which are the same with those of Monstrelet, and I could but repeat what I have said before. There is, however, one which is peculiar to him, and which pervades the whole work : it is an outrageous partiality for the house of Burgundy.

" We may excuse him for having written, under the title of a General History of France, the particular history of Burgundy, and for having only treated of that of France incidentally, in as far as it interested the Burgundian princes. We may, indeed, more readily pardon him for having painted Charles VII. as a voluptuous monarch, and Louis XI. sometimes as a tyrant; at others, as a deep and ferocious politician, holding in contempt the most sacred engagements. But the fidelity of history required that he should not have been silent as to the vices of the duke of Burgundy and his son, who plunged France into an abyss of calamities, and that his predilection for these two princes should not burst forth in every page.

" The person who continued this first part of the Chronicles of Monstrelet has been hitherto unknown; but I believe a lucky accident has enabled me to discover him. Dom Berthod, a learned Benedictine monk of the congregation of St. Vanne, having employed himself for these many years in searching the libraries and ancient rolls in Flanders for facts relative to our history, has made a report, with extracts from numerous manuscripts, of which we had only vague ideas. He has had the goodness to communicate some of them to me, and among others the chronicle of Jacques du Clercq *, which begins at 1448, and ends, like the continuator of Monstrelet, at the death of the duke of Burgundy in 1467. In order to give a general idea of the contents of the work, D. Berthod has copied, with the utmost exactness, the table of chapters composed by Jacques du Clercq himself, as he tells us in his prologue. I have compared this table and the extracts with the continuation of Monstrelet, and have observed such a similarity, particularly from the year 1453 to 1467, that I think it impossible for any two writers to be so exactly the same unless one had copied after the other.

" As we do not possess the whole of this chronicle, I can but offer this as a very probable conjecture, which will be corroborated, when it is considered that Jacques du Clercq and the continuator of Monstrelet lived in the same country. The first resided in Arras ; and by the minute details the second enters into concerning Flanders, we may judge that he was an inhabitant of that country. Some villages burned, or events still less interesting, and unknown beyond the places where they happened, are introduced into his history. In like manner, we should discover without difficulty (if it were otherwise unknown) that the editor of the Grandes Chroniques was a monk of the abbey of St. Denis, when he gravely relates, as an important event, that on such a day the scullion of the abbey was found dead in his bed,—and that a peasant of Clignancourt beat his wife until she died.

* " The copy of this chronicle, whence D. Berthod made his extract, is (or perhaps rather was) in the royal library at Brussels. Père le Long and M. de Fontette notice another copy in the abbey of St. Waast, at Arras. This must be the original ; for D. Berthod told me that the one at Brussels was a copy."

"To these divers relations between the two writers, we must add the period when they wrote. We see by the preface of Jacques du Clercq, that he composed his history shortly after the death of Philip duke of Burgundy, in 1467; and the continuator of Monstrelet, when speaking of the arrest of the bastard du Rubempré in Holland, whither he had been sent by Louis XI., says, that the bastard was a prisoner at the time he was writing, 'at the end of February, 1468, before Easter;' that is to say, that he was at work on his history in the month of February, 1469, according to our mode of beginning the year.

"Whether this continuation be an abridgment of the chronicle of Jacques du Clercq or an original chronicle, it seems very clear that Monstrelet has been tried by the merits of this third volume, and that his reputation of being a party-writer has been grounded on the false opinion that he was the author of it.

"I cannot close this essay without expressing my surprise that no one, before the publication of the article respecting Monstrelet in the register of the Cordeliers, had suspected that part, at least, of this third volume, which has been attributed to him, could not have come from his hand. Any attentive reader must have been struck with the passage where the continuator relates the death of Charles, duke of Orleans, when, after recapitulating in a few words the misfortunes which the murder of his father had caused to France, he refers the reader for more ample details to the history 'of Monstrelet:' as 'may be seen,' says he, 'in the Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet.'

"I shall not notice the other continuations, which carry the history to the reign of Francis I.; for this article has been discussed by M. de Foncemagne, in an essay read before the Academy in 1742 *; nor the different editions of Monstrelet. M. le Duchat, in his 'Remarques sur divers Sujets de Littérature,' and the editor of 'La nouvelle Bibliothéque des Historiens de France,' have left nothing more to be said on the subject."

* "Vol. xvi. of the Mémoires de l'Académie, p. 251."

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE CHRONICLE OF ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET, BY M. DE FONCEMAGNE, MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING PAGE, TRANSLATED FROM THE SIXTEENTH VOLUME OF THE "MEMOIRES DE L'ACADEMIE DE BELLES-LETTRES," &c.

THE Chronicle of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, governor of Cambray, commences at the year 1400, where that of Froissart ends, and terminates at 1467; but different editors have successively added several continuations, which bring it down to the year 1516.

The critics have before remarked, that the first of these additions was nothing more than a chronicle of Louis XI., known under the name of the "Chronique Scandaleuse," and attributed to John de Troyes, registrar of the hôtel-de-ville of Paris. Those who have made this remark should have added, that the beginning of the two works is different, and that they only become uniform at the description of the great floods of the Seine and Marne, which happened in 1460, for the author takes up the history at that year. This event will be found at the ninth page of the Chronique Scandaleuse (in the second volume of the Brussels edition of Comines), and at the third leaf of the last volume of Monstrelet (second order of ciphers), edition of 1603.

The second continuation includes the whole of the reign of Charles VIII. It is written by Pierre Desrey, who styles himself in the title, "simple orateur de Troyes en Champagne." The greater part of this addition, more especially what respects the invasion of Italy, is again to be met with at the end of the translation of Gaguin's chronicle made by this same Desrey; at the conclusion of "La Chronique de Bretagne," by Alain Bouchard; and in the history of Charles VIII., by M. Godefroi, page 190, where it is called "a relation of the expedition of Charles VIII."

M. de Foncemagne says nothing more of the other continuations, which he had not occasion to examine with the same care; but he thinks they may have been taken from those which Desrey has added to his translation of Gaguin, as far as the year 1538. This notice may be useful to those who shall study the history of Louis XI. and of Charles VIII., inasmuch as it will spare them the trouble and disgust of reading several times the same things, which they could have no reason to suspect had been copied from each other.

We should be under great obligations to the authors of rules for reading, if, in pointing out what on each subject ought to be read, they would at the same time inform us what ought not to be read. This information is particularly necessary in regard to old chronicles, or what are called in France *Recueils de Pièces*. The greater part of the chroniclers have copied each other, at least for the years that have preceded their own writings: in like manner, an infinite number of detached pieces have been published by different editors. Thus books multiply, volumes thicken, and the only result to men of letters is an increase of obstacles in their progress.

The learned Benedictine, who is labouring at the collection of French historians, has wisely avoided this inconvenience in regard to the chronicles *. A society of learned men announced in 1734 an alphabetical library, or a general index of ancient pieces scattered in those compilations known under the names of Spicilegia, Analectæ, Anecdote, by which would be seen at a glance in how many places the same piece could be found. This project, on its appearance, gave rise to a literary warfare, the only fruit of which was to cool the zeal of the illustrious authors who had conceived it, and to prevent the execution of a work which would have been of infinite utility to the republic of letters †.

* See his preface at the head of the first volume, p. 7.

† Epistola plurium doctorum de societate Sorbonicâ ad illustrissimum marchionem Scipionem Maffeium, de ratione indicis Sorbonici, seu bibliothecæ alphabeticæ, quam adornant, &c. 1734.

THE

PROLOGUE

TO THE

CHRONICLES OF ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

S Sallust says, at the commencement of his Bellum Catilinarium, wherein he relates many extraordinary deeds of arms done by the Romans and their adversaries, that every man ought to avoid idleness, and exercise himself in good works, to the end that he may not resemble beasts, who are only useful to themselves unless otherwise instructed; and as there cannot be any more suitable or worthy occupation than handing down to posterity the grand and magnanimous feats of arms, and the inestimable subtleties of war which by valiant men have been performed, as well those descended from noble families as others of low degree, in the most Christian kingdom of France, and in many other countries of Christendom under different laws, for the instruction and information of those who in a just cause may be desirous of honourably exercising their prowess in arms; and also to celebrate the glory and renown of those who by strength of courage and bodily vigour have gallantly distinguished themselves, as well in sudden rencounters as in pitched battles, armies against armies, or in single combats, like as valiant men ought to do, who, reading or hearing these accounts, should attentively consider them, in order to bring to remembrance the above deeds of arms and other matters worthy of record, and especially particular acts of prowess that have happened within the period of this history, as well as the discords, wars, and quarrels, that have arisen between princes and great lords of the kingdom of France, also between those of the adjoining countries, that have been continued for a long time, specifying the causes whence these wars have had their origin.

I, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, descended from a noble family, and residing, at the time of composing this present book, in the noble city of Cambray, a town belonging to the empire of Germany, employed myself in writing a history in prose, although the matter required a genius superior to mine, from the great weight of many of the events relative to the royal majesty of princes, and grand deeds of arms that will enter into its composition. It

requires also great subtlety of knowledge to describe the causes of many of the events, seeing that several of them have been very diversely related. I have frequently marvelled within myself how this could have happened, and whether the diversity of these accounts of the same event could have any other foundation than in party-prejudice; and perhaps it may have been the case, that those who have been engaged in battles or skirmishes have paid so much attention to conduct themselves with honour, that they have been unable to notice particularly what was passing in other parts of the field of battle. Nevertheless, as I was from my youth fond of hearing such histories, I took pains, according to the extent of my understanding until of mature age, to make every diligent inquiry as to the truth of different events, and questioned such persons as from their rank and birth would disdain to relate a falsehood, and others known for their love of truth in the different and opposing parties, on every point in these chronicles from the first book to the last; and particularly, I made inquiries from kings-at-arms, heralds, pursuivants, and lords resident on their estates, respecting the wars of France, who, from their offices or situations, ought to be well informed of facts, and relaters of the truth concerning them. On their informations often repeated, and throwing aside everything I thought doubtful or false, or not proved by the continuation of their accounts, and having maturely considered their relations, at the end of a year I had them fairly written down, and not sooner. I then determined to pursue my work to a conclusion, without leaning or showing favour to any party, but simply to give to every one his due share of honour, according to the best of my abilities; for to do otherwise would be to detract from the honour and prowess which valiant and prudent men have acquired at the risk of their lives, whose glory and renown should be exalted in recompense for their noble deeds.

And inasmuch as this is a difficult undertaking, and cannot be pleasing to all parties,—some of whom may maintain, that what I have related of particular events is not the truth; I therefore entreat and request all noble persons who may read this book, to excuse me if they find in it some things that may not be perfectly agreeable to them; for I declare I have written nothing but what has been asserted to me as fact, and told to me as such, and, should it not prove so, on those who have been my informants must the blame be laid. If, on the contrary, they find any virtuous actions worthy of preservation, and that may with delight be proposed as proper examples to be followed, let the honour and praise be bestowed on those who performed them, and not on me, who am simply the narrator.

This present Chronicle will commence on Easter-day, in the year of grace 1400, at which time was concluded the last volume of the Chronicles of sir John Froissart, native of Valenciennes in Hainault, whose renown on account of his excellent work will be of long duration. The first book of this work concludes with the death of Charles VI. the most christian and most worthy king of France, surnamed "the well beloved," who deceased at his hôtel of St. Pol, at Paris, near the Celestins, the 22d day of October 1422. But that the causes of these divisions and discords which arose in that most renowned and excellent kingdom of France may be known, discords which caused such desolation and misery to that realm as is pitiful to relate, I shall touch a little at the commencement of my history on the state, government, manners and conduct of the aforesaid king Charles during his youth.

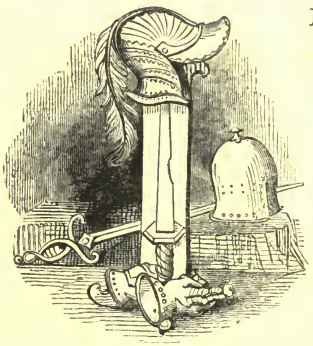
THE

Chronicles

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

CHAPTER I.—HOW CHARLES THE WELL-BELOVED REIGNED IN FRANCE, AFTER HE HAD BEEN CROWNED AT RHEIMS, IN THE YEAR THIRTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY.



IN conformity to what I said in my prologue, that I would speak of the state and government of King Charles VI. of France, surnamed the Well-beloved, in order to explain the causes of the divisions and quarrels of the princes of the blood royal during his reign and afterward, I shall devote this first chapter to that purpose.

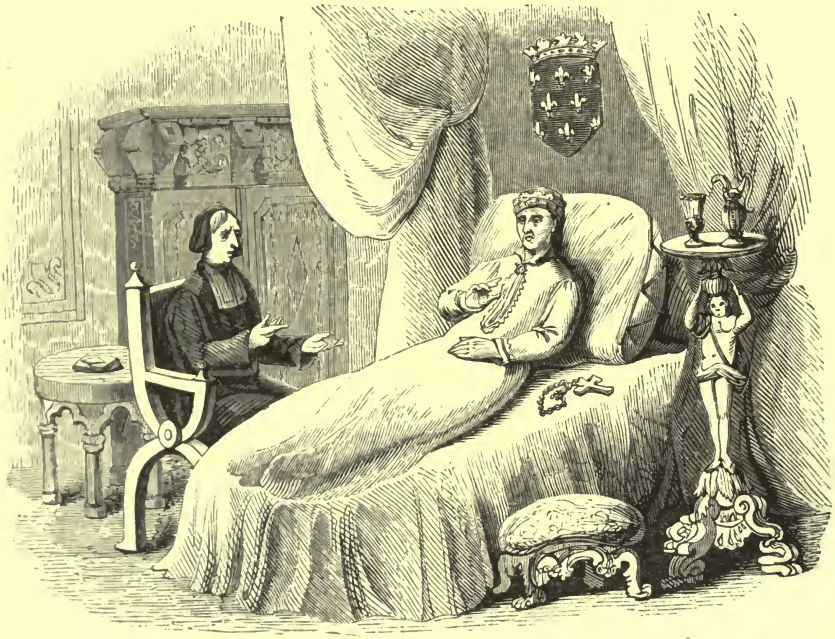
True it is, that the above-mentioned king Charles the Well-beloved, son to king Charles V. began to reign and was crowned at Rheims the Sunday before All-saints-day, in the year of grace one thousand three hundred and eighty, as is fully described in the Chronicles of sir John Froissart. He was then but fourteen years old, and thenceforward for some time governed his kingdom right well. By following prudent advice at the commencement of his reign, he undertook several expeditions, in which, considering his youth, he conducted himself soberly and valiantly, as well in Flanders, where he gained the battle of Rosebecque and reduced the Flemings to his obedience, as afterwards in the valley of Cassel and on that frontier against the duke of Gueldres. He then made preparations at Sluys for an invasion of England. All which enterprises made him redoubted in every part of the world that heard of him.

But Fortune, who frequently turns her wheel against those of high rank as well as against those of low degree, began to play him her tricks * ; for, in the year one thousand three hundred and ninety-two, the king had resolved in his council to march a powerful army to the town of Mans, and thence invade Brittany, to subjugate and bring under his obedience the duke of Brittany, for having received and supported the lord Peter de Craon, who had beaten and insulted in Paris, to his great displeasure, sir Oliver de Clisson, his constable. On this march, a most melancholy adventure befel him, which brought on his kingdom the utmost distress, and which I shall relate, although it took place prior to the date of this history.

During the time the king was on his march from Mans towards Brittany, attended by his princes and chivalry, he was suddenly seized with a disorder which deprived him of his reason. He wrested a spear from the hands of one of his attendants, and struck with it the

* This quaint expression is manifestly adopted from Froissart, who uses it very often.

varlet of the bastard of Langres, and slew him: he then killed the bastard of Langres, and struck the duke of Orleans, his brother, who, although well armed, was wounded in the shoulder. He next wounded the lord de Saint Py, and would have put him to death had not God prevented it; for in making his thrust, he fell to the ground,—when, by the diligence of the lord de Coucy and others his faithful servants, the spear was with difficulty taken from him. Thence he was conducted to the said town of Mans, and visited by his physicians, who thought his case hopeless: nevertheless, by the grace of God, he recovered better health, and his senses, but not so soundly as he possessed them before this accident*. From that time he had frequent relapses,—and it was necessary, during his life, perpetually to look after him and keep him under strict observance.



Sickness of Charles the Well-beloved.—Composed from contemporary illuminations.

From this unfortunate disorder may be dated all the miseries and desolations that befel his realm; for then began all those jealousies between the princes of his blood, each contending for the government of the kingdom, seeing clearly that he was willing to act in any manner that those near his person desired, and in the absence of their rivals craftily advising him to their own private advantage, without attending to act in concert for the general good of the state. Some, however, acquitted themselves loyally, for which after their deaths they were greatly praised.

This king had several sons and daughters, whose names now follow, that lived to man's estate; first, Louis, duke of Aquitaine, who espoused the eldest daughter of the duke of Burgundy, but died without issue before the king his father; John, duke of Touraine, who married the only daughter of duke William of Bavaria, count of Hainault, who also died before his father, and without issue; Charles, married to the daughter of king Louis II. of Naples, who had issue that will be noticed hereafter: he succeeded to the crown of France on the death of his father.

He had five daughters: Isabella, the eldest, was first married to king Richard II. of England, and afterwards to Charles duke of Orleans, by whom she had a daughter; Jane,

* See a particular account of this attack in Froissart, book 4, ch. 44. His cure was effected by Master William de Harseley, a learned physician of the town of Laon, who died before the king suffered a relapse. After this the king never perfectly recovered the full use of his intellects.—Ed.

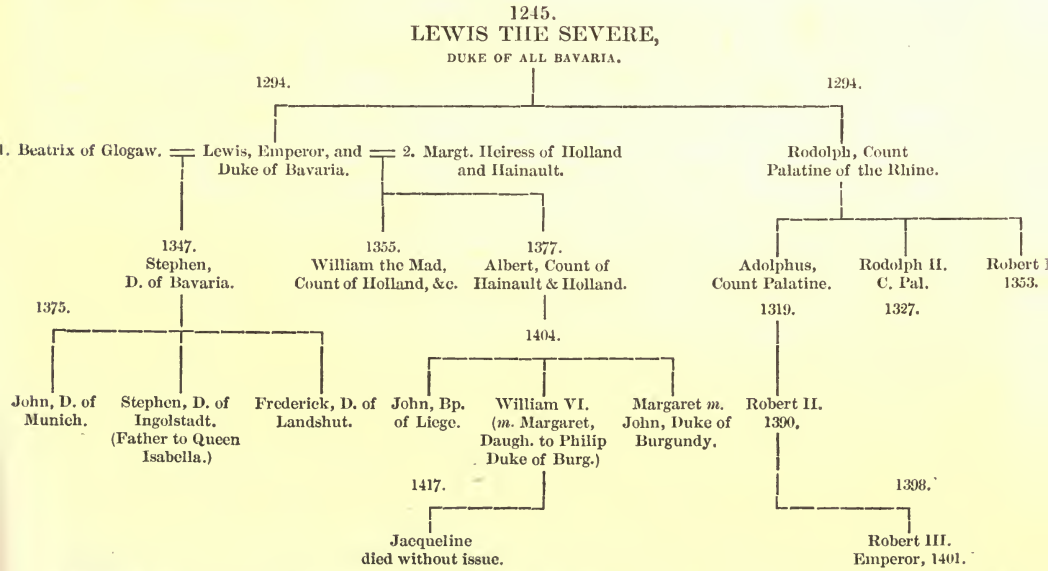
married to John duke of Brittany, had many children; Michelle, espoused Philip duke of Burgundy, but had no issue; Mary was a nun at Poissy; Catherine, married to Henry V. of England, had a son, Henry, who succeeded on the death of his father to the throne of England. King Charles had all these children by his queen, Isabella *, daughter to Stephen duke of Bavaria.

CHAPTER II.—AN ESQUIRE OF ARRAGON, NAMED MICHEL D'ORRIS, SENDS CHALLENGES TO ENGLAND.—THE ANSWER HE RECEIVES FROM A KNIGHT OF THAT COUNTRY.

AT the beginning of this year one thousand four hundred, an esquire of Arragon, named Michel d'Orris, sent challenges to England of the following tenor:

"In the name of God and of the blessed Virgin Mary, I Michel d'Orris, to exalt my name, knowing full well the renown of the prowess of the English chivalry, have, from the date of this present letter, attached to my leg a piece of a greave† to be worn by me until I be delivered from it by an English knight performing the following deeds of arms:—First, to enter the lists on foot, each armed in the manner he shall please, having a dagger and sword attached to any part of his body, and a battle-axe, with the handle of such length as I shall fix on. The combat to be as follows: ten strokes with the battle-axe, without intermission; and when these strokes shall have been given, and the judge shall cry out, 'Ho!' ten cuts with the sword to be given without intermission or change of armour. When the judge shall cry out, 'Ho!' we will resort to our daggers, and give ten stabs with them. Should either party lose or drop his weapon, the other may continue the use of the one in his hand until the judge shall cry out, 'Ho!' When the combat on foot shall be finished, we will mount our horses, each armed as he shall please, but with two similar helmets of iron, which I will provide, and my adversary shall have the choice: each shall have what sort of gorget he pleases. I will also provide two saddles, for the choice of my opponent.

* The house of Bavaria was at this period split into so many branches, the males of every branch retaining, according to the German custom, the title of the head of the house, that it becomes a difficult task to point out their several degrees of affinity without having recourse to a genealogical table. The following will suffice for the purpose of explaining Monstrelet:



† The armour, or iron boot for the protection of the front part of the leg. This custom of making a vow of wearing some painful or unsightly token, until a certain deed of arms should be performed, was not uncommon among the more aspiring chevaliers. So in Froissart, vol. i., ch. 28, when Edward III., first contemplated hostilities with France, many "young knights bachelors" covered one eye with a piece of cloth, having made a vow to their ladies to use but one eye until they had personally performed some deed of arms in France.—ED.

There shall also be two lances of equal lengths, with which twenty courses shall be run, with liberty to strike on the fore or hinder parts of the body, from the fork of the body upward. These courses being finished, the following combats to take place: that is to say, should it happen that neither of us be wounded, we shall be bound to perform, on that or on the following day, so many courses on horseback until one fall to the ground, or be wounded so that he can hold out no longer, each person being armed as to his body and head according to his pleasure. The targets to be made of horn or sinews, without any part being of iron or steel, and no deceit in them. The courses to be performed with the before-mentioned lances and saddles, on horseback; but each may settle his stirrups as he pleases, but without any trick. To add greater authenticity to this letter, I Michel d'Orris have sealed it with the seal of my arms, written and dated from Paris, Friday the 27th day of May, in the year 1400."

The pursuivant Aly went with this letter to Calais, where it was seen by an English knight, called sir John Prendergast, who accepted the challenge, provided it were agreeable to his sovereign lord the king of England, and in consequence wrote the following answer to the Arragonian esquire:

"To the noble and honourable personage Michel d'Orris,—John Prendergast, knight, and familiar to the most high and puissant lord the earl of Somerset, sends greeting, honour and pleasure:—May it please you to know, that I have just seen your letter, sent hither by the pursuivant Aly, from which I learn the valiant desire you have for deeds of arms, which has induced you to wear on your leg a certain thing that is of pain to you, but which you will not take off until delivered by an English knight performing with you such deeds of arms as are mentioned in your aforesaid letter. I, being equally desirous of gaining honour and amusement like a gentleman to the utmost of my power, in the name of God, of the blessed Virgin Mary, of my lords St. George and St. Anthony, have accepted and do accept your challenge, according to the best sense of the terms in your letter, as well to ease you from the pain you are now suffering as from the desire I have long had of making acquaintance with some of the French nobility, to learn more knowledge from them in the honourable profession of arms. But my acceptation of your challenge must be subject to the good pleasure of my sovereign lord the king, that he may from his especial grace grant me liberty to fulfil it, either before his royal presence in England, or otherwise at Calais before my lord the earl of Somerset. And since you mention in your letter, that you will provide helmets, from which your adversary may chuse, and that each may wear such gorgets as he shall please, I wish you to know that to prevent any unnecessary delay by any supposed subtlety of mine respecting armour or otherwise, I will also bring with me two helmets and two gorgets for you, if you shall think proper, to chuse from them; and I promise you on my loyalty and good faith, that I will exert all my own influence and that of my friends, to obtain the aforesaid permission, of which I hope to God I shall not be disappointed. Should it be the good pleasure of the king to grant his consent, I will write to the governor of Boulogne on Epiphany-day next ensuing, or sooner if it be possible, to acquaint him of the time and place of combat, that you may be instantly informed of the willingness of my heart to comply with your request.

"Noble, honourable, and valiant lord, I pray the Author of all good to grant you joy, honour, and pleasure, with every kind thing you may wish to the lady of your affections, to whom I entreat that these presents may recommend me. Written at Calais, and sealed with my seal, this 11th day of June, in the year aforesaid."

This letter was sent to the Arragonian esquire; but the English knight not receiving an answer so soon as he expected, and the matter seeming to be delayed, he again wrote as follows:

"To the honourable Michel d'Orris, John Prendergast, knight, sends greeting.

"Since to ease you from the penance you have suffered, and still do suffer, in wearing the stump of the greave on your leg, I have consented to deliver you by a combat at arms described in your former letters, sealed with the seal of your arms; and in consequence of the request made by me and by my friends to my sovereign lord and king, who has ordained the most excellent and puissant lord of Somerset, his brother, governor of Calais, to be the

judge of our combat, as I had written to you by Aly the pursuivant, in my letter bearing date the 11th day of last June, and which you ought to have received and seen in proper time. This is apparent from letters of that noble and potent man the lord de Gaucourt, chamberlain to the king of France, bearing date the 20th day of January, declaring that he had forwarded my letter to you, to hasten your journey hitherward. You will have learnt from it that the day appointed for the fulfilment of our engagement is fixed for the first Monday in the ensuing month of May; for so it has been ordained by the king, our lord, in consequence of my solicitations. I must therefore obey; and since it has pleased that monarch, for various other weighty considerations touching his royal excellence, to order my lord, his brother, into other parts on the appointed day, he has condescended, at the humble requests of myself, my kindred, and friends, to nominate for our judge his cousin, my much honoured lord Hugh Lutrellier *, lieutenant to my aforesaid lord of Somerset, in the government of Calais. I am therefore ready prepared to fulfil our engagement in arms, under the good pleasure of God, St. George, and St. Anthony, expecting that you will not fail to meet me for the deliverance from your long penance; and, to accomplish this, I send you a passport for forty persons and as many horses. I have nothing more now to add, for you know how much your honour is concerned in this matter. I entreat therefore Cupid, the god of love, as you may desire the affections of your lady, to urge you to hasten your journey.—Written at Calais, and sealed with my arms, the 2d day of January, 1401."

THE THIRD LETTER WRITTEN AND SENT BY THE ENGLISH KNIGHT TO THE ESQUIRE OF ARRAGON.

"To the honourable man Michel d'Orris, John Prendergast, knight, sends greeting.

"You will be pleased to remember that you sent, by Aly the pursuivant, a general challenge, addressed to all English knights, written at Paris on Friday the 27th day of May, 1400, sealed with the seal of your arms. You must likewise recollect the answer I sent to your challenge, as an English knight who had first seen your defiance; which answer, and all that has since passed between us, I have renewed in substance, in my letters sealed with my arms, and bearing date the last day but one of April just passed. I likewise sent you a good and sufficient passport to come hither, and perform the promises held out by your letter, addressed to you in a manner similar to that of this present letter. Know, therefore, that I am greatly astonished, considering the purport of my letters, that I have not received any answer, and that you have not kept your appointment by meeting me on the day fixed on, nor sent any sufficient excuse for this failure.

"I am ignorant if the god of love, who inspired you with the courage to write your challenge, have since been displeased, and changed his ancient pleasures, which formerly consisted in urging on deeds of arms, and in the delights of chivalry. He kept the nobles of his court under such good government † that, to add to their honour, after having undertaken any deeds of arms, they could not absent themselves from the country where such enterprise was to be performed until it was perfectly accomplished, and this caused their companions not to labour or exert themselves in vain. I would not, therefore, he should find me so great a defaulter in this respect as to banish me from his court; and consequently shall remain here until the eighth day of this present month of May, ready, with the aid of God, of St. George, and of St. Anthony, to deliver you, so that your lady and mine may know that, out of respect to them, I am willing to ease you of your penance, which, according to the tenor of your letter, you have suffered a long time, and have sufficient reason for wishing to be relieved from it. After the above-mentioned period, should you be unwilling to come, I intend, under God's pleasure, to return to England, to our ladies, where I hope to God that knights and esquires will bear witness that I have not misbehaved towards the god of love, to whom I recommend my lady and yours, hoping he will not be displeased with them for anything that may have happened.—Written at Calais, and sealed with my arms, the 2d day of May, 1401."

* Q. Luttrel, or Latimer?

† The whole of this romantic passage seems to refer to the ancient courts of love, the institution of which was considerably prior to the fifteenth century.

THE ANSWERS THE ARRAGONIAN ESQUIRE SENT TO THE LETTERS OF THE ENGLISH KNIGHT.

"To the most noble personage sir John Prendergast, knight—

"I, Michel d'Orris, esquire, native of the kingdom of Arragon, make known, that from the ardent and courageous desire I have had, and always shall have so long as it may please God to grant me life, to employ my time in arms, so suitable to every gentleman; knowing that in the kingdom of England there were very many knights of great prowess, who, in my opinion, had been too long asleep, to awaken them from their indolence, and to make acquaintance with some of them, I attached to my leg a part of a greave, vowing to wear it until I should be delivered by a knight of that country; and in consequence wrote my challenge at Paris, the 27th day of May, in the year 1400, and which was carried by the pursuivant Aly, as your letters, dated the 11th of December*, from Calais, testify.

"I thank you for what is contained at the commencement of your said letter, since you seem willing to deliver me from the pain I am in, as your gracious expressions testify; and you declare you have long been desirous of making acquaintance with some valiant man of France. That you may not be ignorant who I am, I inform you that I am a native of the kingdom of Arragon, not that myself nor any greater person may claim a superior rank from having been born in France; for although no one can reproach the French with any disgraceful act, or with anything unbecoming a gentleman, or that truth would wish to hide, yet no honest man should deny his country. I therefore assure you that I have had, and shall continue to have, the same desire for the fulfilment of my engagement, according to the proposals contained in my letter, until it be perfectly accomplished. It is true that I formed this enterprise while living in Arragon; but seeing I was too far distant from England for the speedy accomplishment of it, I set out for Paris, where I staid a very considerable time after I had sent off my challenge. Business † respecting my sovereign lord the king of Arragon forced me to leave France; and I returned very melancholy to my own country, and surprised at the dilatoriness of so many noble knights in the amusement I offered them, for I had not any answer during the space of two years that I was detained in Arragon from the quarrels of my friends. I then took leave of my lord, and returned to Paris to learn intelligence respecting my challenge. I there found, at the hotel of the lord de Gaucourt, in the hands of Jean d'Olmedo his esquire, your letters, which had been brought thither after my departure for Arragon. Why they were brought hither after I had set out I shall not say anything, but leave every one to judge of the circumstance as he may please. Your letter has much astonished me, as well as other knights and esquires who have seen it, considering your good reputation in chivalry and strict observance of the laws of arms. You now wish to make alterations in the treaty, without the advice of any one, yourself choosing the judge of the field, and fixing the place of combat according to your pleasure and advantage, which, as every one knows, is highly improper. In regard to the other letters that were found lying at the hotel de Gaucourt at Paris, underneath is the answer to them."

CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND LETTER OF THE ARRAGONIAN ESQUIRE.

"In answer to the first part of your letter, wherein you say you have sent me letters and a passport to fulfil my engagement in arms, at the place and on the day that you have been pleased to fix on,—know for certain, and on my faith, that I have never received other letters than those given me at the hôtel de Gaucourt the 12th day of March, nor have I ever seen any passport. Doubtless, had I received your letters, you would very speedily have had my answers,—for it is the object nearest my heart to have this deed of arms accomplished; and for this have I twice travelled from my own country, a distance of two hundred and fifty leagues, at much inconvenience and great expense, as is well known.

* The date of the first letter of Sir John Prendergast is 11 *June*, not December.

† The wars for the succession of Arragon had terminated two years previous to this, otherwise we should be at no loss to account for the business which forced Michel d'Orris to return from France.

"In your letters, you inform me, that you have fixed on Calais as the place where our meeting should be held, in the presence of the noble and puissant prince the earl of Somerset; and afterward your letters say, that as he was otherwise occupied, your sovereign lord the king of England, at your request, had nominated sir Hugh Lutrellier, lieutenant to the earl of Somerset in his government of Calais, judge between us, without ever having had my consent, or asking for it, which has exceedingly, and with just cause, astonished me,—for how could you, without my permission, take such advantages as to name the judge of the field and fix on the place of combat? It seems to me, that you are very unwilling to lose sight of your own country; and yet our ancestors, those noble knights who have left us such examples to follow, never acquired any great honours in their own countries, nor were accustomed to make improper demands, which are but checks to gallant deeds. I am fully aware, that you cannot be so ignorant as not to know that the choice of the judge, and of the time and place of combat, must be made with the mutual assent of the two parties; and if I had received your letters, you should sooner have heard this from me.

"With regard to what you say, that you are ignorant whether the god of love have banished me from his court, because I had absented myself from France, where my first letter was written, and whether he have caused me to change my mind,—I make known to you, that assuredly, without any dissembling, I shall never, in regard to this combat, change my mind so long as God may preserve my life; nor have there ever been any of my family who have not always acted in such wise as became honest men and gentlemen. When the appointed day shall come, which, through God's aid, it shall shortly, unless it be by your own fault, I believe you will need good courage to meet a man whom you have suspected of having retracted his word. I therefore beg such expressions may not be used, as they are unproductive of good, and unbecoming knights and gentlemen, but attend solely to the deeds of arms of which you have given me hopes.

"I make known to you, that it has been told me that you entered the lists at Calais alone as if against me, who was ignorant of every circumstance, and three hundred leagues distant from you. If I had acted in a similar way to you in the country where I then was (which God forbid), I believe my armour would have been little the worse for it, and my lances have remained as sound as yours were. You would undoubtedly have won the prize. I must, in truth, suppose, that this your extraordinary enterprise was not undertaken with the mature deliberation of friends, nor will it ever be praised by any who may perchance hear of it. Not, however, that I conclude from this that you want to make a colourable show by such fictions, and avoid keeping the promise you made of delivering me;—and I earnestly entreat you will fulfil the engagement you have entered into by your letters to me, for on that I rest my delight and hope of deliverance. Should you not be desirous of accomplishing this, I have not a doubt but many English knights would have engaged so to do, had you not at first undertaken it. Make no longer any excuses on account of the letters you have sent me, for I have explained wherein the fault lay. I am ready to maintain and defend my honour; and as there is nothing I have written contrary to truth, I wish not to make any alteration in what I have said.

"Because I would not be so presumptuous to make choice of a place without your assent, I offer the combat before that most excellent and sovereign prince my lord the king of Arragon, or before the kings of Spain*, Portugal, or Navarre; and should none of these princes be agreeable to you to select as our judge, to the end that I may not separate you far from your country, your lady and mine, to whose wishes I will conform to the utmost of my power, I am ready to go to Boulogne on your coming to Calais,—and then the governors of these two places, in behalf of each of us, shall appoint the proper time and place for the fulfilment of our engagement according to the terms of my letter, which I am prepared to accomplish, with the aid of God, of our Lady, of my lord St. Michael, and my lord St. George.

"Since I am so very far from my native country, I shall wait here for your answer until the end of the month of August next ensuing; and in the meantime, out of compliment to you, I shall no longer wear the stump of the greave fastened to my leg, although many have

* The kings of Castille were at this period styled kings of Spain, κατ' ἐξοχήν.

advised to the contrary. The month of August being passed without hearing satisfactorily from you, I shall replace the greave on my leg, and shall disperse my challenge throughout your kingdom, or wherever else I may please, until I shall have found a person to deliver me from my penance. That you may place greater confidence in what I have written, I have put to these letters the seal of my arms, and to the parts marked A, B, C, my sign manual, which parts were done and written at Paris the 4th day of September, 1401."

THE CHALLENGE OF THE ARRAGONIAN ESQUIRE.

"In the name of the holy Trinity, the blessed Virgin Mary, of my lord St. Michael the archangel, and of my lord St. George,—I, Michel d'Orris, esquire, a native of the kingdom of Arragon, make known to all the knights of England, that, to exalt my name and honour, I am seeking deeds of arms. I know full well, that a noble chivalry exists in England,—and I am desirous of making acquaintance with the members of it, and learning from them feats of arms. I therefore require from you, in the name of knighthood, and by the thing you love most, that you will deliver me from my vow by such deeds of arms as I shall propose.

"First, to enter the lists on foot, and perform the deeds specified in my first letter; and I offer, in order to shorten the matter, to show my willingness and diligence to present myself before your governor of Calais within two months after I shall have received your answer sealed with the seal of your arms, if God should grant me life and health. And I will likewise send, within these two months, the two helmets, two saddles, and the measure of the staves to the battle-axes and spears. I beg of that knight, who, from good will, may incline to deliver me, to send me a speedy, honourable, and agreeable answer, such as I shall expect from such noble personages. Have forwarded to me a good and sufficient passport for myself and my companions, to the number of thirty-five horses, at the same time with your answer, by Longueville, the bearer of this letter; and that it may have the greater weight, I have signed it with my sign manual, and sealed it with my arms, dated Paris, the 1st day of January, 1402."

THE FOURTH LETTER OF THE ARRAGONIAN ESQUIRE.

"To the honour of God, Father of all things, and the blessed Virgin Mary, his mother, whose aid I implore, that she would, through her grace, comfort and assist me to the fulfilment of the enterprise I have formed against all English knights,—I, Michel d'Orris, a native of the kingdom of Arragon, proclaim, as I have before done in the year 1400, like as one abstracted from all cares, having only the remembrance before me of the great glories our predecessors in former times acquired from the excellent prowess they displayed in numberless deeds of arms; and longing in my heart to gain some portion of their praise, I made dispositions to perform some deeds of arms with such English knight who by his prowess might deliver me from my vow. My challenge was accepted by a noble and honourable personage called sir John Prendergast, an English knight, as may be seen by the letters I have received from him. And that the conclusion I draw may be clearly seen, I have incorporated my letters with the last letters the said sir John Prendergast has lately sent me, as they include every circumstance relative to the fact. These letters, with my third letter, I sent back by Berry, king-at-arms, to Calais, to be delivered to sir John Prendergast.

"The herald, on his return, brought me for answer, that he had been told by the most potent prince the earl of Somerset, governor of Calais, that he had, within the month of August, sent answers to my former letters to Boulogne, although the enterprise had not been completed. In honour, therefore, to this excellent prince, the governor of Calais, who through humility had taken charge to send the letters to Boulogne (as reported to me by the king-at-arms), by Faulcon king-at-arms in England, and in honour of chivalry, and that on no future occasion it may be said I was importunately pressing in my pursuit, I have waited for the space of one month after the expiration of the above term, for the delivery of this answer; and that my willingness and patience may be notorious, and

approved by every one, I have hereafter inserted copies of all my letters. If, therefore, you do not now deliver me, I shall no more write to England on this subject,—for I hold your conduct as very discourteous and ungentlemanly, when you have so often received my request, as well by the pursuivant Aly, at present called Heugueville, in the letters delivered by him in England in the year 1401, as by other similar ones presented you by the pursuivant Graville, reciting my first general challenge, drawn up at the hotel of my lord de Gaucourt at Plessis, the 12th day of May, 1402, and by other letters sent by me to you by Berry, king-at-arms, and which were received by that most potent prince the earl of Somerset, governor of Calais, written at Paris the 22d day of July, 1402, which is apparent by these presents, and by my other letters written from Paris the 12th day of June, 1403, which are here copied, presented by the herald Heugueville, to the most potent prince the earl of Somerset, governor of Calais. To all which letters I have not found any one knight to send me his sealed answer and acceptance of my propositions.

" I may therefore freely say, that I have not met with any fellowship or friendship where so much chivalry abounds as in the kingdom of England, although I have come from so distant a country, and prosecuted my request for nearly two years; and that I must necessarily return to my own country without making any acquaintance with you, for which I have a great desire, as is clear from the tenor of all my letters. Should I thus depart from you without effecting my object, I shall have few thanks to give you, considering the pain I am suffering, and have suffered for so long a time. If I do not receive an answer from you within fifteen days after the date of this present letter, my intention is, under the good pleasure of God, of our Lady, of my lords St. Michael and St. George, to return to my much-redoubted and sovereign lord the king of Arragon. Should you, within fifteen days, have anything to write to me, I shall be found at the hotel of my lord the provost of Paris.

" I have nothing more to add, but to entreat you will have me in your remembrance, and recollect the pain I am suffering. To add confidence to this letter, I have signed it with my sign manual, and sealed it with the seal of my arms. I have also caused copies to be made of our correspondence, marked A, B, C, one of which I have retained. Written at Paris, the 10th day of May, 1403."

In consequence of this letter, Perrin de Loharent, sergeant-at-arms to the king of England, calling himself a proxy in this business for the English knight, sent an answer to the esquire of Arragon, conceived in such terms as these:—

" To the most noble esquire, Michel d'Orris. I signify to you, on the part of my lord John Prendergast, that if you will promptly pay him all the costs and charges he has been at to deliver you by deeds of arms, according to the proposals in your letter, which deeds have not been accomplished from your own fault, he will cheerfully comply with your request; otherwise know, that he will not take any further steps towards it, nor suffer any knight or esquire, on this side of the sea, to deliver you, or send you any answer to your letter. If, however, you send him five hundred marcs sterling for his expenses, which he declares they have amounted to, I certify that you shall not wait any length of time before you be delivered by the deeds of arms offered in your challenge. I therefore advise you as a gentleman, that should you not think proper to remit the amount of the expenses, you be careful not to speak slightingly of the English chivalry, nor repeat that you could not find an English knight to accept of your offer of combat, as you have said in your last letter; for should that expression be again used, I inform you, on the part of sir John Prendergast, that he will be always ready to maintain the contrary in the defence of his own honour, which you have handled somewhat too roughly, according to the opinion of our lords acquainted with the truth, who think sir John has acted like a prudent and honourable man. You will send your answer to this letter, and what may be your future intentions, by Châlons the herald, the bearer of these presents; and that you may have full confidence in their contents, I have signed and sealed them myself at Paris in the year 1404."

This affair, notwithstanding the letters that have been reported, never came to any other conclusion.

CHAPTER III.—GREAT PARDONS* GRANTED AT ROME.

During this year, the court of Rome granted many pardons, whither an infinity of persons went from all parts of Christendom to receive them. A universal mortality took place about the time, which caused the deaths of multitudes; and in the number, very many of the pilgrims suffered from it at Rome.

CHAPTER IV.—JOHN OF MONTFORT, DUKE OF BRITTANY, DIES.—THE EMPEROR DEPARTS FROM PARIS.—ISABELLA, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, RETURNS TO FRANCE.

[A. D. 1401.]

At the beginning of this year, John of Montfort, duke of Brittany, died, and was succeeded by his eldest son John, married to a daughter of the king of France, and who had several brothers and sisters†. About the same time, the emperor of Constantinople‡, who had made a long stay at Paris, at the charges of the king of France, set out, with all his attendants, for England, where he was very honourably received by king Henry and his princes; thence he returned to his own country §.

Many able ambassadors had, at various times, been sent from France to England, and from England to France, chiefly to negotiate with the king of England for the return of queen Isabella, daughter to the king of France, and widow of king Richard II., with liberty to enjoy the dower that had been settled upon her by the articles of marriage. The ambassadors at length brought the matter to a conclusion, and the queen was conducted to France by the lord Thomas Percy, constable of England, having with him many knights, esquires, ladies and damsels, to accompany her. She was escorted to the town of Leulinghem, between Boulogne and Calais, and there delivered to Waleran count of Saint Pol‖, governor of Picardy, with whom were the bishop of Chartres and the lord de Heugueville, to receive her. The damsel of Montpensier, sister to the count de la Marche, and the damsel of Luxembourg, sister to the count de St. Pol, with other ladies and damsels sent by the queen of France, were likewise present. When both parties had taken leave of each other, the count de St. Pol conducted the queen and her attendants to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who with a large company were waiting for them on an eminence hard by. She was received by them with every honour, and thence escorted to Boulogne, and to Abbeville, where the duke of Burgundy, to celebrate her return to France, made a grand banquet, and then, taking his leave of her, he went back to Artois. The duke of Bourbon and the rest who had been at this feast conducted her to the king and queen, her parents, at Paris. She was most kindly received by them; but although it was said that she was honourably sent back, yet there was not any dower or revenue assigned her from England, which caused many of the French princes to be dissatisfied with the king of England, and pressing with the king of France to declare war against him.

* This was the year of the jubilee. The plague raged at Rome, where, as Buoninsegni informs us, seven or eight hundred persons died daily. Few of the pilgrims returned. Many were murdered by the pope's soldiers,—a universal confusion prevailing at that time throughout Italy.

† John V. duke of Brittany, had issue, by his several wives, John VI. his successor, Arthur count of Richemont and duke of Brittany in 1457, Giles de Chambon and Richard count of Estampes. His daughters were married to the duke of Alençon, count of Armagnac, viscount of Rohan, &c. John VI. married Joan of France, daughter of Charles VI.

‡ Manuel Paleologus.

§ "The emperor of Constantinople came into Englande to require ayde against the Turkes, whome the king, with sumptuous preparation, met at Blacke-heath, upon St. Thomas day the apostle, and brought him to London, and, paying for the charges of his lodging, presented him with giftes worthy of one of so high degree."—Stowe, 326.

‖ Waleran de Luxembourg III. count of St. Pol, Ligny and Roussy, castellan of Lille, &c. &c. &c. a nobleman of very extensive and rich possessions, attached to the duke of Burgundy, through whose interest he obtained the posts of grand butler 1410, of governor of Paris and constable of France 1411. He died, 1415, leaving only one legitimate daughter, who, by marriage with Antony duke of Brabant, brought most of the family-possessions into the house of Burgundy.

CHAPTER V.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, BY ORDERS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, GOES INTO BRITTANY, AND THE DUKE OF ORLEANS TO LUXEMBOURG.—A QUARREL ENSUES BETWEEN THEM.

This same year, the duke of Burgundy went to Brittany to take possession of it in the king's name for the young duke. The country soon submitted to him, and he continued his journey to Nantes to visit the duchess-dowager, sister to the king of Navarre*, who had entered into engagements speedily to marry Henry IV. of England. The duke was her uncle, and treated with her successfully for the surrender of her dower lands to her children, on condition that she received annually a certain sum of money in compensation. When this had been concluded, and the duke had placed garrisons in the king's name in some of the strong places of the country, he returned to Paris, carrying with him the young duke and his two brothers, who were graciously received by the king and queen.

The duke of Orleans had at this time gone to take possession of the duchy of Luxembourg†, with the consent of the king of Bohemia, to whom it belonged, and with whom he had concluded some private agreement. Having placed his own garrisons in many of the towns and castles of this duchy, he returned to France,—when shortly after a great quarrel took place between the duke of Orleans and his uncle, the duke of Burgundy; and it rose to such a height that each collected a numerous body of men-at-arms round Paris. At length, by the mediation of the queen and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, peace was restored, and the men-at-arms were sent back to the places whence they had come.

CHAPTER VI.—CLEMENT DUKE OF BAVARIA IS ELECTED EMPEROR OF GERMANY, AND AFTERWARD CONDUCTED WITH A NUMEROUS RETINUE TO FRANKFORT.

This year, Clement duke of Bavaria‡ was elected emperor of Germany, after the electors had censured and deposed the king of Bohemia. Clement was conducted by them to Frankfort, with an escort of forty thousand armed men, and laid siege to the town, because it had been contrary to his interests. He remained before it forty days, during which time an epidemical disorder raged in his army, and carried off fifteen thousand of his men. A treaty was begun at the expiration of the forty days, when the town submitted to the emperor. The towns of Cologne, Aix, and several more, followed this example, and gave him letters of assurance, that his election had been legally and properly made. He was after this crowned by the bishop of Mentz; and at his coronation many princes and lords of the country made splendid feasts, with tournaments and other amusements.

When these were over, the emperor sent his cousin-german, the duke of Bavaria, father to the queen of France, to Paris, to renew and confirm the peace between him and the king of France. Duke Stephen was joyfully received on his arrival at Paris by the queen and princes of the blood,—but the king was at that time confined by illness. When he had made his proposals, a day was fixed on to give him an answer; and the princes told him, that in good truth they could not conclude a peace to the prejudice of their fair cousin the

* Joan, daughter of Charles the bad, third wife of John V. Her mother was Joan of France, sister to Charles V. the duke of Burgundy, &c. Joan, duchess dowager of Bretagne, afterwards married Henry IV. of England.

† After the death of Wenceslaus duke of Brabant and Luxembourg (the great friend and patron of Froissart), the latter duchy reverted, of right, to the crown of Bohemia. But during the inactive and dissolute reign of the emperor Wenceslaus, it seems to have been alternately possessed by himself, by governors under him nominally, but in fact supreme, or by Jodocus M. of Brandenburg and Moravia, his cousin. In the history of Luxembourg by Bertelius, several deeds and instruments are cited, which tend rather to perplex than elucidate. But he gives the following account of the transaction with Louis duke of Orleans: "Wenceslaus, being seldom in those parts, and greatly preferring Bohemia, his native country, granted the government of Luxembourg to his cousin, the duke of Orleans and moreover, for the sum of 56,337 golden crowns lent him by Louis, mortgaged to him the towns of Ivoy, Montmedy, Damvilliers, and Orchiemont, with their appurtenances." In a deed of the year 1412, the duke of Orleans expresses himself as still retaining the government at the request of his dear nephew Jodocus; but this appears to be a mistake, since Jodocus was elected emperor in 1410, and died six months after, before his election could be confirmed. He was succeeded by his brother Procopius.

‡ Rupert, or Robert, elector palatine (see the genealogy p. 5) was elected emperor upon the deposition of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia.

king of Bohemia, who had been duly elected and crowned emperor of Germany. When the duke of Bavaria had received this answer, he returned through Hainault to the new emperor. He related to him all that had passed in France, and the answer he had received, with which he was not well pleased, but he could not amend it.

The emperor, soon after this, proposed marching a powerful army, under his own command, to Lombardy, to gain possession of the passes, and sent a detachment before him for this purpose, but his troops were met by an army from the duke of Milan *, who slew many, and took numbers prisoners. Among the latter was sir Girard, lord of Heraucourt, marshal to the duke of Austria, and several other persons of distinction. This check broke up the intended expedition of the emperor.

CHAPTER VII.—HENRY OF LANCASTER, KING OF ENGLAND, COMBATS THE PERCIES AND WELSHMEN, WHO HAD INVADED HIS KINGDOM, AND DEFEATS THEM.

About the month of March, in this year, great dissensions arose between Henry, king of England, and the family of Percy and the Welsh, in which some of the Scots took part, and entered Northumberland with a considerable force. King Henry had raised a large army to oppose them, and had marched thither to give them battle; but, at the first attack, his vanguard was discomfited. This prevented the second division from advancing, and it being told the king, who commanded the rear, he was animated with more than usual courage, from perceiving his men to hesitate, and charged the enemy with great vigour. His conduct was so gallant and decisive, that many of the nobles of both parties declared he that day slew, with his own hand, thirty-six men at arms. He was thrice unhorsed by the earl of Douglas' spear, and would have been taken or killed by the earl, had he not been defended and rescued by his own men. The lord Thomas Percy was there slain, and his nephew Henry made prisoner, whom the king ordered instantly to be put to death before his face. The earl of Douglas was also taken, and many others. After this victory, king Henry departed from the field of battle, joyful at the successful event of the day. He sent a body of his men-at-arms to Wales, to besiege a town of that country which was favourable to the Percies†.

CHAPTER VIII.—JOHN DE VERCHIN, A KNIGHT OF GREAT RENOWN, AND SENESCHAL OF HAINAULT, SENDS, BY HIS HERALD, A CHALLENGE INTO DIVERS COUNTRIES, PROPOSING A DEED OF ARMS.

[A. D. 1402.]

At the beginning of this year, John de Verchin ‡, a knight of high renown and seneschal of Hainault, sent letters, by his herald, to the knights and esquires of different countries, to invite them to a trial of skill in arms, which he had vowed to hold, the contents of which letters were as follows:

"To all knights and esquires, gentlemen of name and arms, without reproach, I, Jean de Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, make known, that with the aid of God, of our Lady, of my lord St. George, and of the lady of my affections, I intend being at Coucy the first Sunday of August next ensuing, unless prevented by lawful and urgent business, ready on the morrow to make trial of the arms hereafter mentioned, in the presence of my most redoubted

* John Galeas Visconti, first duke of Milan, father of Valentina, duchess of Orleans. During the reign of Wenceslaus, he had made the most violent aggressions on the free and imperial states of Lombardy, which it was the first object of the new emperor to chastise. The battle or skirmish here alluded to, was fought near the walls of Brescia.

† This chapter presents a most extraordinary confusion of dates and events. The conclusion can refer only to the battle of Shrewsbury, which took place more than two years afterwards,—and is again mentioned in its proper place, chap. xv.: besides which, the facts are misrepresented. Monstrelet should have said, "The lord Thomas Percy (earl of Worcester) was beheaded after the battle, and his nephew Henry, slain on the field." The year 1401 was, in fact, distinguished only by the war in Wales, against Owen Glendower; in which Harry Percy commanded for, not against, the king. The Percies did not rebel till the year 1403.

‡ This John de Werchin, seneschal of Hainault, was connected by marriage with the house of Luxembourg St. Pol.

lord the duke of Orleans, who has granted me permission to hold the meeting at the above place. If any gentleman, such as above described, shall come to this town to deliver me from my vow, we will perform our enterprise mounted on horseback, on war saddles without girths. Each may wear what armour he pleases, but the targets must be without covering or lining of iron or steel. The arms to be spears of war, without fastening or covering, and swords. The attack to be with spears in or out of their rests; and each shall lay aside his target, and draw his sword without assistance. Twenty strokes of the sword to be given without intermission, and we may, if we please, seize each other by the body.

"From respect to the gentleman, and to afford him more pleasure, for having had the goodness to accept my invitation, I promise to engage him promptly on foot, unless bodily prevented, without either of us taking off any part of the armour which we had worn in our assaults on horseback: we may, however, change our vizors, and lengthen the plates of our armour, according to the number of strokes with the sword and dagger, as may be thought proper, when my companion shall have determined to accomplish my deliverance by all these deeds of arms, provided, however, that the number of strokes may be gone through during the day, at such intermissions as I shall point out. In like manner, the number of strokes with battle-axes shall be agreed on; but, in regard to this combat, each may wear the armour he pleases. Should it happen (as I hope it will not), that in the performance of these deeds of arms, one of us be wounded, insomuch that during the day he shall be unable to complete the combat with the arms then in use, the adverse party shall not make any account of it, but shall consider it as if nothing had passed.

"When I shall have completed these courses, or when the day shall be ended, with the aid of God, of our Lady, of my lord St. George, and of my lady, I shall set out from the said town, unless bodily prevented, on a pilgrimage to my lord St. James at Compostella. Whatever gentleman of rank I may meet going to Galicia, or returning to the aforesaid town of Coucy, that may incline to do me the honour and grace to deliver me with the same arms as above, and appoint an honourable judge, without taking me more than twenty leagues from my straight road, or obliging me to return, and giving me assurance from the judge, that the combat, with the aforesaid arms, shall take place within five days from my arrival in the town appointed for it,—I promise, with the aid of God and my lady, if not prevented by bodily infirmity, to deliver them promptly on foot, as soon as they shall have completed the enterprise, according to the manner specified, with such a number of strokes with the sword, dagger and battle-axe, as may be thought proper to fix upon.

"Should it happen, after having agreed with a gentleman to perform these deeds of arms, as we are proceeding toward the judge he has fixed upon, that I should meet another gentleman willing to deliver me, who should name a judge nearer my direct road than the first, I would in that case perform my trial in arms with him whose judge was the nearest; and when I had acquitted myself to him, I would then return to accomplish my engagement with the first, unless prevented by any bodily infirmity. Such will be my conduct during the journey, and I shall hold myself acquitted to perform before each judge my deeds of arms; and no gentleman can enter the lists with me more than once: and the staves of our arms shall be of equal lengths, which I will provide and distribute when required. All the blows must be given from the bottom of the plate-armour to the head: none others will be allowed as legal. . That all gentlemen who may incline to deliver me from my vow, may know the road I propose to follow, I inform them, that under the will of God, I mean to travel through France to Bordeaux; thence to the country of Foix, to the kingdoms of Navarre and Castille, to the shrine of my lord St. James at Compostella. On my return, if it please God, I will pass through the kingdom of Portugal; thence to Valencia, Arragon, Catalonia, and Avignon, and recross the kingdom of France, having it understood, if I may be permitted to travel through all these countries in security, to perform my vow, excepting the kingdom of France, and county of Hainault.

"That this proposal may have the fullest assurance, I have put my seal to this letter, and signed it with my own hand, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, the 1st day of June, 1402."

The seneschal, in consequence of this challenge, went to Coucy, where he was received

very graciously by the duke of Orleans; but no one appeared to enter the lists with him on the appointed day. In a few days, he set out on his pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James, during which he performed his deeds of arms in seven places, during seven days, and behaved himself so gallantly, that those princes who were appointed judges of the field were greatly satisfied with him.

CHAPTER IX.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, BROTHER TO THE KING OF FRANCE, SENDS A CHALLENGE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE ANSWER HE RECEIVES.

In the year 1402, Louis, duke of Orleans, brother to the king of France, sent a letter to the king of England, proposing a combat between them, of the following tenor: "I, Louis, by the grace of God son and brother to the kings of France, duke of Orleans, write and make known to you, that with the aid of God and the blessed Trinity, in the desire which I have to gain renown, and which you in like manner should feel, considering idleness as the bane of lords of high birth who do not employ themselves in arms, and thinking I can no way better seek renown than by proposing to you to meet me at an appointed place, each of us accompanied with one hundred knights and esquires, of name and arms without reproach, there to combat together until one of the parties shall surrender; and he to whom God shall grant the victory shall do with his prisoners as it may please him. We will not employ any incantations that are forbidden by the church, but make every use of the bodily strength granted us by God, having armour as may be most agreeable to every one for the security of his person, and with the usual arms; that is to say, lance, battle-axe, sword and dagger, and each to employ them as he shall think most to his advantage, without aiding himself by any bodkins, hooks, bearded darts, poisoned needles or razors, as may be done by persons unless they be positively ordered to the contrary. To accomplish this enterprise, I make known to you, that if God permit, and under the good pleasure of our Lady, and my lord St. Michael, I propose (after knowing your intentions) to be at my town of Angoulême, accompanied by the aforesaid number of knights and esquires. Now, if your courage be such as I think it is, for the fulfilment of this deed of arms, you may come to Bordeaux, when we may depute properly-qualified persons to fix on a spot for the combat, giving to them full power to act therein as if we ourselves were personally present.

"Most potent and noble prince, let me know your will in regard to this proposal, and have the goodness to send me as speedy an answer as may be; for in all affairs of arms, the shortest determination is the best, especially for the kings of France, and great lords and princes; and, as many delays may arise from business of importance, which must be attended to, as well as doubts respecting the veracity of our letters, that you may know I am resolved, with God's help, on the accomplishment of this deed of arms, I have signed this letter with my own hand, and sealed it with the seal of my arms. Written at my castle of Coucy*, the 7th day of August, 1402."

THE ANSWER OF KING HENRY TO THE LETTERS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to the high and mighty prince Louis, duke of Orleans.

"We write to inform you, that we have seen your letter, containing a request to perform a deed of arms; and, from the expressions contained therein, we perceive that it is addressed to us, which has caused us no small surprise, for the following reasons. First, on account of the truce agreed on, and sworn to, between our very dear lord and cousin, king Richard, our predecessor, whom God pardon! and your lord and brother; in which treaty, you are yourself a party. Secondly, on account of the alliance that was made between us at Paris, for the due observance of which you made oath, in the hands of our well-beloved knights

* Enguerrand VII. lord of Coucy and count of Soissons, died a prisoner in Turkey, as related by Froissart. Mary, his daughter and co-heiress, sold her possessions, and this castle of Coucy among the rest, to Louis duke of Orleans. His other daughters were, Mary, wife of Robert Vere, duke of Ireland (the ill-fated favourite of Richard II.) and Isabel, married to Philip, count of Nevers, youngest son of the duke of Burgundy.

and esquires, sir Thomas de Spinguchen *, sir Thomas Ramson, and John Morbury, and likewise gave to them letters signed with your great seal, reciting this treaty of alliance, which I shall hereafter more fully state.

Henry IV. of England.—From the effigy on his tomb at Canterbury.

"Since you have thought proper, without any cause, to act contrary to this treaty, we shall reply as follows, being desirous that God, and all the world, should know it has never been our intention to act any way contradictory to what we have promised. We therefore inform you, that we have annulled the letter of alliance received from you, and throw aside henceforward, all love and affection toward you; for it seems to us that no prince, lord, knight, or any person whatever, ought to demand a combat from him with whom a treaty of friendship exists. In reply to your letter, we add, that considering the very high rank in which it has pleased God to place us, we are not bound to answer any such demands unless made by persons of equal rank with ourselves. With regard to what you say, that we ought to accept your proposal to avoid idleness, it is true we are not so much employed in arms and honourable exploits as our noble predecessors have been; but the all-powerful God may, when he pleases, make us follow their steps, and we, through the indulgence of his grace, have not been so idle but that we have been enabled to defend our honour.

"With regard to the proposal of meeting you at a fixed place with one hundred knights and esquires of name and arms, and without reproach, we answer, that until this moment none of our royal progenitors have been thus challenged by persons of less rank than themselves, nor have they ever employed their arms with one hundred or more persons in such a cause; for it seems to us that a royal prince ought only to do such things as may redound to the honour of God, and to the profit of all Christendom and his own kingdom, and not through vain-glory nor selfish advantage. We are determined to preserve the state God has intrusted to us; and whenever we may think it convenient, we shall visit our possessions on your side of the sea, accompanied by such numbers of persons as we may please; at which time, if you shall think proper, you may assemble as many persons as you may judge expe-

* Spinguchen. Q. Speneham?

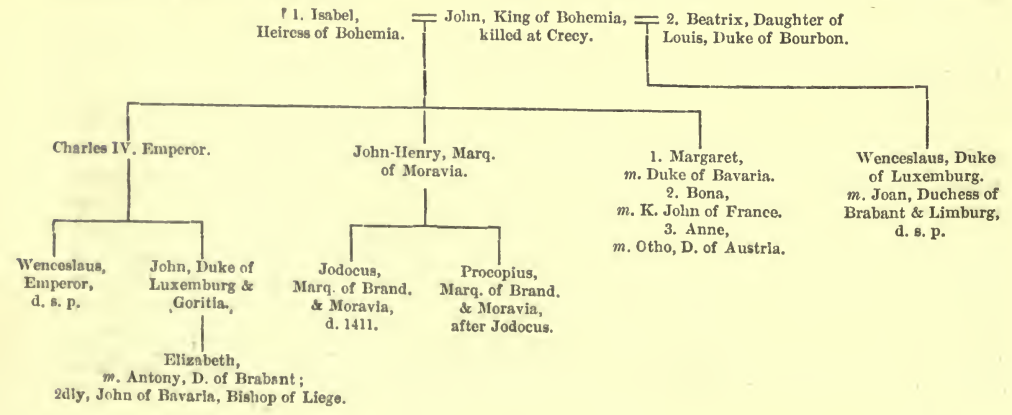
dient to acquire honour in the accomplishment of all your courageous desires : and should it please God, our Lady, and my lord St. George, you shall not depart until your request be so fully complied with that you shall find yourself satisfied by a combat between us two personally, so long as it may please God to suffer it, which mode I shall prefer to prevent any greater effusion of Christian blood. God knows, we will that no one should be ignorant that this our answer does not proceed from pride or presumption of heart, which every wise man who holds his honour dear should avoid, but solely to abase that haughtiness and over presumption of any one, whosoever he may be, that prevents him from knowing himself. Should you wish that those of your party be without reproach, be more cautious in future of your letters, your promises, and your seal, than you have hitherto been. That you may know this is our own proper answer, formed from our knowledge of you, and that we will maintain our right whenever God pleases, we have sealed with our arms this present letter. Given at our court of London, the 5th day of December, in the year of Grace 1402, and in the 4th of our reign."

THE LETTER OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

"Louis, duke of Orleans, count de Valois, Blois and de Beaumont, to all to whom these presents may come, health and greeting. We make known by them, that the most potent prince, and our very dear cousin, Henry, duke of Lancaster and Hereford, earl of Derby, Lincoln, Leicester and Northampton, has given us his love and friendship. Nevertheless, being desirous of strengthening the ties of this affection between us, seeing that nothing in this world can be more delectable or profitable :

"In the name of God and the most holy Trinity, which is a fair example and sound foundation of perfect love and charity, and without whose grace nothing can be profitably concluded : to the end that the form and manner of this our friendship may be reputed honourable, we have caused the terms of it to be thus drawn up. First, we both hold it just and right to except from it all whom we shall think proper ; and conformably thereto we except, on our part, the following persons : first, our very mighty and puissant prince and lord Charles, by the grace of God king of France : my lord the dauphin, his eldest son, and all the other children of my foresaid lord ; the queen of France ; our very dear uncles the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon ; those most noble princes, our dear cousins, the king of the Romans and of Bohemia ; the king of Hungary, his brother and their uncles, and Becop * marquis of Moravia ; and also all our cousins, and others of our blood, now living, or that may be born, as well males as females, and our very dear father the duke of Milan, whose daughter we have married. This relationship must make us favourable to his honour. Also those noble princes, and our very dear cousins, the kings of Castille and of

* Jodocus, marquis of Moravia and Brandenburg, cousin-german to the emperor Wenceslaus, appears to be here meant. See the following table :—


1. Isabel, Heiress of Bohemia.
John, King of Bohemia, killed at Crecy.
2. Beatrix, Daughter of Louis, Duke of Bourbon.
Charles IV. Emperor.
John-Henry, Marq. of Moravia.
1. Margaret, m. Duke of Bavaria.
2. Bona, m. K. John of France.
3. Anne, m. Otho, D. of Austria.
Wenceslaus, Duke of Luxemburg.
m. Joan, Duchess of Brabant & Limburg, d. s. p.
Wenceslaus, Emperor, d. s. p.
John, Duke of Luxemburg & Goritia.
Jodocus, Marq. of Brand. & Moravia, d. 1411.
Procopius, Marq. of Brand. & Moravia, after Jodocus.
Elizabeth, m. Antony, D. of Brabant; 2dly, John of Bavaria, Bishop of Liege.

Scotland, with all the other allies of our foresaid lord. To whom must likewise be added our very dear cousin the duke of Lorrain *, the count of Cleves †, the lord de Clisson, and all our vassals bound to us by faith and oath, whom we hold ourselves obliged to guard from ill, since they have submitted to our obedience and commands.

" Item, The duke of Lancaster and myself will be always united in the strictest ties of love and affection, as loyal and true friends should be.

" Item, Each of us will be, at all times and places, friendly to one another and to our friends, and enemies to our enemies, as will be honourable and praiseworthy.

" Item, We will each, in all times and places, aid and assist the other in the defence of his person, his fortune, honour and estate, as well by words as deeds, diligently and carefully in the most honourable manner.

" Item, In times of war and discord we will mutually defend each other against all princes, lords and barons, with the utmost good will, and also against any corporation, college or university, by every means in our power, engines, councils, force, men at arms, subsidies, or by whatever other means we may think most efficient to make war on and oppose the enemies of either of us; and we will exert ourselves to the utmost against every person whatever, excepting those who have been before excepted, in every lawful and honourable manner.

" Item, All the above articles we will strictly observe so long as the truces shall continue between my aforesaid sovereign lord and king, and the king of England; and should a more solid peace be formed, so long as that peace shall last, without infringing an article. In witness of which we have caused these articles to be drawn up, and have appended our seal thereto. Done at Paris the 17th day of June, in the year of grace 1396."

THE SECOND LETTER OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, IN REPLY TO THAT FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND.

" High and mighty prince Henry, king of England, I, Louis, by the grace of God son and brother to the kings of France, duke of Orleans, write to make known to you that I received, as a new year's gift, the first day of January, by the hands of your herald Lancaster, king at arms, the letter you have written to me, in answer to the one I sent to you by Champagne, king at arms, and Orleans my herald, and have heard its contents.

" In regard to your ignorance, or pretended ignorance, whether my letter could have been addressed to you, your name was on it, such as you received at the font, and by which you were always called by your parents when they were alive. I had not indeed given you your new titles at length, because I do not approve of the manner whereby you have attained them; but know that my letter was addressed to you.

" In regard to your being surprised at my requesting to perform a deed of arms with you during the existence of the truce between my most redoubted lord the king of France and the high and mighty prince king Richard, my nephew, and your liege lord lately deceased, (God knows by whose orders) as well as an alliance of friendship subsisting between us, of which you have sent me a copy—that treaty is now at an end by your own fault; first, by your having undertaken your enterprise against your sovereign lord king Richard, whom God pardon! who was the ally of my lord the king of France by marriage with his daughter, as well as by written articles, sealed with their seals, to the observance of which the kindred on each side made oath, in the presence of the two monarchs and their relations, in their different countries. You may have seen in those articles of which you sent me a copy, that the allies of my said lord the king were excepted, and may judge whether I can honestly now have any friendship for you; for at the time I made the said alliance, I never conceived it possible you could have done against your king what it is well known you have done.

" In regard to your objection, that no knight, of whatever rank he may be, ought to request a deed of arms until he shall have returned the articles of alliance, supposing such to exist between them, I wish to know whether you rendered to your lord, king Richard, the oath of fidelity you made to him before you proceeded in the manner you have done

* Charles the Bold, married to a daughter of Robert of Bavaria, elector palatine, and afterwards emperor.

† Adolphus II. duke of Cleves, married Mary, daughter of the duke of Burgundy.

against his person.—In respect to your throwing up my friendship, know, that from the moment I was informed of the acts you committed against your liege lord, I had not any expectation that you could suppose you would place any dependence on me; for you must have known that I could not have any desire to preserve your friendship.

"With regard to your high situation, I do not think the divine virtues have placed you there. God may have dissembled with you, and have set you on a throne, like many other princes, whose reign has ended in confusion. And, in consideration of my own honour, I do not wish to be compared with you. You say, you shall be always eager to defend your honour, which has been ever unblemished. Enough on that head is sufficiently known in all countries.

"As for your intentions of visiting your possessions on this side of the sea, without informing me of your arrival, I assure you that you shall not be there long without hearing from me; for, if God permit, I will accomplish what I have proposed, if it be not your fault. In regard to your telling me, that your progenitors have not thus been accustomed to be challenged by those of less degree than themselves—who have been my ancestors, I need not be my own herald, for they are well known to all the world. And in respect to my personal honour, through the mercy of God it is without reproach, as I have always acted like a loyal and honest man, as well towards my God as to my king and his realm: whoever has acted, or may act otherwise, though he hold the universe in his hand, is worthless, and undeserving of respect.

"You tell me, that a prince ought to make his every action redound to the honour of God, to the common advantage of all Christendom, and the particular welfare of his kingdom, and not through vain-glory, nor for selfish purposes. I reply, that you say well; but if you had acted accordingly in your own country, many things done there by you, or by your orders, would not have taken place. How could you suffer my much redoubted lady the queen of England to return so desolate to this country after the death of her lord, despoiled, by your rigour and cruelty, of her dower, which you detain from her, and likewise the portion she carried hence on her marriage? The man who seeks to gain honour is always the defender and guardian of the rights of widows and damsels of virtuous life, such as my niece was known to lead. And as I am so nearly related to her, acquitting myself toward God and toward her, as a relation, I reply, that to avoid effusion of blood, I will cheerfully meet you in single combat, or with any greater number you may please; and that through the aid of God, of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of my lord St. Michael, so soon as I shall receive your answer to this letter, whether body to body or with any greater number than ourselves, you shall find me doing my duty, for the preservation of my honour, in such wise as the case may require.

"I return you thanks, in the name of those of my party, for the greater care you seem to have of their healths than you had for that of your sovereign and liege lord. You tell me, that he who is not void of discernment in regard to his own condition will be desirous of selecting irreproachable companions. Know, that I am not ignorant who I am, nor who are my companions; and I inform you, that you will find us loyal and honest, for such we have been ever reported. And, thanks to God, we have never done anything by word or deed but what has been becoming loyal gentlemen. Do you and your people look to yourselves, and write me back your intention as to what I have offered, which I am impatient to know. That you may be assured this letter has been written by me, and that, through God's aid, I am resolved to execute my purpose, I have put to it the seal of my arms, and signed it with my own hand, on the morrow of the feast of our Lady, the 26th day of March, 1402."

THE REPLY OF KING HENRY TO THIS SECOND LETTER OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

"Henry, king of England and lord of Ireland, to Louis de Valois, duke of Orleans.

"We write to inform you that we have received, the last day of this present month of April, the letter you have sent to us by Champagne, king at arms, and your herald Orleans, intending it as an answer to the one from us, received by you on the 26th day of last

January, from the hands of Lancaster, king at arms, our herald. Your letter is dated the 26th day of March, in the year 1402, and we have heard its contents. Considering all things, more especially the situation in which it has pleased God to place us, we ought not to make you any reply to the request you make, nor to the replications since your first letter. However, as you attack our honour, we send you this answer, recollecting we did reply to your first request, which you pretended arose from the hot spirit of youth, and your earnest desire to gain renown in arms. It seems by your present letter that this desire has taken a frivolous turn, and that you wish for a war of words, thinking that by defaming our person, you may overwhelm us with confusion, which, God grant, may fall, and more justly, on yourself! We are therefore moved, and not without cause, to make answer to the principal points of your letter, in manner as will hereafter to you more plainly appear, considering that it does not become our state nor honour to do so by chiding; but in respect to such frivolous points, replete with malice, we shall not condescend to make any answer, except declaring that all your reproaches are false.

"First, in regard to the dignity we hold, that you write you do not approve it, nor the manner by which we have obtained it. We are certainly very much surprised at this, for we made you fully acquainted with our intentions before we departed from France; at which time you approved of it, and even promised us aid against our very dear lord and cousin, king Richard, whom God pardon! We would not accept of your assistance; and we hold your approbation or disapprobation of our undertaking of little worth, since it has pleased God, by his gracious favour, to approve of it, as well as the inhabitants of our kingdom. This is a sufficient reply to such as would deny our right; and I am confident in the benign grace of God, who has hitherto guarded us, that he will continue his gracious mercy, and bring the matter to so happy a conclusion that you shall be forced to acknowledge the dignity we enjoy, and the right we have to it.

"In regard to that passage in your letter, where you speak of the decease of our very dear cousin and lord, whom God pardon! adding, God knows how it happened, and by whom caused,—we know not with what intent this expression has been used; but if you mean, or dare to say, that his death was caused by our order or consent, it is false, and will be a falsehood every time you utter it; and this we are ready to prove, through the grace of God, in personal combat, if you be willing and have the courage to dare it. As to your saying, that you would have preserved the alliance made between us, if we had not undertaken such offensive measures against our very dear lord and cousin, who was so intimately related to your lord and brother by marriage, and treaties sealed with their seals, adding, that at the time you made the alliance with us, you never imagined we should have acted against our very dear lord and cousin, as is publicly known to have been done by us,—we reply, we have done nothing against him but what we would have dared to do before God and the whole world.

"You say, that we might have seen, in the bond of alliance, what persons were excepted in it, and whether our very dear and well beloved cousin, the lady Isabella, your much honoured lady and niece, was not comprehended in those excepted. We know that you excepted them in general; but when, at your request, I entered into this alliance, you did not make any specific exceptions of them, like to what you did respecting your fair uncle of Burgundy; and yet the principal cause of your seeking our friendship, and requesting this alliance to be made, was your dislike to your uncle of Burgundy, which we can prove whenever we please, and then all loyal men will see if you have not been defective in your conduct as to our alliance; and though hypocrisy may not avail before God, it may serve to blind mankind. When you maintain that, after you were acquainted with the pretended act done by us against our aforesaid lord and cousin, you lost all hope that I would abide by any agreement entered into with you, or any other person, we must suppose that you no longer wish to preserve any friendship with us; but we marvel greatly that some time after we were in possession of the dignity to which it has pleased God to raise us, you should send to us one of your knights wearing your badges, to assure us that you were eager to remain our very sincere friend, and that, after your lord and brother, the friendship of no prince would be so agreeable to you as ours. You charged him also to assure us, that the bonds

of alliance between us had been sealed with our great seals, which he said you would not that any Frenchman should know.

"You have afterward made us acquainted, by some of our vassals, with your good inclinations, and the true friendship you bore us; but since you wish not any connexion with us, considering the state we hold (such is your expression), we know not why we should wish your friendship,—for what you formerly wrote to us does not correspond with your present letters. When you say, that in respect to the dignity we now enjoy, you suppose that divine virtue has not assisted us, adding, that God may have dissembled his intentions, and, like too many other princes, have caused us to reign to our confusion,—assuredly many persons speak thoughtlessly, and judge of others from themselves, so that the all-powerful God may turn their judgments against themselves, and not without cause. And as for the divine virtue having placed us on the throne, we reply, that our Lord God, to whom we owe every praise and duty, has shown us more grace than we deserve; and it is solely to his mercy and benignity we are indebted for what he has been pleased to bestow upon us,—for certainly no sorceries nor witchcrafts could have done it; and however you may doubt, we do not, but have the fullest confidence that, through the grace of God, we have been placed where we are.

"In regard to your charge against us for our rigour against your niece, and for having cruelly suffered her to depart from this country in despair for the loss of her lord, and robbed her of her dower, which you say we detain, after despoiling her of the money she brought hither,—God knows, from whom nothing can be concealed, that so far from acting towards her harshly, we have ever shown her kindness and friendship; and whoever shall dare say otherwise lies wickedly. We wish to God that you may never have acted with greater rigour, unkindness, or cruelty, towards any lady or damsel than we have done to her, and we believe it would be the better for you.

"As to the despair you say that she is in for the loss of our very dear lord and cousin, we must answer as we have before done; and in regard to her dower, of the seizure of which you complain, we are satisfied, that if you had well examined the articles of the marriage, you could not, if you had spoken truth, have made this charge against us. In regard to her money, it is notorious, that on her leaving this kingdom we had made her such restitution of jewels and money (much more than she brought hither), that we hold ourselves acquitted; and we have, beside, an acquittance under the seal of her father, our lord and brother, drawn up in his council, and in your presence, as may be made apparent to all the world, and prove that we have never despoiled her, as you have falsely asserted.

"You ought, therefore, to be more cautious in what you write; for no prince should write anything but what is the truth, and honourable to himself, which is what you have not hitherto done. We have, however, answered your letter very particularly, in such wise, that through the aid of God, of our Lady, and of my lord Saint George, all men of honour will think our reply satisfactory, and our honour preserved.

"With regard to your companions, we have not any fault to find, for we are not acquainted with them; but as to yourself, considering all things, we do not repute very highly of you. And when you return thanks to those of your family for having felt more pity than we have done for our king and sovereign liege lord, we reply, that by the honour of God, of our Lady, and of my lord St. George, when you say so you lie falsely and wickedly, for we hold his blood dearer to us than the blood of those on your side, whatever you may falsely say to the contrary; and if you say that his blood was not dear to us in his lifetime, we tell you that you lie, and will falsely lie every time you assert it. This is known to God, to whom we appeal, offering our body to combat against yours, in our defence, as a loyal prince should do, if you be willing or dare to prove it.

"I wish to God that you had never done, or procured to be done, anything more against the person of your lord and brother, or his children, than we have done against our late lord,—and in that case we believe that you would find your conscience more at ease.*

* This seems to allude, in an enigmatical manner, to the charge of sorcery and witchcraft against the person of the king of France, of which the duke's enemies accused him, as we find afterwards in doctor Petit's justification of the duke of Burgundy.

Although you think us undeserving of thanks for our conduct to those on your side, we are persuaded that we have acted uprightly before God and man, and not in the manner you falsely pretend,—considering that, after our faithful lieges and subjects, we have good reason to love those of France, from the just right God has given us to that crown; and we hope, through his aid, to obtain possession of it. For their preservation, we the more willingly shall accept a single combat with you, as it will spare the effusion of blood, as a good shepherd should expose himself to save his flock; whereas your pride and vain-glory would triumph in their death,—and, like the mercenary shepherd to whom the flock does not belong, on seeing the wolf approach, you will take to flight, without ever attending to the safety of your sheep, confirming the quarrel of the two mothers before Solomon; that is to say, the true mother who had pity on her child, while the other cruelly wished to have the child divided, if the wise judge had not prevented it.

"As you declare in your letter, that you are willing to meet us, body against body, or with a greater or lesser number of men, in the defence of your honour, we shall thank you to perform it, and make known to you, that, through God's assistance, you shall see the day when you shall not depart without the deed being accomplished according to one or other of these proposals, and to our honour. Since you are desirous to have the time ascertained when we shall visit our possessions on your side of the sea, we inform you, that whenever it may please us, or we may judge it most expedient, we shall visit those possessions, accompanied by as many persons as we shall think proper, for the honour of God, of ourself, and of our kingdom, which persons we esteem as our loyal servants and subjects, and friends, to assert our right,—opposing however, with God's aid, our body against yours, in defending our honour against the false and wicked aspersions you are inclined to throw on it, if you have the courage to meet us, which, if it please God, shall be soon, when you shall be known for what you are.

"God knows, and we wish all the world to know, that this our answer does not proceed from pride or presumption of heart, but from your having made such false charges against us, and from our eager desire to defend our right with every means that God, through his, grace, has granted us. We have, therefore, made the above answer; and that you may be assured of its truth, we have sealed with our arms this present letter."

Notwithstanding these letters and answers that passed between the king of England and the duke of Orleans, they never personally met, and the quarrel remained as before.

CHAPTER X.—WALERAN COUNT DE SAINT POL SENDS A CHALLENGE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

In this same year, Waleran count de St. Pol sent a challenge to the king of England, in the following words:—

"Most high and mighty prince Henry, duke of Lancaster,—I, Waleran de Luxembourg, count de Ligny and de St. Pol, considering the affinity, love, and esteem I bore the most high and potent prince Richard, king of England, whose sister I married*, and whose destruction you are notoriously accused of, and greatly blamed for;—considering also the disgrace I and my descendants would feel, as well as the indignation of an all-powerful God, if I did not attempt to revenge the death of the said king, my brother-in-law;—I make known to you by these presents, that I will annoy you by every possible means in my power, and that personally, and by my friends, relations, and subjects, I will do you every mischief by sea and land, beyond the limits of the kingdom of France, for the cause before said, and no way for the acts that have taken place, and may hereafter take place, between my very redoubted lord and sovereign, the king of France, and the kingdom of England.

"This I certify to you under my seal, given at my castle of Luxembourg, the 10th day of February, in the year 1402."

* This was the half-sister of Richard, and daughter of the countess of Kent, by her second husband, Thomas Holland, knight of the Garter, and earl of Kent in right of his wife. She had been before separated from her first husband, William Montague, earl of Salisbury. Her third husband was Edward prince of Wales, by whom she had king Richard.

This letter was carried to the king of England by a herald of count Waleran; and thereto the king, Henry, made answer, that he held his menaces cheap, and that it was his will that count Waleran should enjoy his country and his subjects.

The count de St. Pol, having sent this challenge, made preparations to begin the war against the king of England and his allies. He also caused to be made, in his castle of Bohain, a figure to represent the earl of Rutland*, with an emblazoned coat of arms, and a portable gibbet, which he got secretly conveyed to one of his forts in the country of the Boulonois; and thence he caused them to be carried by Robinet de Robretanges, Aliaume de Biurtin, and other experienced warriors, to the gates of Calais. There the gibbet was erected, and the figure of the earl of Rutland hung on it by the feet; and when this was done, the above persons returned to their fort. When the English garrison in Calais saw this spectacle in the morning, they were much surprised thereat, and without delay cut the figure down, and carried it into the town. After that time, they were more inclined than ever to do mischief to the count Waleran and his subjects.

CHAPTER XI.—CONCERNING THE SENDING OF SIR JAMES DE BOURBON, COUNT DE LA MARCHE, AND HIS TWO BROTHERS, BY ORDERS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE WELSH,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

In this year, sir James de Bourbon†, count de la Marche, accompanied by his two brothers, Louis‡ and Jean §, with twelve hundred knights and esquires, were sent, by orders from the king of France, to the port of Brest, in Brittany,—thence to embark for Wales, to the succour of the Welsh against the English. They found there a fleet of transports ready provided with all necessaries, on board of which they embarked, intending to land at Dartmouth, but the wind proved contrary. Having noticed seven sail of merchantmen coming out of this harbour, fully laden, making sail for Plymouth, they chased them so successfully that their sailors abandoned their ships, and, taking to their boats, made their escape as well as they could. The count de la Marche took possession of the vessels and all they contained, and then entered Plymouth harbour, which they destroyed with fire and sword. Thence he sailed to a small island, called Sallemue ||; and having treated it in the same manner as Plymouth, he created some new knights,—among whom were his two brothers, Louis count de Vendôme, and Jean de Bourbon his youngest brother, and many of their companions. When the count de la Marche had tarried there for three days, suspecting that the English would collect a superior force to offer him battle, he set sail for France; but shortly after a tempest arose that lasted for three days, in which twelve of his ships and all on board perished. With much difficulty the count reached the port of St. Malo with the remainder, and thence went to Paris to wait on the king of France.

This same year, duke Philip of Burgundy made grand feasts for the solemnization of the marriage of his second son Anthony, count of Rethel, who was afterwards duke of Brabant, with the only daughter of Waleran count of St. Pol,—which daughter he had by the countess Maud, his first wife, sister to king Richard of England. These feasts were very magnificent, and well attended by many princes and princesses, with a noble chivalry; and they were all supported at the sole expense of the duke of Burgundy.

* Edward duke of Aumerle and earl of Rutland, son to Edmund duke of York, and cousin-german both to Richard II. and Henry IV. The reason of the personal hatred of the count de St. Pol against this prince, appears to be his having deserted and betrayed the conspirators at Windsor. The discovery of that plot probably hastened the death of Richard II.

† James II., count de la Marche, great chamberlain of France, succeeded to his father John in 1393, died 1438.

‡ Louis, count of Vendôme (the inheritance of his mother) second son of John count de la Marche, died 1446.

§ John, lord of Clarency, third son of John count de la Marche, died 1458.

|| Sallemue. Q. Saltash?

CHAPTER XII.—THE ADMIRAL OF BRITTANY, WITH OTHER LORDS, FIGHTS THE ENGLISH AT SEA.—GILBERT DE FRETUN MAKES WAR AGAINST KING HENRY.

[A. D. 1403.]

In the beginning of this year, the admiral of Brittany, the lord de Penhors, the lord du Chastel*, the lord du Boys, with many other knights and esquires of Brittany, to the amount of twelve hundred men at arms, assembled at Morlens†, and embarked on board thirty vessels at a port called Chastel-Pol‡, to engage the English, who had a large fleet at sea on the look-out for merchantmen like pirates. On the following Wednesday, as the English were cruising before a port called St. Matthieu §, the Bretons came up with them, and chased them until sun-rise the ensuing morning, when they engaged in battle. It lasted for three hours; but the Bretons at last gained the victory, and took two thousand prisoners, with forty vessels with sails, and a carrack. The greater part of the prisoners were thrown overboard and drowned, but some escaped by promising punctual payment of their ransom.

About this same time, an esquire, named Gilbert de Fretun, a native of the country of Guisnes, sent his challenge to the king of England, to avoid paying him his homage; and in consequence, this Gilbert collected many men at arms, and made such exertions that he provided himself with two vessels well equipped, and carried on a destructive war against the king as long as the truces between the kings of France and England were broken, from which event great evils ensued.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS QUARRELS WITH SIR CHARLES DE SAVOISY AND WITH THE PROVOST OF PARIS.

At this period, when the university of Paris was making its annual processions, much dissention arose between some of its members, as they were near to St. Catherine du Val des Escoliers, and the grooms of sir Charles de Savoisy, chamberlain || to the king of France, who were leading their horses to drink in the river Seine. The cause of the quarrel was owing to some of the grooms riding their horses against the procession, and wounding some of the scholars,—who, displeased at such conduct, attacked them with stones, and knocked some of the riders off their horses. The grooms, on this, returned to the hôtel de Savoisy, but soon came back armed with bows and arrows, and accompanied by others of their fellow-servants, when they renewed the attack against the scholars, wounding many with their arrows and staves even when in the church. This caused a great riot. In the end, however, the great number of scholars overpowered them, and drove them back, after several of them had been soundly beaten and badly wounded.

When the procession was concluded, the members of the university waited on the king, to make complaints of the insult offered them, and demanded, by the mouth of their rector, that instant reparation should be made them for the offence which had been committed, such as the case required,—declaring, at the same time, that if it were not done, they would all quit the town of Paris, and fix their residence in some other place, where they might be in safety. The king made answer, that such punishment should be inflicted on the offenders as that they should be satisfied therewith. In short, after many conferences, in which the members of the university urged their complaints to the king, as well as to the princes of the blood who composed his council, it was ordered by the king, to appease them, that the lord Charles de Savoisy, in reparation for the offence committed by his servants, should be banished from the king's household, and from those of the princes of the blood, and should be deprived of all his offices. His hôtel was demolished, and razed to the ground; and he was besides condemned to found two chapelries of one hundred livres each, which were to be in the gift of the university. After this sentence had been executed, sir Charles de

* Chastel, the name of a noble house in Brittany. Tanneguy, so often mentioned hereafter, was of the same family.

† Morlens. Q. Morlaix?

‡ Chastel-Pol. Q. St. Pol de Leon?

§ At the entrance of Brest harbour.

|| In 1383, he was appointed to the office of grand treasurer.

Savoisy quitted France, and lived for some time greatly dispirited in foreign countries, where, however, he conducted himself so temperately and honourably*, that at length, principally through the queen of France and some great lords, he made his peace with the university, and, with their approbation, returned again to the king's household.

Not long after this event, sir William de Tigouville†, provost of Paris, caused two clerks of the university to be executed: the one named Legier de Montthilier, a Norman, and the other Olivier Bourgeois, a Breton, accused of having committed divers felonies. For this reason, notwithstanding they were clerks, they were led to execution, and, although they loudly claimed their privileges, as of the clergy, in hopes of being rescued, they were hung on the gibbet. The university, however, caused the provost to be deprived of his office, and to be sentenced to erect a large and high cross of freestone, near the gibbet on the road leading to Paris, on which the figures of the two clerks were carved. They caused him also to have their bodies taken down from the gibbet, and placed in a cart, covered with black cloth; and thus accompanied by him and his sergeants, with others bearing lighted torches of wax, were they carried to the church of St. Mathurin, and there delivered by the provost to the rector of the university, who had them honourably interred in the cloisters of this church; and an epitaph was placed over them, to their perpetual remembrance.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE SENESCHAL OF HAINAULT PERFORMS A DEED OF ARMS WITH THREE OTHERS, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING OF ARRAGON.—THE ADMIRAL OF BRITTANY UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST ENGLAND.

In this same year, an enterprise of arms was undertaken by the gallant seneschal of Hainault, in the presence of the king of Arragon‡.

The combatants were to be four against four, and their arms battle-axes, swords and daggers: the combat was to be for life or death, subject, however, to the will of the judge of the field. The companions of the seneschal were, sir James de Montenay, a knight of Normandy, sir Tanneguy du Chastel, from the duchy of Brittany, and a notable esquire called Jean Carmen§. Their adversaries were from the kingdom of Arragon,—and their chief was named Tollemache de Sainte Coulonne, of the king of Arragon's household, and much beloved by him: the second, sir Pierre de Monstarde‖: the third, Proton de Sainte Coulonne; and the fourth, Bernard de Buef.

When the appointed day approached, the king had the lists magnificently prepared near to his palace in the town of Valencia. The king came to the seat allotted for him, attended by the duke de Caudie¶, and the counts de Sardonne** and d'Aviemie††, and a numerous train of his nobility. All round the lists scaffolds were erected, on which were seated the nobles of the country, the ladies and damsels, as well as the principal citizens of both sexes.

* He is said, during his exile, to have signalized himself, like a true knight, in combating the Saracens, of whom he brought back to France so many prisoners, that he constructed his magnificent castle of Seignelay without the aid of other labourers.—Paradin, cited by Moreri, Art. "Savoisy."

† William de Tignonville. The event here recorded, happened in 1408. After the bodies were taken down from the gibbets, he was compelled to kiss them on the mouths. —Moreri.

‡ John, king of Arragon, was killed in 1395, by a fall from his horse while hunting. By Matthea of Armagnac, his queen, he had two daughters, of whom the eldest was married to Matthew, viscount de Chateaubon and count of Foix, who claimed the crown in right of his wife, and invaded Arragon in support of his pretensions. But the principal nobility having, in the mean time, called over Martin, king of Sicily, brother of John, to be his successor, a bloody war ensued, which terminated only with the death of the count de Foix. After that event (which took place in 1398), Martin remained in peaceable possession of the crown. The right to the crown, both by the general law of succession, and by virtue of the marriage-contract, appears to have been in the countess of Foix; but the states of the kingdom here, as in some other instances, seem to have assumed a controlling elective power. This authority, probably inherent in the constitution, was more signally exercised on the death of Martin without issue, in the year 1410.

§ Jean Carmen. Q. Carmaing?

‖ Pierre de Monstarde. Q. Peter de Monçada, the name of an illustrious family in Arragon?

¶ Duke de Caudie. Q. Duke of Gandia? Don Alphonso, a prince of the house of Arragon, was honoured with that title by Martin on his accession.

** De Sardonne. Q. Count of Cardona? He was one of the deputies from the states to don Martin, on the death of John.

†† D'Aviemie. Q. Count of Ampurias? This nobleman was another descendant of the house of Arragon. He espoused, at first, the party of Foix, but soon reconciled himself to Martin.

Forty men at arms, richly dressed, were ordered by the king to keep the lists clear; and between their barriers was the constable of Arragon, with a large company of men at arms, brilliantly equipped, according to the custom of the country. Within the field of combat were two small pavilions for the champions, who were much adorned with the emblazonry of their arms, to repose in, and shelter themselves from the heat of the sun. On the arrival of the king, he made known to the seneschal, by one of his knights, that he and his companions should advance first into the field, since it had been so ordered, as the Arragonians were the appellants. The seneschal and his companions, on receiving this summons, instantly armed themselves, and mounted their coursers, which were all alike ornamented with crimson silk trappings that swept the ground, over which were besprinkled many escutcheons of their arms. Thus nobly equipped, they left their lodgings, and advanced toward the barriers of the lists. The before-named esquire marched first, followed by sir Tanneguy and sir James de Montenay; and last of all, the seneschal, conducted by the seneschal du Chut; when, having entered the lists, they made their reverences on horseback to king Martin of Arragon, who paid them great honour.

They then retired to their tents, and waited an hour and a half for their opponents, who arrived, like the others, in a body on horseback. Their horses' trappings were of white silk, ornamented with escutcheons of their arms. When they had made their reverences to the king, they retired also to their tents, which were pitched on the right, where they all remained for full five hours thus armed. The cause of this delay was owing to the king and his council wishing to accommodate the matter, and prevent the combat. To effectuate this, many messages were sent from the king to the seneschal, proposing that he should not proceed farther; but he prudently made answer, that this enterprise had been undertaken at the request of Tollemache, and that he and his companions had come from a far country, and at great trouble and expense, to gratify his wish, which he and his companions were determined upon doing. At length, after much discussion on each side, it was concluded that the combat should take place. The usual proclamations were then made in the king's name; and the king at arms of Arragon, cried out loudly and clearly, that the champions must do their duty. Both parties instantly issued forth of their tents, holding their battle-axes in their hands, and marched proudly towards each other.

The Arragonians had settled among themselves that two of them should fall on the seneschal, in the hope of striking him down: both parties were on foot, and they expected he would be at one of the ends of the lists above the others, but he was in the middle part. When they approached, the seneschal stepped forward three or four paces before his companions, and attacked Tollemache, who had that day been made a knight by the king's hand, and gave him so severe a blow with his battle-axe, on the side of his helmet, as made him reel and turn half round. The others made a gallant fight with their opponents; but sir James de Montenay, throwing down his battle-axe, seized sir James * de Monstarde with one of his hands under his legs, and, raising him up with his dagger in the other, was prepared to stab him; but, as the affair on all sides seemed to be carried on in earnest, the king put an end to the combat.

According to appearances, the Arragonians would have had the worst of it had the combat been carried to extremities; for the seneschal and those with him were all four very powerful in bodily strength, well experienced in all warlike exercises, and equal to the accomplishment of any enterprise in arms that might be demanded from them.

When the champions were retired to their tents, the king descended from his seat into the lists, and requested of the seneschal and Tollemache, in a kind manner, that the remaining deeds of arms might be referred to him and his council, and he would so act that they should all be satisfied. The seneschal, then falling on one knee, humbly entreated the king that he would consent that the challenge should be completed according to the request of Tollemache. The king replied, by again requiring that the completion of the combat should be referred to his judgment; which being granted, he took the seneschal by the hand, and placed him above himself, and Tollemache on the other side. He thus led them out of the lists, when each returned to his hôtel and disarmed. The king sent his principal knights to

* Before called Peter.

seek the seneschal and his companions, whom, for three days, he entertained at his palace, and paid them as much honour as if they had been his own brothers. When he had reconciled them with their opponents, he made them fresh presents; and they departed thence on their return to France, and the seneschal to Hainault.

About this time the admiral of Brittany, the lord du Chastel, and many other knights and esquires of Brittany and Normandy, to the amount of twelve hundred or more, embarked on board several vessels at St. Malo, and put to sea, intending to land at Dartmouth. Notwithstanding the admiral and some others were adverse to going ashore there, the lord du Chastel and some others made their landing good, thinking they would be followed by the rest, which was not the case. They attacked the English, who were assembled in a large body; but, though the combat lasted some time, the Bretons and Normans were defeated, and the lord du Chastel slain,—with him two brothers, sir John Martiel, a Norman knight, and many more. About one hundred prisoners were made,—among whom was the lord de Bacqueville, who afterward ransomed himself by dint of money. The admiral and those that had remained with him, or were wounded, returned to their country, afflicted and disconsolate at their loss*.

CHAPTER XV.—THE MARSHAL OF FRANCE AND THE MASTER OF THE CROSS-BOWS, BY ORDERS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, GO TO ENGLAND, TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Nearly at this time, the marshal of France and the master of the cross-bows†, by orders from the king of France, and at his expense, collected twelve hundred fighting men. They marched to Brest, in Brittany, to embark them, for the assistance of the Welsh against the English, on board of six score vessels with sails, which were lying there. As the wind was contrary, they there remained fifteen days; but when it became favourable, they steered for the port of Haverfordwest,—which place they took, slaying all the inhabitants but such as had fled. They wasted the country round, and then advanced to the castle of Haverford, wherein was the earl of Arundel, with many other men at arms and soldiers. Having burnt the town and suburbs under the castle, they marched away, destroying the whole country with fire and sword. They came to a town called Tenby, situated eighteen miles off, where they found the prince of Wales‡, with ten thousand combatants, waiting for them, and thence marched together to Carmarthen, twelve miles from Tenby.

Thence they marched into the country of Linorquie§, went to the Round Table‖, which is a noble abbey, and then took the road to Worcester, where they burnt the suburbs and adjoining country. Three leagues beyond Worcester, they met the king of England, who was marching a large army against them. Each party drew up in order of battle on two eminences, having a valley between them, and each waiting for the attack of its opponent. This contest, who should commence the battle, lasted for eight days; and they were regularly every morning drawn up in battle array, and remained in this state until evening,—during which time there were many skirmishes between the two parties, when upwards of two hundred of either side were slain, and more wounded. On the side of France, three knights were slain, namely, sir Patroullars de Tries, brother to the marshal of France¶, the lord de Martelonne, and the lord de la Valle. The French and Welsh were also much oppressed by famine and other inconveniences; for with great difficulty could they gain any provision, as the English had strongly guarded all the passes.

At length, on the eighth day that these two armies had been looking at each other, the king of England, seeing the enemy were not afraid of him, retreated in the evening to Worcester, but was pursued by some French and Welsh, who seized on eighteen carts laden

* Of this invasion, Stowe gives the following brief account: "The lord of Cassels, in Brytaine, arrived at Blackepoole, two miles out of Dartmouth, with a great navy, where, of the rustical people, whom he ever despised, he was slaine."

† John de Hangest, lord de Huqueville.

‡ Owen Glendwer.

§ Linorquie. Q. Glamorgan?

‖ Round Table. Q. Caerleon near Newport, in Monmouthshire, one of Arthur's seats?

¶ Regnault de Tric, lord of Fontenay, was *admiral* of France on the death of the lord de Vienne, killed at Nicopolis. He resigned, in 1405, in favour of Peter de *Breban*, lord of Landreville, surnamed Clugnet, and hereafter mentioned, but incorrectly, by the name of Clugnet de *Brabant*.

with provision and other baggage; upon which the French and Welsh then marched back to Wales. While these things were passing, the French fleet was at sea, having on board some men at arms to defend it, and made for a port which had been pointed out to them, where they were found by their countrymen on their retreat from England. The marshal de Tries and the master of the cross-bows, having embarked with their men on board this fleet, put to sea, and made sail for the coast of France, and arrived at St. Pol de Leon without any accident.

However, when they were disembarked, and had visited their men, they found they had lost upwards of sixty men, of whom the three knights before mentioned were the principal. They thence departed, each man to his home, excepting the two commanders, who went to wait on the king and the princes of the blood at Paris, by whom they were received with much joy.

CHAPTER XVI.—A POWERFUL INFIDEL, CALLED TAMERLANE, INVADES THE KINGDOM OF THE KING BAJAZET, WHO MARCHES AGAINST AND FIGHTS WITH HIM.

In this year, a great and powerful prince of the region of Tartary, called Tamerlane, invaded Turkey, belonging to king Bajazet, with two hundred thousand combatants and

Charge of Tamerlane's War Elephants.—From a design by Raphael.

twenty-six elephants. Bajazet was very powerful, and had been one of the principal chiefs who had conquered and made prisoner the count de Nevers in Hungary, as is fully described in the chronicles of master John Froissart.

When Bajazet heard that Tamerlane had thus invaded his territory, and was wasting it with fire and sword, he issued a special summons throughout his country, so that within fifteen days he had assembled an army of three hundred thousand fighting men, but had only ten elephants. These elephants of each party had small castles on their backs, in which were many men at arms, who grievously annoyed the enemy. Bajazet marched this force

against Tamerlane, and found him encamped on a high mountain to the westward, called Appady, having already destroyed or burnt very many good towns, and the greater part of the country. When the two chiefs were in sight of each other, they drew up their armies in battle array*. The combat soon began, and lasted full six hours; but at last Bajazet and his army were defeated, and he himself made prisoner. Forty thousand Turks were slain, and ten thousand of their enemies. After this success, Tamerlane sent larger detachments of his army to the principal towns in Turkey,—all of which, or the greater part, surrendered to him,—so that Tamerlane, in one campaign, conquered nearly the whole of Turkey.

CHAPTER XVII.—CHARLES KING OF NAVARRE NEGOTIATES WITH THE KING OF FRANCE, AND OBTAINS THE DUCHY OF NEMOURS.—DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY MAKES A JOURNEY TO BAR-LE-DUC AND TO BRUSSELS.

At this same season, Charles† king of Navarre came to Paris to wait on the king. He negotiated so successfully with the king and his privy council, that he obtained a gift of the castle of Nemours, with some of its dependent castlewicks, which territory was made a duchy. He instantly did homage for it, and at the same time surrendered to the king the castle of Cherbourg, the county of Evreux‡, and all other lordships he possessed within the kingdom of France, renouncing all claim or profit in them to the king and his successors, on consideration, that with this duchy of Nemours the king of France engaged to pay him two hundred thousand gold crowns of the coin of the king our lord. When this was done, duke Philip of Burgundy left Paris to go to Bar-le-Duc, to attend the funeral of his sister the duchess of Bar§, who had died there. After this ceremony, he went to his town of Arras, where the duchess was, and there celebrated the feast of Easter. He then went to Brussels in Brabant, to the duchess's, grandmother‖ to his wife, who had sent for him, to resign into his hands the government of the country; but he was there seized with an alarming illness, and caused himself to be carried to Halle, as will be more fully shown hereafter.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY DIES IN THE TOWN OF HALLE, IN HAINAULT. HIS BODY IS CARRIED TO THE CARTHUSIAN CONVENT AT DIJON, IN BURGUNDY.

[A. D. 1404.]

At the beginning of this year, the good duke of Burgundy, Philip, son to king John, and brother to Charles the Rich, caused himself to be carried in a litter from the town of Brussels, in Brabant, to Halle, in Hainault. That the horses which carried him might travel more safely, and he be less shaken, labourers advanced before the litter, with spades and pick-axes, to repair and smooth the roads.

When at Halle, he fixed his lodgings near to the church of our Lady, at an hôtel bearing the sign of the Stag; and, finding his disorder increase, he sent for his three sons, namely, John count de Nevers, Anthony and Philip. On their arrival, he entreated and commanded them to be loyal and obedient, during their lives, to king Charles of France and to his successors, and made them promise obedience on their love to him. This engagement the three

* This famous battle was fought at Angora, in Galatia.

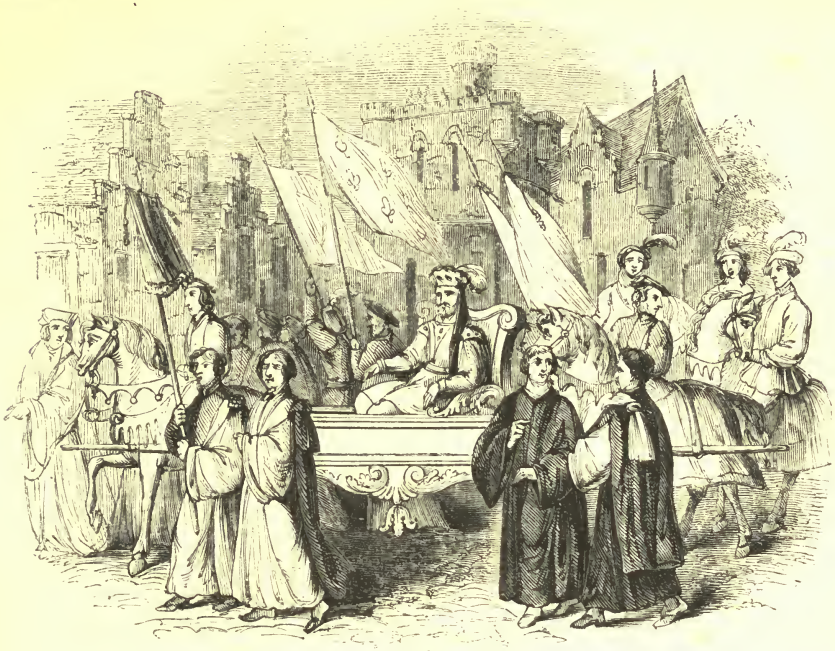
† Charles III. succeeded his father, Charles the Bad, in 1386.

‡ This county descended to him from his great-grandfather Louis, count of Evreux, son to Philip the Bold, king of France. Philip, son of Louis, became king of Navarre, in right of his wife Jane, daughter of Louis Hutin. He was father of Charles the Bad.

§ Mary of France, daughter of king John, married Robert duke of Bar, by whom she had issue, Edward duke of Bar, and Louis cardinal, hereafter mentioned, besides other children.

‖ Rather aunt. John III. duke of Brabant, dying in the year 1335, without male issue, left his dominions to his eldest daughter Joan, who married Wenceslaus duke of Luxembourg, and survived her husband many years, dying, at a very advanced age, in the year 1406. She is the princess here mentioned. Margaret, youngest daughter of John III., married Louis de Male, earl of Flanders; and her only daughter Margaret (consequently niece of Joan, duchess of Brabant) brought the inheritance of Flanders to Philip, duke of Burgundy.

princes readily granted to their lord and father, who then assigned to each such lordships and estates as they were to hold after his decease, and specified the manner in which he intended they should enjoy them. All these, and various other arrangements, were wisely ordered by the duke in a manner becoming such a prince, who had a good memory in his



Horse Litter.—Composed from contemporary illuminations.

last moments. When he had finished these matters, he died in this hôtel. His body was then opened, and his bowels interred in the church of our Lady at Halle; but his body being well embalmed, was placed in a leaden coffin, and carried to the towns of Douay and Arras, magnificently attended, and in a manner suitable to his rank. At Arras the corpse was placed in his chapel, where a solemn service was performed. The duchess Margaret* there renounced her claim to his moveables, from fear of the debts being too great, by placing her girdle with her purse and keys on the coffin, as is the usual custom in such cases,—and demanded that this act should be put into writing by a public notary there present. The body was afterward conveyed to Burgundy, and interred in the church of the Carthusians near Dijon, which church he had founded and ornamented at his own expense. His heart was carried to the church of Saint Denis, and placed near to his royal ancestors, from whom he was descended.

The duke, in addition to the three before-mentioned sons, had three daughters, namely, the archduchess of Austria†, the countess of Holland‡, wife to William count of Hainault, and the duchess of Savoy§. There were great lamentations at his death, not only by his children, but generally by the greater part of the lords of France and of his own countries; for he had prudently and ably governed the affairs of France, in conjunction with his elder brother the duke of Berry, by whom he was much regretted.

After his decease, John count of Nevers, his eldest son, took possession of the county and duchy of Burgundy: his second son, Anthony, was declared heir to the duchy of Brabant, after the death of his great aunt the duchess, who immediately resigned to him the duchy of

* The heiress of Flanders, mentioned in the preceding page.

† Catherine, married to Leopold the Proud, duke of Austria.

‡ Margaret, married to William of Bavaria, (VI. of the name), count of Holland and Hainault.

§ Mary, married to Amadeus VIII. first *duke* of Savoy, afterwards pope by the name of Felix V.

Limbourg*. Philip, his third son, inherited the county of Nevers and barony of Draxi, but not to enjoy them during the life of his mother. The three brothers began to govern their territories with a high hand, and held many councils together, and with their most confidential advisers, on the manner in which they should conduct themselves towards the king their sovereign lord.

CHAPTER XIX.—WALERAN COUNT DE ST. POL LANDS A LARGE FORCE ON THE ISLE OF WIGHT, TO MAKE WAR AGAINST ENGLAND, BUT RETURNS WITHOUT HAVING PERFORMED ANY GREAT DEEDS.

In this year, Waleran count de St. Pol assembled at Abbeville, in Ponthieu, about sixteen hundred fighting men,—among whom were numbers of the nobility, who had made great provision of salted meats, biscuit, wines, brandy, butter, flour, and other things necessary on board of ships. From Abbeville the count led them to the port of Harfleur, where they found vessels of all descriptions to receive them. When they had remained there some few days to arrange their matters, and to recommend themselves to the protection of St. Nicholas, they embarked on board these vessels, and sailed for the Isle of Wight, which lies opposite to the harbour of Southampton. They landed on the island, making a bold countenance to face their enemies, of whom indeed they had seen but little on their landing,—for all, or at least the greater part of the islanders, had retreated to the woods and fortresses.

Several new knights were created by the count, namely, Philippe de Harcourt, Jean de Fosseux, the lord de Guiency, and others, who went to burn some miserable villages, and set fire to a few other places. During this a sensible priest of the island came to the count to treat for the ransom and security of the island, for which he gave the count to understand a very large sum of money would be paid to him and his captains. He too readily listened to this proposal; for it was a deception on the part of the priest to delay their operations, and amuse them with words, until the English should arrive to fight with them. Count Waleran was at length informed of this plan, and, in consequence, re-embarked with his men on board the vessels; and they returned to the place whence they had come, without doing anything more. Many of the nobles were much displeased at this conduct, because they had expended large sums in laying in their purveyances. The countries through which his men at arms returned were greatly harassed by them,—and this caused much murmuring against the count, but no redress could be obtained.

CHAPTER XX.—LOUIS DUKE OF ORLEANS IS SENT BY THE KING TO THE POPE AT MARSEILLES.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON IS ORDERED INTO LANGUEDOC, AND THE CONSTABLE INTO AQUITAINE.

The king of France, with the advice of his great council, sent Louis duke of Orleans, accompanied by about six hundred knights, to pope Gregory, to remonstrate with him on the necessity of establishing a union in the church. He travelled through Champagne and Burgundy to Lyon, and thence to Marseilles, where the pope and his court then were. He received the duke most honourably and magnificently, and, after he had heard the object of his mission, gave him his apostolical letters, containing certain conditions, preparatory to the attempt of a union. The duke, on receiving them, took leave of the pope, and returned to Paris to the king, who had near his person the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Brittany, and Bourbon, and many other great lords, secular and ecclesiastical. In their presence, he delivered the apostolical letters, which contained, among other things, an offer from the pope to procure the union of the whole church; and, should it be necessary, to obtain so desirable an object, his holiness was willing to resign the papacy, and to act in whatever way touching this matter his council should judge expedient, and conformable to reason and justice. The king,

* Limbourg, on the death of its last duke, Henry, about 1300, was purchased, by John duke of Brabant, of Adolphe count of Mons. Reginald, duke of Gueldres, claimed the succession; and his pretensions gave rise to the bloody war detailed by Froissart, which ended with the battle of Wareng.

his council, the lords present, and the university, were well satisfied, when they had heard the contents of the pope's letter.

About this time, John* count of Clermont, son and heir to the duke of Bourbon, was ordered by the king and council into Languedoc, and thence to carry on a war against the English in Gascony, who were very active in harassing the frontiers. He appointed Saint Flour in Auvergne as the place of rendezvous for his troops, which consisted of five hundred men at arms, and the same number of cross-bows and archers. The next in command to the count de Clermont was the viscount de Châteaubon, son to the count de Foix†. They carried on a severe warfare, and put several forts under the king's obedience,—such as the castles of St. Pierre, St. Mary, Châteauneuf, and many more. After he had left these forts well garrisoned, he concluded the campaign, and returned to the king at Paris, by whom he was most graciously received. Shortly afterward, the lord Charles d'Albret‡, constable of France, was sent into the duchy of Acquitaine, accompanied by Harpedane, a knight of great renown in arms. They laid siege to the castle of Carlefin§, the garrison of which had done much mischief to the king's subjects, and laid the whole adjoining country under contribution. The siege lasted for six weeks, when a treaty was concluded with the garrison by the constable, which allowed them to march out in safety with all their wealth; and he also agreed to pay them a certain sum of money, which was raised on the inhabitants of the country adjoining the castle. When the constable had garrisoned the castle with his own men, he returned to king Charles at Paris.

CHAPTER XXI.—THE DEATH OF DUKE ALBERT, COUNT OF HAINAULT,—AND OF MARGARET DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, DAUGHTER TO LOUIS EARL OF FLANDERS.

This year died duke Albert, count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand. He was son to Louis of Bavaria, formerly emperor of Germany, and left issue two sons and a daughter,—namely, William, the eldest, and John, surnamed "sans pitié," who was promoted to the bishopric of Liege, notwithstanding he was not then consecrated. The daughter was married to John duke of Burgundy||. Duke Albert was interred in the collegiate church of the Hague, in Holland. In this year also died Margaret duchess of Burgundy, widow of the late duke Philip, at her dower-house, in Arras. Her illness was very short, and she departed this life on the Friday before Midlent Sunday. Her three sons, John duke of Burgundy, Anthony duke of Limbourg, and her youngest son Philip, were in the utmost grief at this event in the town of Lille, where she was buried in the collegiate church of St. Peter, near to her father the earl Louis of Flanders.

After her decease, John duke of Burgundy succeeded to the counties of Flanders and Artois, and Philip to the county of Nevers, according to the arrangements before mentioned. Shortly after, through the management of the duke of Burgundy, the two following marriages took place: Louis duke of Aquitaine, dauphin, and son to the king of France, with Margaret, eldest daughter to the duke of Burgundy,—and Philip count de Charolois, only son and heir to the above duke, with Michelle daughter to the king of France. These matches had been talked of during the life of the late duke Philip, and were very agreeable

* John, son of Louis the Good, duke of Bourbon, so celebrated in the Chronicles of Froissart. The family was descended from Robert, count of Clermont, son of St. Louis, who married the heiress of the ancient lords of the Bourbonnois. Louis, son of Robert, had two sons, Peter, the eldest (father of duke Louis the Good,) through whom descended the first line of Bourbon and that of Montpensier, both of which became extinct in the persons of Susannah, duchess of Bourbon, and Charles, count of Montpensier, her husband, the famous constable of France, killed at the siege of Rome. James, the younger son of Louis I., was founder of the second line of Bourbon. John, count of la Marche, his son, became count of Vendôme in right of his wife, the heiress of that county. Anthony, fifth in lineal descent, became king of Navarre, in right also of his wife, and is well known as father of Henry IV. king of France.

† Matthew, count of Foix, the unsuccessful competitor for the crown of Arragon, was succeeded by his sister Isabel, the wife of Archambaud de Greilly, son of the famous captal de Buch, who became count of Foix in her right. His son John, here called viscount de Châteaubon, was his successor.

‡ Charles d'Albret, count of Dreux and viscount of Tartas, constable, lineal ancestor of John, king of Navarre.

§ Carlefin. Q. Carlat?

|| Duke Albert had four other children not mentioned in this history, viz. Albert, who died young; Catherine, married to the duke of Gueldres; Anne, wife of the emperor Wenceslaus; and Jane, married to Albert IV., duke of Austria, surnamed the Wonder of the World.

to the king, the queen, and the princes of the blood, excepting the duke of Orleans, whom they displeased. From that time, and indeed somewhat before, there were appearances of jealousy and dislike between these two princes of Orleans and Burgundy; and whatever seeming affection they may have shown to each other, there was no sincere love. These jealousies were fomented in great measure by the various reports which were carried to each, by their different dependants. The above-mentioned marriages, however, were agreed on, and proper acts drawn up, signed and mutually interchanged, for the security of them, between all the parties.

A very heavy tax was about this time imposed on all the inhabitants throughout France, by the king and his council at Paris; but the duke of Burgundy would not consent that it should be levied,—which conduct gained him universal popularity throughout the kingdom.

CHAPTER XXII.—JOHN DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AFTER THE DEATH OF THE DUCHESS MARGARET, IS RECEIVED BY THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN FLANDERS AS THEIR LORD.

[A. D. 1405.]

At the commencement of this year, the duke of Burgundy, having paid his duty to the king of France at Paris, set out for Flanders, attended by his brothers and a large company of the nobles of that country. He was most honourably and kindly received everywhere by his subjects, who made him handsome presents, more especially those of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and other great towns. They took the usual oaths of fidelity to him, promising to serve him faithfully, as they were bound to do. He then forbade all his subjects to pay the tax last imposed at Paris by the king and his council, as has been mentioned. This conduct greatly increased the hatred the duke of Orleans bore him,—for at that time the public affairs were governed according to his pleasure, insomuch that a stop was put to the marriages before mentioned, between the children of the king and the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Orleans was desirous to find out some other match for his nephew, the duke of Aquitaine, which highly displeased the duke of Burgundy when it came to his knowledge.

The duke instantly sent his ambassadors to the king, the queen, and the great council,—but they had no very agreeable answer to bring back to their master, by reason of which they returned as speedily as they could to Flanders. Having heard their account, he consulted his most confidential ministers as to the manner in which he should act. They advised him to set out immediately for Paris, for that, being on the spot, he could pursue his business with the king and council with more urgency, and greater expectation of success, than by ambassadors. He assented to this advice, and made his preparations to go thither as speedily as he could.

At this period, pope Benedict XIII.*, who resided and kept his court in the county of Provence, imposed a tax of a tenth on his clergy. This tax was intended to hasten the union of our holy mother church, and was to be paid at two terms, namely, at Easter, and on the feast of St. Remy.

CHAPTER XXIII.—DUKE WILLIAM COUNT OF HAINAULT PRESIDES AT A COMBAT FOR LIFE OR DEATH, IN HIS TOWN OF QUESNOY, IN WHICH ONE OF THE CHAMPIONS IS SLAIN.

A MORTAL combat was this year fought in the town of Quesnoy, in the presence of duke William count of Hainault, judge of the field, between a gentleman named Bournecte, of the county of Hainault, appellant, and another gentleman called Sohier Bunaige, of the county of Flanders. The cause of quarrel was, that Bournecte declared and maintained that Sohier had killed and murdered one of his near relations; and in this case, duke William had ordered lists to be prepared at his expense, as was usual in such like instances. The duke had in vain attempted several times to reconcile them,—but finding them unwilling to consent, he ordered them to appear before him at a certain time and place, to decide their difference by combat.

* Peter de Luna, antipope of Avignon, elected after the death of Clement VII.

On the appointed day, the appellant entered the lists, accompanied by some of his nearest kindred, and was soon followed by the defendant. Proclamation was then made in the duke's name, by a herald, that no one should dare to give any hindrance to the combatants, under pain of death,—and then the champions were told to do their duty. After this last proclamation, the appellant first left his pavilion, and advanced to meet the defendant. When they had thrown each their lances * without effect, they drew their swords, and fought for a short time; but Bournecte soon overcame his adversary, and made him publicly avow the truth of the charge he had made against him, and for which he had called him to the combat. The vanquished man was speedily condemned by the duke to be beheaded; which sentence was instantly executed, and the conqueror led in triumph to his hôtel. He was greatly honoured and respected by all the nobility,—and it was reported that the duke of Orleans had been present at this combat in disguise.

CHAPTER XXIV.—THE COUNT DE SAINT POL MARCHES AN ARMY BEFORE THE CASTLE OF MERCQ, WHERE THE ENGLISH FROM CALAIS MEET AND DISCOMFIT HIM.

In the month of May of this year, Waleran de Luxembourg, count de Ligny and de St. Pol, governor for the king of France in Picardy, assembled in that country and in the Boulonois from four to five hundred men at arms, five hundred Genoese cross-bows, and about one thousand Flemings on foot, from the country about Gravelines. He marched them from St. Omer to Tournehem, and thence advanced to lay siege to a castle called Mercq, in the possession of the English, who from that place, and other garrisons, had greatly harassed the Boulonois and the adjacent countries. The count caused many engines to be erected against this castle, which much annoyed the garrison, who defended themselves courageously. The count saw he could not gain the place by storm without great difficulty and loss of men, and in consequence lodged his army in the houses of the town that were surrounded by old ditches, which he had repaired to secure himself against his enemies, as well from Calais as from other garrisons. On the morrow, he made an attack on the lower court of the castle, which was carried by storm; and the assailants gained great numbers of horses, cows, sheep, and mares. At this attack, sir Robert de Birengueville, knight, was wounded so that he died shortly after.

On this same day, about one hundred men at arms sallied out from Calais, and having viewed the French at their ease, returned to their town, and instantly sent a herald to the count de St. Pol to say, that on the morrow they would dine with him, if he would have the goodness to wait for them. The herald returned with the answer, that if they would come, they should be received, and find the dinner ready. On the morrow, very early, two hundred men at arms, two hundred archers, and about three hundred men on foot, lightly armed, marched out of Calais. They carried with them ten or twelve carts laden with wines and provision. The whole were under the command of an English knight named Richards, lieutenant-governor of Calais under the earl of Somerset, brother to Henry of Lancaster, at that time king of England †.

They advanced in good array until they were near the enemy, who, though advised of their coming by their spies, made no preparations, nor did they draw themselves up in battle without their quarters to meet them, as they should have done. They remained so long in their ditches that the English kept up a terrible discharge of arrows, by which numbers were killed and wounded, without the French being enabled to make any effectual resistance. The Flemings, and the greater part of the infantry, shortly began to give way, and take to flight from fear of the arrows,—and the men at arms soon followed their example. The

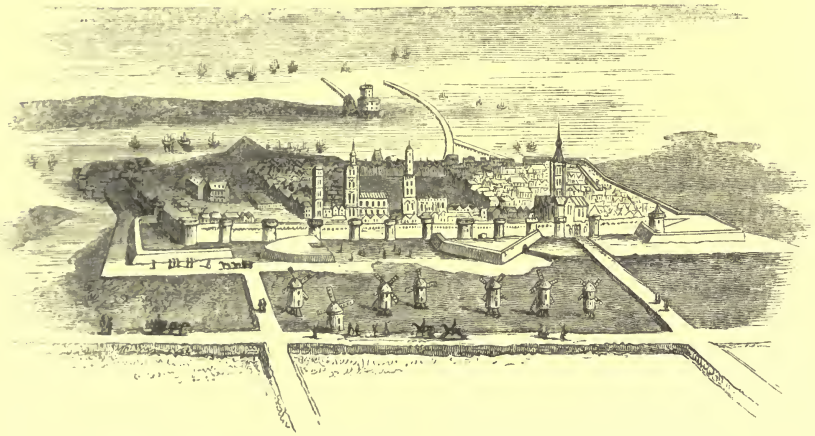
* This use of the lance does not appear to have been common; no instance of the kind is related in Froissart, and indeed it is difficult to conceive how a javelin, although projected from a powerful hand, could make any impression on plate armour: it must rebound. It is indeed possible that in this case, the combatants were not fully armed, and being only esquires, the combat on horseback was not allowed to them.—Ed.

† Hollingshed says, sir Phillip Hall was governor of the castle of Mercq, "having with him four score archers and four-and-twenty other soldiers." The troops from Calais were commanded by sir Richard Aston, knight, "lieutenant of the English pale for the earl of Somerset, captain-general of those marches."

Genoese cross-bows also, having, in the preceding assault on the outer court of the castle, expended all their bolts, had not provided themselves with a fresh supply, so that at this time of need they made a very poor defence. By these means, the English, without any great loss on their side, soon discomfited the French, and remained victors on the field. The count de St. Pol, with others of his companions, made off without any regard to his honour, and, passing through St. Omer, returned to Therouenne.

In general, all those of his party who remained were killed, or made prisoners. The slain were about sixty in number,—and among them were the principal of the French commanders, namely, the lord de Quereeqs, sir Morlet de Savences, sir Courbet de Rempeupret, sir Martel de Vaulhuon, sir Guy d'Juergny, and the lord de Fayel. Among the prisoners were the lord de Hangestez*, governor of Boulogne, the lord de Dampierre†, seneschal of Ponthieu, the lord de Rambures‡, George la Personne, the lord de Ginenchy, with several other noble knights and esquires, to the amount of sixty or eighty.

When the battle was concluded, and the English had taken possession of all the carts and engines of war which the enemy had brought thither, and had stript the dead, they returned to their town of Calais with their prisoners, rejoicing in their victory. On the contrary, count Waleran and those who had escaped with him were overwhelmed with despair, and not without cause.



Calais, during the Sixteenth Century.—Composed from old French prints.

On the third day after this defeat, the English marched out of Calais with the numerous cannons and other artillery they had taken from the French before Mercq, for the town of Ardres. They amounted to about five hundred combatants; and as they had marched all night, thinking to surprise it, and that it was weakly garrisoned, they began their attack at the break of day, by placing ladders against its walls, and setting fire to different parts of it. But through the vigilance and courage of two notable and valiant knights who were in the town, sir Mansart de Boz and the lord de Lignes, the English were repulsed. At this attack and retreat, there were from forty to fifty English slain, whom their companions carried to a large house without the walls, and set fire to it, that the enemy might be ignorant of their

* Hangest, a noble family in Picardy. Rogues de Hangest was *grand pannetier* and mareschal of France in 1352. His son, John Rabache, died a hostage in London. John de Hangest, grandson of Rogues, is here meant. He was chamberlain to the king and much esteemed at court. His son Miles was the last male of the family.

† Aynard de Clermont en Dauphiné married Jane de Maingret, heiress of Dampierre, about the middle of the 14th century. Probably their son was the lord de Dampierre here mentioned.

‡ Andrew lord de Rambures was governor of Gravelines. His son, David, is the person here mentioned. He was appointed grand master of the cross-bows, and fell at the battle of Agincourt, with three of his sons. Andrew II., his only surviving son, continued the line of Rambures.

loss. Confounded and dejected with their repulse and loss, they returned to Calais, where, some of those who had been at the affair of Mercq having died of the wounds they had received from the Genoese cross-bows, they wanted to put the Genoese prisoners to death, saying that their bolts and arrows had been poisoned.

The count de St. Pol, who had retreated to Therouenne, sent an especial summons throughout Picardy for another assembly of men at arms, in the hopes of retrieving his honour. The lord de Dampierre, sir John de Craon, lord de Dompinart*, sir Morlet de Querecqs, the lord de Fosseux, the lord de Chin, the lord de Houcourt, and many other nobles, came to him numerously attended. The count held many councils with them; and it was determined to march to the frontiers of the enemy's country, and to harass them by every possible means. As they were preparing to put their intentions into execution, the king of France sent orders to the count and the other nobles not to proceed further in this business, for that he had provided other commanders. In truth, he sent the marquis du Pont, son to the duke de Bar, the count de Dammartin†, and Harpedanne, a knight of high renown, with four hundred men at arms and five hundred others, to quarter themselves at Boulogne, and other places on the frontiers of the Boulonois. The count de St. Pol was not well pleased at this; but he was forced to suffer, whether willingly or not, the talk of the public, as there was no other remedy than to let the public talk on.

John duke of Burgundy was in his county of Flanders when he heard of the great defeat of the count de St. Pol before Mercq. He was much vexed thereat, and sent sir John de la Vallée, knight, in haste to Gravelines, and other places on that frontier, with men at arms and crossbows, to prevent the English from doing any injury to them. The guard of this country was also intrusted by the king of France to sir Lyonnet d'Arummes, who, night and day, most diligently attended to it.

King Henry of England, having learnt from his commander at Calais the brilliant success he had obtained over the French before Mercq, ordered an army of four or five thousand combatants to be instantly raised. He embarked this force on board the vessels prepared for it, and ordered them to cruise off Dunkirk and Neuport, and to disembark the army at Sluys. About three thousand were landed on the strand, and marched along it about the distance of a league to attack the castle of Sluys; but the garrison, in conjunction with the inhabitants of the country, who were greatly frightened, defended it very valiantly; and, what with cannons and other offensive weapons, repulsed their enemies, killing about sixty, among whom was the earl of Pembroke, one of their leaders‡. News was brought to the English that the duke of Burgundy was marching a great force against them; on which they returned to their ships, and then to England.

The duke of Burgundy, however, was not long before he ordered a number of men at arms to be collected under the command of the lord de Croy§, and other his captains, to defend his country against the invasions of the English. They assembled on the frontiers of Flanders to oppose the English, should they again return to his coasts. The duke also sent an embassy to the duke of Orleans and the great council at Paris, to demand men and money to enable him to lay siege to Calais, for he was very desirous of it; but he received a negative to the request made by his ambassadors. The duke of Burgundy, on receiving this answer, made preparations for waiting personally on the king at Paris, the better to expedite this business; and for this purpose he went to Arras, where he held many consultations with different great lords, his vassals and dependants.

* John de Craon, lord of Montbazon and Saint Maure, *grand echanson* of France, killed at Agincourt.

† Antoine de Vergy, count de Dammartin, mareschal of France in 1421.

‡ Hollingshed says, this expedition was commanded by king Henry's son, the lord Thomas of Lancaster, and the earl of Kent. He doubts the earl of Pembroke being slain, for he writes, "the person whom the Flemings called earl of Pembroke." He also differs, as to the return of the English, from Monstrelet, and describes a sea-fight with four Genoese carracks, when the victory was gained by the English, who afterwards sailed to the coast of France, and burnt thirty-six towns in Normandy, &c.

§ John lord of Croy, Renty, &c. counsellor and chamberlain to the two dukes of Burgundy, Philip and John, afterwards grand butler of France, killed at Agincourt.

CHAPTER XXV.—JOHN DUKE OF BURGUNDY GOES TO PARIS, AND CAUSES THE DAUPHIN AND QUEEN TO RETURN THITHER, WHOM THE DUKE OF ORLEANS WAS CARRYING OFF,—WITH OTHER MATTERS.

When the duke of Burgundy had concluded his business at Arras, he set out on the vigil of the Assumption of the Virgin towards Paris, accompanied by a body of men, to the amount of eight hundred combatants, secretly armed. He stopped some days at the town of Louvres, in the Isle of France, where letters were brought him, to say that the king had recovered his health from his late illness, and that the queen and the duke of Orleans were gone to Melun, and thence to Chartres, carrying with them the duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Vienne. Having considered the contents of these letters, he went to bed and slept, but ordered his trumpet to sound very early, and left the town with all his men, and hastened to Paris to prevent the dauphin from leaving it. On his arrival, he was told by the Parisians, that he was already departed after his mother, which was true; upon which the duke, without dismounting or making any delay, trotted through Paris with his troops as fast as he could in pursuit of the dauphin. He overtook him between Ville-Juive and Corbeil, where the queen and the duke of Orleans were waiting dinner for him. With the dauphin were his uncle by the mother's side, Louis of Bavaria, the marquis du Pont, son to the duke of Bar, the count Dammartin, Montagu, grand master of the king's household*, with many other lords to attend upon him. There was in the litter with him his sister de Priaux, wife to sir James de Bourbon.

When the duke of Burgundy approached the dauphin, he made him the most respectful obeisances, and supplicated him to return and live in Paris, where, he said, he would be better than in any other part of France; adding, that he was desirous of conversing with him on many points which touched him personally. After this conversation, Louis of Bavaria, seeing the dauphin was inclined to comply with the request of the duke, said, "My lord duke of Burgundy, suffer my nephew the dauphin to follow the queen his mother and the duke of Orleans, as he has had the consent of his father for so doing."

Notwithstanding this speech, and many others that were urged on the same subject, which for the sake of brevity I omit, the duke of Burgundy caused the litter of the dauphin to be turned about, and brought him and all his attendants back to Paris, excepting the marquis du Pont, the count Dammartin, and many more of the household of the duke of Orleans. These last galloped off toward Corbeil, where they related to the queen and the duke of Orleans how the duke of Burgundy had made the dauphin and his attendants return against their will to Paris. This intelligence alarmed and astonished them—for they knew not what the duke of Burgundy's intentions were—insomuch that the duke of Orleans left his dinner, which was quite ready, and went in haste to Melun, followed by the queen and their households. The duke of Burgundy, as I have said, conducted the dauphin to Paris; and the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, with many more great lords, and an immense crowd of the citizens of Paris, came out to meet him, and escorted him most honourably into the town. The duke of Burgundy, however, and his two brothers, as well as the lords above mentioned, kept very close all this time by the sides of the litter.

They rode on in this state at a foot's pace, until they came to the castle of the Louvre, when the dauphin was helped out of his litter by his uncle, Louis of Bavaria, and there lodged. All the lords then retired to their houses except the duke of Bungundy, who likewise lodged there. He shortly after sent many messengers to his different countries, to order men at arms instantly to attend him at Paris. The duke kept his state at the Louvre, in the apartments of St. Louis, and in those underneath, which formed part of them. The dauphin and his household were lodged in the chambers above them. On the morrow, the rector and the soundest† part of the university came to pay their respects to the duke of

* John de Montagu, vidame du Laonnois, lord of Montagu en Laye, counsellor and chamberlain of the king, and grand master of the household. He was the son of Gerard de Montagu, a bourgeois of Paris, secretary to king Charles V. Through his great interest at court, his two brothers were presented, one to the bishopric of Paris, the other to the archbishopric of Sens and office of chancellor.

† This term may excite a smile. Monstrelet was a stanch Burgundian.

Burgundy, and to thank him publicly, with all humility, for his great love and affection towards the king, his family, and the whole realm, of which they formed a part, being well assured of his good intentions, which were meant for its reformation and amendment, beseeching him to persevere in these his endeavours, notwithstanding any obstacles that he might meet with.

On the Sunday following, the duke and all his people removed from the Louvre; and he established himself at his hotel of Artois, and in the adjacent streets he had strong fortifications made of palisades and barriers, to prevent any annoyance from his adversaries. He also prevailed on the king and the great council, that the chains in the Louvre, which had formerly been taken away, should be restored, and affixed to the streets as they before had been. The duke of Burgundy gained much popularity with all the Parisians for having obtained this for them. The castle of the Louvre remained under the guard of sir Regnault d'Angiennes, to whom it had formerly been intrusted by the king. The bastile of St. Anthony was committed to the care of Montagu, grand master of the king's household, on his making oath that he would not suffer any man to enter it, but when the king's council was there assembled. The dauphin, by orders of the king and council was placed under the care of the duke of Berry.

The duke of Burgundy and his two brothers now presented a petition to the king and council, of which the contents were as follows:—"John duke of Burgundy, Anthony duke of Limbourg, and Philip count of Nevers, brothers, your very humble subjects, relations, and obedient servants, fully sensible, by reason and justice, that every knight of your realm is bound, after God, to love, serve and obey you,—we feel ourselves not only obliged to do you no harm, but held to notify to you personally whatever may be proposed against your honour or advantage. In like manner are bound all those your relations who hold great lordships under your favour. We are, as we shall make appear, very sensible of this obligation, for we are subjects of your realm, as well as cousins-german to your blood.

"And I John, by the grace of God and your favour, am duke of Burgundy, peer of the kingdom of France and dean of the peerage, count of Flanders and Artois;—and I Anthony, count of Rethel*,—and I Philip, count of Nevers and baron de Doussy,—and withal by the consent of you, our very redoubted lord, and with that of our much redoubted lady the queen, and of all the royal family, has the marriage been confirmed between the duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, your son, and the daughter of me, duke of Burgundy; and also that between the lady de Charolois, your daughter, and Philip, count de Charolois, my son. We have also been commanded by our late redoubted lord and father, at the time of his decease, who then made us promise that we would inviolably preserve our fidelity toward you and your kingdom, which we shall wish ever to do during our lives. In order therefore to prevent any of our actions from being suspected, which may bring down on us the divine indignation, it seems necessary that we declare what is frequently done contrary to your honour and advantage, and principally, according to our judgment, in four points.

"The first respects your person. Before you recovered from this last illness, by which you are not the only one who suffered, but all those who had a real affection for you, and whom you loved, suffered great affliction on your behalf, seeing matters were transacted in your council against your honour, though coloured over with a pretence of being advantageous. Many unreasonable requests were made, to which, though you had given a denial, some of the members of your council have taken on themselves to grant them, so that the requests, however unreasonable, have been complied with. You have, besides, neither robes, jewels, nor plate, becoming your royal state; and when any small quantity is bought for use, it is very shortly after pawned. Your servants have not audiences from you, nor have they any profit. They are afraid of mentioning to you such things as we now state, and which so much affect your honour, although very desirous of so doing.

"The second point regards the administration of justice throughout this realm, which was wont to excel all other kingdoms in the ministering strict justice, which is the foundation-stone of your government. In former times your officers of justice were chosen, after mature

* He styles himself count of Rethel, because, as duke of Limbourg, he was a member of the empire, and owed the king no homage.

deliberation, from among the wisest of your subjects, who defended your rights, and did equal justice to the lowest as well as to those of the highest rank; but now your rights are greatly infringed upon, and daily diminished, by which the people are very much oppressed.

"The third point respects your domains, which are exceedingly ill managed, insomuch that many houses, castles, and edifices, are falling to ruin. In like manner are your woods destroyed, your mills out of repair, your rivers and ponds robbed, and in general all the revenues of your domains are become, from their great diminution, of scarcely any value.

"The fourth point concerns churchmen, the nobility, and the people; and first, it is a well-known fact, that the clergy are grievously vexed, and suffer great losses, as well from the judges of the realm as from men at arms, and several other descriptions of persons, who take by force their provisions, ransack their houses, nay, make them ransom themselves from further injuries, by which means they have scarcely a sufficiency left to perform the divine service. The nobility are frequently summoned, under pretext of aiding you in your wars, and never receive one penny for their attendance or service; and to purchase armour, horses, and other necessaries for war, they are often forced to sell their properties. In respect to your people, it is very certain that they must speedily be ruined, from the vexations they suffer under your bailiffs, provosts, and especially from the farmers of your domains, and under your soldiers. These grievances have been so long winked at that it may be feared that the indignation of God will be roused against you, unless you shall provide remedies for them. It is notorious that your enemies, during the reigns of Philip and John, both kings of France, your noble predecessors, did infinite mischief to your realm; and that they long detained, against the will of king Richard, your ally and son-in-law, as well as against your own, his wife and your daughter. They drowned several nobles and others who had an affection for her, broke the truces, and have wasted and set fire to several places in your kingdom, in Picardy, Flanders, Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine, where they have done irreparable damages.

"We do not, noble sir, advise that you should neglect the war you have undertaken against your enemies,—for that would reflect disgrace on your honour and great council, and put an end to the dissensions that now remain among them, and the war they have on their hands against the Welsh and Scots. Should peace be made between them, greater evils might befal your kingdom than before. It seems to us, as a certain truth, that you will find it very difficult to raise the necessary supplies for this war from your domains, or other sources. Two heavy taxes have been lately imposed, under pretence of supporting the wars; notwithstanding which, not one penny of their receipt has been expended on them, which may cause many evils,—for there are great discontents among the clergy, the nobility, and the people; and should they rise together (which I hope will never happen), more real dangers may be the consequence than have ever yet befallen the realm. Every person in your kingdom who is loyally attached to you must feel much grief in seeing the money of your realm thus wasted.

"We have thought ourselves, noble lord, thus bounden by our obligations to you, to lay the complaints of the nation before you; and, that we may avoid incurring your royal indignation, or that of our lady the queen, or of the princes of the blood, or others of your faithful subjects, we do not wish to make personal charges, nor to seek for any part in your government, but most humbly supplicate you to apply a remedy to the vexations we have stated, and request that you call into your presence those who may assure you of the truths we have told you, that you may seek wholesome counsel, and briefly put an end to such peculations. To aid so good a work, we offer you our persons, our fortunes, and our friends; and as in truth we cannot patiently see or suffer such things to be done against your honour, and that of your royal majesty, it is our intention never to cease supplicating your majesty until some efficient steps be taken to remedy them."

Such was the petition of John duke of Burgundy and his brothers.

Another day, when the king was in a tolerably good state of health, the three beforementioned petitioners, accompanied by their uncle the duke of Berry, and many princes and knights of France, withmaster Regnault de Corbie, first president of the parliament, and a number of officers of state, went to the hotel de St. Pol, where they found the king, who

had quitted his apartment and was in the garden. After having reverently saluted him, the three brothers did their homages for the lordships they held under him, namely, duke John for his duchy of Burgundy, and his counties of Flanders and Artois,—Anthony duke of Limbourg, for his county of Rethel,—and Philip the younger, for his county of Nevers. There were also a very great number of noblemen, knights, and esquires, who did their homages to the king for the estates they held from him in different parts of the kingdom. When the three brothers had requested certificates from the king of the duties they had performed, they took leave of him and departed for their hotels.

These same days there arrived at Paris, and in the adjacent villages, full six thousand fighting men, in obedience to the summons of the duke of Burgundy and his brothers, under the command of Jean sans pitié *, bishop of Liege, and the count de Cleves. This force was collected to oppose the duke of Orleans, should he attempt any insult against them; for they were well informed of his not being well pleased that they had forced his nephew, the dauphin, to return to Paris, nor with the petition they had made to the king. What raised his indignation the more, and especially against the duke of Burgundy, was his knowledge that the charges in this petition attached more to him than to any other of the princes of the realm. The duke of Orleans, not knowing what turn these matters might take, nor what measures might be pursued against his person, ordered men at arms from all quarters to his assistance. In the number, sir John Harpedanne came with his men from the frontiers of the Boulonois. From other parts came the duke of Lorrain and the count d'Alençon † with a large body of men, who were quartered at Melun, and in that neighbourhood, to the amount of fourteen hundred armed with helmets, besides a great multitude of other sorts.

The whole country round Paris, the Isle of France, and Brie, were sorely oppressed by the men at arms of both parties. The partisans of the duke of Orleans bore on their pennons the motto, "Je l'envie;" and the duke sent messengers to the queen and to king Louis ‡, who was preparing to set out for his kingdom of Naples with a powerful body of men at arms, to come to him at Melun. The king, leaving his own business, went thither, and had a conference with the queen and the duke, after which he returned to Paris, with the intention of negotiating between the two parties.

He held many consultations with the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, and the king's council, to attempt a reconciliation between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. Whilst this was passing, the duke of Orleans wrote letters to many of the principal towns in the kingdom, complaining that many defamatory and injurious reports against his person and honour had been very industriously spread through Paris, which ought not to obtain any credit until he should make answer to them. In like manner, he wrote to the university of Paris, sending ambassadors to require that the matters in dispute between him and the duke of Burgundy should be argued before them, and that they should decide which of the two was to blame. The university, on the receipt of this letter, sent some of their principal members as ambassadors to the duke at Melun, who stated three points which they were ordered to lay before him. In the first place, they thanked him for the honour he had done them by sending them his ambassadors: secondly, they declared that they should be very happy to witness the commencement of a reformation in the kingdom; and thirdly, that they should greatly rejoice to see him and the duke of Burgundy reconciled.

The duke of Orleans, having listened to them, instantly made answer, that they had not acted wisely in supporting and advising the duke of Burgundy in his measures, which had been principally directed against himself, as they could not have been ignorant that he was son and brother to a king; that the regency of the kingdom had been given to him as the most proper person, and was in fact his right, considering the state of the king's health, and the youth of his nephew the duke of Aquitaine. He added, secondly, that those members of the university who were strangers, and from different countries, ought not to interfere in

* Brother of William count of Hainault.

† Philip the Bold, king of France, gave the county of Alençon to his son Charles count of Valois, father of Philip VI. and of Charles II. count of Alençon, who was succeeded by his son Peter, the third count, who, dying in 1404, left it to his son, John, last count and first duke of Alençon, here mentioned. Alençon reverted to the crown on the death of Charles III. the last duke, in 1525.

‡ Louis II. son of Louis duke of Anjou and king of Naples, brother to king Charles V. whose expedition is recorded by Froissart.

the government or reformation of the kingdom, but should leave it to him and those of the blood royal, and the king's ministers. In reply to their third point, he said, that there was no need of pacification between him and the duke of Burgundy, because there was not any warfare, nor had any challenges passed between them.

When the ambassadors had heard these answers they withdrew, very much confused, and returned to Paris. On the ensuing Saturday, while the duke of Burgundy was in his hotel d'Artois, he was informed, and it was a fact, that the queen and the duke of Orleans, with all their force, had marched from Melun, and were on their road to Paris. The duke, on hearing this, mounted his horse, and rode to the hotel d'Angiers, where he found the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, with other lords of the king's council, who, when they knew of the arrival of the said duke of Orleans, were all greatly astonished; for this was in direct contradiction to their intent, and to the treaty which they were meditating between the parties.

The duke of Burgundy had a great number of men at arms, as well within Paris as without, who bore for motto on the pennons of their lances, in Flemish, *Hie Houd!* that is to say, "I have possession!" in opposition to the device of the Orleans party, *Je l'envie*!* The greater part of the duke of Burgundy's forces drew up in battle array on the summit of Montfaucon, to wait the arrival of their adversaries. In the mean while the populace of Paris rose; and multitudes armed themselves to oppose the entrance of the duke of Orleans, suspecting his intentions were to give the town up to pillage and murder. They pulled down many sheds, that no obstructions might be found in the streets to the full use of the lance, and that shelter might not be afforded against the stones thrown down from the roofs of the houses. Many scholars armed themselves for the defence of the bridges; and true it was that the Parisians were far more favourable to the party of Burgundy than to that of Orleans, and were willing, should there be occasion, to assist that party to the utmost of their power.

The duke of Burgundy was fully prepared to resist and combat the duke of Orleans had he advanced as far as Paris. But the chancellor and presidents of the parliament, with other prudent men, observing the great ferment in Paris, made many visits to the hotel d'Angiers, with a view to reconcile these princes, and avert the great mischiefs that might otherwise ensue. They likewise sent messengers to the duke of Orleans, to inform him of the state of Paris, and how very unpopular he was there. The duke and the queen, on hearing this intelligence, after a short consultation with their most confidential advisers, separated: the queen went to the Bois de Vincennes, and the duke returned with his army to Corbeil. On the morrow he came to Beauté; and his army was quartered near the bridge of Charenton, and in the adjacent country. During this time, the before-named princes with many great lords and members of the council assembled, and met for several days, to consider of a reconciliation between the two parties. After some time they at length made known to each other their determination; which was, that within two days the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy should submit the whole of their disputes to the decision of the kings of Sicily and Navarre, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon; and for the accomplishment of the decision, they were each to bind themselves by their corporal oath, and afterward to dismiss their forces. The duke of Orleans came to lodge at his hotel at St. Anthony, near the Bastile.

A few days afterward, the prince before-named managed the affair so well that the two dukes made up their quarrel, and apparently showed in public that they were good friends; but He who knows the inward secrets of the heart saw what little dependence was to be placed on such outward appearances. The duke of Lorrain and the count d'Alençon, after this, returned home with their men, without entering Paris; and not long afterward, the duke of Burgundy departed, with his brothers and men at arms, for Artois, and thence to his county of Flanders, where he had a conference with his brother-in-law duke William, the bishop of Liege, the count Waleran de St. Pol, the count de Namur†, and several others. When this was ended, he returned to his town of Arras.

* The devices of the two parties are different in Pontus Heuterus. (Rerum Burgundicarum, l. 3.) According to him, the Orleans-men bore on their lances, a white pennon, with the inscription *Jacio Aleam;* and the Burgundians set up in opposition, pennons of purple, inscribed *Accipio conditionem.*

† William II. count of Namur.

CHAPTER XXVI.—DUKE JOHN OF BURGUNDY OBTAINS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE THE GOVERNMENT OF PICARDY.—AN EMBASSY FROM ENGLAND TO FRANCE.—AN ACCOUNT OF CLUGNET DE BRABANT, KNIGHT.

[A. D. 1406.]

At the commencement of this year, the duke of Burgundy, by a grant from the king, the dukes of Orleans and Berry, and the whole council, obtained the government of Picardy. In consequence, sir William de Vienne, lord of St. George, was ordered by him to the frontiers of the Boulonois, with six hundred men armed with helmets, and a large body of Genoese cross-bows. They were encamped on these frontiers, whence they made a sharp war against the English: nevertheless, the country was not so well guarded against the inroads of the latter, but that it was in several parts laid waste by them. About this period, the ambassadors returned from England to the king and his council at Paris, namely, the earl of Pembroke and the bishop of St. David's, with some others *, who came to request that a truce might be established between the two crowns, so that commerce might have a free course in both countries. They also demanded, that the king of France should grant his eldest daughter, Isabella, formerly married to king Richard, in marriage to the eldest son of the king of England, who, in consideration of this match, would, instantly after its consummation, lay down his crown, and invest his son with the government of the kingdom.

Embassy from the King of England to ask in Marriage the Lady Isabella of France.—From a MS. of the Fifteenth Century.

These requests, having been made to the royal council, were referred a few days for consideration; but at length, they having been fully discussed, and the frauds of the English duly considered, not one of them was granted. The duke of Orleans contended, that this eldest princess of France should be given in marriage to his eldest son Charles, which afterward took place. The English ambassadors returned home, much dissatisfied at their ill

* Monstrelet is mistaken as to the names of the English ambassadors. The first embassy took place the 22d March, 1406, and the ambassadors were, the bishop of Winchester, Thomas lord de Camoys, John Norbury, esquire, and master John Cateryk, treasurer of the cathedral of Lincoln. A second credential letter is given to the bishop of Winchester *alone*, of the same date. Another credential is given to the same prelate, bearing similar date, to contract a marriage with the eldest or any other daughter of the king of France, and Henry prince of Wales.—See the Fœdera, anno 1406.

success, and the war was shortly after carried on with greater bitterness between the two nations.

Even sir Clugnet de Brabant*, knight of the household to the duke of Orleans, went to Harfleur with six hundred men at arms at the king's expense. He had lately obtained the office of great admiral of France, with the approbation of sir Regnault de Trie, who had resigned it, in consideration of a very large sum of money which he had received, through the intrigues of the duke of Orleans. But as he was on the point of entering Harfleur, where there were twelve galleys ready for sea, on board of which he meant to embark to make war on the English, and take possession of his new office, he was ordered, in the king's name, not to proceed further, but to return to Paris. Shortly after, by means of the duke of Orleans, he married the dowager countess of Blois†, widow of count Guy de Blois, sister to the count de Namur, who was much irritated thereat; and because an illegitimate brother of his had consented to the conclusion of this marriage, he had him seized by his men, on the first favourable opportunity, and beheaded, thus making his blood pay for the acts of his will.

The duke of Berry was at this time governor of Paris, and prevailed on the king and council to permit the Parisians to wear arms, to defend themselves, should there be occasion; and the greater part of the armour that had been kept at the palace and Louvre, since the time of the Mallet insurrection‡, were given back to them.

CHAPTER XXVII.—THE WAR IS RENEWED BETWEEN THE DUKES OF BAR AND LORRAIN.—MARRIAGES CONCLUDED AT COMPIEGNE.—AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE DUKES OF ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY.

This year, the quarrels were renewed between the dukes of Bar and Lorrain, because the duke of Lorrain had straitly besieged, with a considerable force, a castle belonging to the duke of Bar, which was partly in France, and had on this account been surrendered by the marquis du Pont, son to the duke of Bar, to the king of France. However, in spite of this, the duke of Lorrain took it; and as this conduct was highly displeasing to the king, a large army was assembled in that part of France. Sir Clugnet de Brabant, admiral of France, was ordered to march this army into Lorrain against the duke; but negotiations were entered into, so that the army was dismissed, and all those preparations ended in nothing.

About this time, the queen of France came to the town of Compiègne, accompanied by some of her children, namely, John duke of Touraine, and Isabella, who had been queen of England. The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy came thither also, as did the duchess of Holland, wife to duke William count of Hainault, with her daughter Jacqueline de Baviere, count Charles d'Angoulême, eldest son to the duke of Orleans, and many other great lords, by whom the above were attended in great state. The legate of the holy see at Rome, with many bishops, doctors and churchmen, were likewise there,—when marriages were concluded between the duke of Touraine, second son to the king of France, and Jacqueline de Baviere, and between Charles d'Orleans and Isabella, late queen of England. Isabella was cousin-german to Charles, who had been her godfather§ at her baptism; but notwithstanding this difficulty, the marriage was accomplished by means of an apostolical dispensation; and very great feasts took place at Compiègne in consequence, consisting of dinners, dancings, justs and other jollities.

A few days after, when everything had been concluded, the duchess of Holland and her brother-in-law John of Bavaria, with the consent of the queen, the dukes before named, and

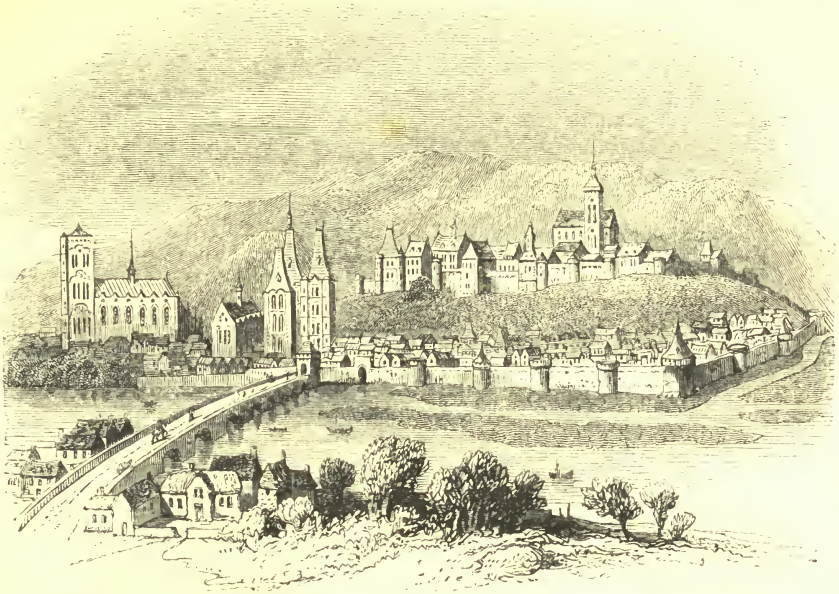
* This is a mistake. His true name was Peter de Breban, surnamed le Clugnet, lord of Landreville.

† Mary, daughter of William I., count of Namur, married first to Guy de Chatillon, count of Blois, and secondly to this admiral de Breban. On the deaths of both her brothers (William II. in 1418, and John III. in 1428) she became countess of Namur in her own right; and after her it came to Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, as a reversion to the earldom of Flanders.

‡ See Froissart, vol. i. p. 697, Smith's ed. 1839.

§ The relation between godfather and godchild is considered in the Roman catholic church as a complete bar to matrimony, and this is a very singular instance in which even a Pope has ventured to license a marriage under such circumstances.—Ed.

the royal council, took with them the new-married couple, John de Touraine and his bride, to Quesnoy-le-Conte in Hainault, where duke William then resided, who received them most kindly, and entertained them magnificently. When these matters had been finished, and the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy had mutually promised love and friendship during their lives, the duke of Orleans departed, and carried his daughter-in-law, Isabella, with his son to Château-Thierry, which the king, at the solicitation of the duke, had given him.



Chateau-Thierry, the Residence of the Duke of Orleans.—From a view in Chastillon's Topographie Françoise.

The queen and council returned to Paris to the king, who had lately recovered from his illness; and the duke of Burgundy, with his attendants, went to Artois and Flanders. He ordered about six hundred combatants from Burgundy to guard the frontiers of the Boulonois, and make war on the English. They greatly destroyed the country round Bethune, because the count of Namur would not suffer his subjects to pay the duke of Burgundy a tax which the king had lately allowed him to raise on the whole of Artois, for the payment of these soldiers who were to guard the frontiers. The vassals of the count de Namur, however, seeing that their refusal of payment was attended with greater loss, consented to pay the whole without delay,—and then the men at arms quitted their country.

About this time, the earl of Northumberland and lord Percy came to Paris, and waited on the king, the princes of the blood, and the lords of the council, stating their melancholy situation, and entreating to have assistance and men at arms to make war on Henry king of England. In making this request, they engaged to give up some of their friends as hostages, that they would serve him loyally and faithfully against the king of England; but in a short time they received a negative to their demand, and returned home without any aid from the king of France.

Another war broke out between the dukes of Bar and Lorrain; and sir Clugnet de Brabant, admiral of France, was sent thither with a large army. He marched it through Champagne to Lorrain, and besieged Neuf-Chastel, belonging to the duke, which instantly surrendered to the king, by the advice of Ferry de Lorrain*, count de Vaudemont, brother to the duke. The duke of Lorrain immediately sent ambassadors to Paris to make excuses

* Frederick, second son of John duke of Lorrain, and brother of Charles the Bold, obtained the county of Vaudemont (originally a branch of Lorrain) by marriage with Margaret daughter and heir of Henry V. count of Vaudemont and Joinville.

for what had passed, who negotiated so successfully that the king was satisfied, and remanded his army, which, in going and coming back, committed great waste in all the countries through which they passed.

The duke of Burgundy, accompanied by his two brothers and many great lords, went to the town of Arras, where his duchess and his daughters were waiting for him. Shortly after, the count de Cleves came thither, and was married to Marie, daughter to the duke; and, on the morrow, the count de Penthievre* espoused another, called Isabella. The town of Arras was very gay with the numerous feasts caused by these weddings. Some days after, the duke of Limbourg and the two new-married couples, having enjoyed much festivity, took their leaves of the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and returned to their own homes.

At this period, the duke William, count of Hainault, nobly accompanied by his Hainaulters, went to Paris, where he was most handsomely received by the king, queen, and all the princes then there. During his stay at Paris, it was declared in the parliament, and proclaimed throughout the town, that no one, whether ecclesiastic or layman, should in future pay any tax or subsidy to pope Benedict, nor to such as favoured his pretensions. This was likewise forbidden through the kingdom of France, which caused much perplexity to many well-meaning persons in that realm from this schism in the church.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, BY THE KING'S ORDERS, MARCHES A POWERFUL ARMY TO AQUITAINE, AND BESIEGES BLAYE AND LE BOURG.

This year, the duke of Orleans, by orders from the king, quitted Paris to march a large army of men at arms and archers, amounting to six thousand combatants, into Aquitaine, to wage war against the English. He took with him the lord Charles d'Albret, constable of France, the marquis du Pont, son to the duke of Bar, the count de Clermont†, Montagu, great master of the household, with many other noble lords, who marched in a body to lay siege to Blaye, which they sorely oppressed with their engines. In a short time, the town began to negotiate, and offered to surrender to the duke, in case the town of Le Bourg, to which he intended to lay siege, should set them the example. They also promised to deliver provision to the duke's army, during the siege of Le Bourg, at a reasonable price. The duke accepted of these terms, and besieged Le Bourg, which was strongly garrisoned by a numerous body of English and Gascon men at arms. Many engines were pointed against the walls and gates by the French, which did them considerable damage; but, notwithstanding, the besieged defended themselves vigorously.

While this siege was going forward, sir Clugnet de Brabant, admiral of France, put to sea with twenty-two ships full of men at arms, to oppose the English fleet, which was also at sea in great force. The two fleets met, and had a sharp skirmish, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides; but nothing more was done, and they separated. The French, however, lost one of their ships, in which were Lionnet de Braquemont, Agieux de St. Martin, and several more, attached to the duke of Orleans, who were carried by the English to Bordeaux. The other Frenchmen, namely, sir Clugnet de Brabant, sir William de Villanes, governor of la Rochelle, sir Charles de Savoisy, and the rest, returned to Le Bourg, and related to the duke what had passed at sea.

The duke of Orleans, having remained in vain about three months at this siege, considered the strength of the place and the great mortality in his army, and held a council with his officers, when it was resolved that he should march his men at arms back to Paris. The people of France, and some of the nobility, murmured much against him for this retreat, because there had been a very heavy tax levied for the support of this army.

* Olivier de Blois, count of Penthievre and viscount of Limoges, grandson of Charles de Blois, the unfortunate competitor with John de Montfort, for the duchy of Bretagne.

† Son to the duke of Bourbon.

CHAPTER XXIX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY PREVAILS ON THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS COUNCIL, THAT HE MAY HAVE PERMISSION TO ASSEMBLE MEN AT ARMS TO BESIEGE CALAIS.

During the absence of the duke of Orleans in Aquitaine, the duke of Burgundy obtained liberty from the king of France and his council to raise a sufficient force in his own countries to lay siege to Calais. The king also promised that he should be assisted with men at arms, and as much money as could be raised in the realm. On this being concluded, he returned to his county of Flanders, and issued his summons for all men at arms to meet him at St. Omer: at the same time, he prepared many engines of war,—and particularly, he caused to be constructed in the forest of Beaulot two large bastilles, ready to be conveyed to Calais. He likewise caused many engines to be made for casting stones at different places. On the other hand, the king had assembled a numerous body of combatants, who, like the others, traversed Picardy in their road to Saint Omer, doing much mischief to the country. Among the number were from four to five hundred Genoese, the greater part of whom were cross-bows on foot.

Walls and Gates on the French Side of St. Omer.—From an original sketch.

When all were arrived at St. Omer, they were found to amount to six thousand armed with helmets, three thousand archers, and fifteen hundred cross-bows, all picked men, without including those on foot from the countries of Flanders, Cassel, and other parts, who were very numerous. There were very many carts to convey bombards, cannons, artillery, provisions, and other necessaries for the war. But notwithstanding all these preparations had been made through the application of the duke of Burgundy, and with the full approbation of the king and his council, as has been said, and that the musters were about to be made for their immediate departure, certain messengers came to the duke of Burgundy and his captains, with letters from the noble king of France, to forbid them to proceed further with this army. The duke, on reading these orders, assembled a council of war, and remonstrated with them on the commands he had received from the king, saying it was shameful and disgraceful thus to disarm so noble an army as he had assembled. The lords, however, considering that the king's orders must be obeyed, concluded to break up the army, and to return every man to his own country; for the king had also written to the

count de St. Pol, to the master of the cross-bows*, and to other great lords, to forbid them, on any pretence, to proceed further in this expedition, under pain of incurring his indignation. Thus was this armament broken up on the night of Martinmas-day.

The duke of Burgundy, however, swore by a great oath, in the presence of many of his people, that within the month of March ensuing, he would return to St. Omer with a powerful army, and thence march to make war against the English in the Boulonois, and subject them to his obedience, or die in the attempt. The duke and his vassals left St. Omer, and returned to their homes. This retreat caused great discontent thoughout Picardy, and the frontiers of the Boulonois, against the king and his council, as well as against those who had raised this army, and not without cause, for the multitudes that had been collected had done infinite mischief to the country.

Sir William de Vienne, lord of St. George, and lieutenant-governor of Picardy, resigned this office to the duke of Burgundy, who nominated in his place the lord de Croy. The greater part of the king's artillery was deposited in the castle of St. Remy, in the expectation that they would be wanted in the ensuing season.

The duke of Burgundy, having left St. Omer, passed through Hesdin, where the duchess was, to Douay, where he received the intelligence that the duchess of Brabant had been dead some little time. He was very indignant at having been forced to disband the forces he intended to march to Calais, and for that cause conceived a deep hatred against many of the king of France's ministers,—more particularly against the duke of Orleans, for he had been told that the expedition had been countermanded by his interference. He held a numerous council at Douay on this subject, with many of the nobles of his countries, when it was unanimously resolved, that he should personally wait on the king, to entreat that the expedition against Calais should be renewed the ensuing spring. He went, in consequence, to Paris, nobly attended. He made strong remonstrances to the king, the duke of Berry, his uncle, and others of the king's council, and heavy complaints for their having allowed him to raise so large an army, at such a great expense, and then having disgraced and dishonoured him, by ordering him to disband it, when on the point of marching to Calais. The king, however, and his ministers, gently appeased his wrath, by informing him of many particulars which had made it proper that such measures as he complained of should have been taken, both from necessity and convenience. He was apparently satisfied with their reasons; and he was given to understand, that within a short time the king would permit him to accomplish his object of besieging Calais.

CHAPTER XXX.—THE PRELATES AND CLERGY OF FRANCE ARE SUMMONED TO ATTEND THE KING AT PARIS, ON THE SUBJECT OF A UNION OF THE CHURCH.

At this period, all the archbishops, bishops, and the principal clergy of France and Dauphiny, were summoned to Paris by order of the king, to confer with his great council on the means of establishing a universal union of the church. When all, or the greater part, were arrived, as the health of the king was very indifferent, a grand procession was made, and a solemn mass to the Holy Ghost was celebrated in the royal chapel of the palace, by the archbishop of Rheims. On the morrow, the conference was held at the palace, when the duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, represented the king. He was attended by the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and many of the nobles. A learned cordelier, doctor in theology in the university of Paris, opened the business, and explained the reasons of this assembly. He eloquently stated from facts the sufferings of the church, from the great perversity and discord of two popes contending for the papacy, and that it was absolutely necessary to provide a speedy remedy, otherwise the church would be ruined.

On the day after the feast of St. Eloy, the king, having recovered his health, attended this conference, accompanied by the noble persons before mentioned, and was seated on his royal throne. He promised to execute whatever this assembly and the court of parliament should resolve on; and shortly afterward, a proclamation was made throughout the realm, that neither of the contending popes should dispose of any benefices or dignities in the church

* John de Hangest, lord of Huqueville.

which might become vacant; and likewise that the sums of money usually paid into the apostolical chamber should be discontinued to both the rival popes. It was also proclaimed, that all benefices should in future be given by the sovereign, or legal patrons, as had been formerly done, before the reservations and constitutions made by pope Clement VI. of the name.

CHAPTER XXXI.—THE LIEGEOIS EJECT THEIR BISHOP, JOHN OF BAVARIA, FOR REFUSING TO BE CONSECRATED AS A CHURCHMAN, ACCORDING TO HIS PROMISE.

This same year, John of Bavaria, surnamed "sans pitié," bishop of Liege, and brother-german to duke William, count of Hainault, was ejected by the Liegeois from his bishopric, for refusing to take sacred orders, according to what he had promised and sworn to them. They elected another lord and bishop in his room, a young man of eighteen years old, or thereabout, and canon of the church of Saint Lambert of Liege. They also made the lord de Pieruels*, father to the new bishop, their principal maimbourg, and governor of the whole territory of Liege. John of Bavaria had, some time before, promised to resign the bishopric to the son of Pieruels, as was known to Anthony duke of Brabant, Waleran count de St. Pol, and several other respectable persons, which promise he now refused to keep. At the instigation, therefore, of the lord de Pieruels, the Liegeois had rebelled against John of Bavaria†, and chosen a new lord. Their late bishop was much angered at their conduct, and had his town of Bouillon, and other castles, well stored with every sort of warlike provision, that he might thence carry on a war against the country of Liege. He then went to his brother duke William, in Hainault, to obtain his assistance and men at arms. In the mean time, the Liegeois assembled in great force, and marched to the town of Bouillon, which, with the castle, they took by storm, and put to death all they found therein.

John of Bavaria shortly after entered the country of Liege, near to Thuin, with four hundred combatants, and burnt many towns and houses, carrying away a very great booty to Hainault. The Liegeois soon after entered Hainault with a considerable army, where they destroyed the tower of Morialines, and burnt the town. They thence marched to Brabançon, and other places belonging to such knights and esquires as had invaded their country, which they plundered, and in many places burnt, wasting the country with fire and sword. The Hainaulters assembled to repulse them; but the enemy were in such superior numbers that they returned back, without effecting anything worth relating. War now raged between them, and each fortified their towns as strongly as they could.

The Liegeois sent ambassadors to the pope, to lay before him the conduct of John of Bavaria, and his refusal to take orders according to his promise, requesting that he might be ejected by the apostolical authority, and that the son of the lord de Pieruels, whom they had elected, might be admitted in his room. The pope could not accede to their request, because he had been faithfully informed that the Liegeois, after mature deliberation, had fixed on a day for John of Bavaria to take orders, and that this day was not as yet passed. The ambassadors, therefore, returned to Liege, without having done anything. Those who had sent them were very indignant at pope Gregory for not complying with their demands, and resolved to send another embassy to his rival pope Benedict. This pope received them most graciously, granted all their demands, and gave them his bulls for the confirmation of them. They returned home greatly rejoiced at the successful issue of their negotiation.

* Called in the Catalogue of the Bishops of Liege, by Joannes Placentius, Henry lord of Parewis. The name of his son, the elected bishop, was Theodoric de Parewis. Pontus Heuterus says, they were descended from the ancient dukes of Brabant.

† He narrowly escaped being massacred, with all his household, at St. Tron, by a body of the rabble, who burst into the monastery with that intent. His own personal courage alone saved him in that extremity.

CHAPTER XXXII.—ANTHONY DUKE OF LIMBOURG TAKES POSSESSION OF THAT DUCHY, AND AFTERWARD OF THE TOWN OF MAESTRICHT, TO THE GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE LIEGEOIS.

ANTHONY duke of Limbourg, brother to John duke of Burgundy, after the death of the duchess of Brabant, succeeded to that duchy, and its dependencies. All the Brabanters, clergy and nobles, did him homage, promising him obedience as their lawful lord, except the town of Maestricht. When he had taken possession of this duchy, he surrendered, with the consent of the duke of Burgundy, the county of Rethel to his younger brother, Philip count de Nevers, thus accomplishing the last orders of his father and mother. As the town of Maestricht was divided between the governments of Brabant and Liege, one half belonging to each, the inhabitants said they were bound only to do homage to one of them, and to him who first had possession; and that, having formerly given their oaths to John of Bavaria, they refused to pay homage to the duke of Brabant.

The duke was ill pleased with their refusal, and resolved, with the advice of his council, to constrain them to it by force. He sought for men-at-arms everywhere; and there came to him his brother, the count de Nevers, the counts de St. Pol and de Namur, the lords de St. George and de Croy, on the part of the duke of Burgundy,—with several others in considerable number, sent to him by the king of France and the duke of Berry. When his forces were all assembled from different countries, he quitted Brabant, attended by his nobles, and a large train of waggons carrying the implements of war, taking the direct road to the town of Maestricht. But on passing through, or near the territories of Liege, he found they had collected a large army, which much impeded him in his march by breaking down the bridges, and destroying the roads, in retaliation for the affection the duke of Brabant had shown to John of Bavaria their adversary.

The Liegeois had assembled in the town of Maestricht full twenty thousand armed men, with the new bishop at their head, being desirous that he should be received by the duke as their legal bishop and lord. This great assembly, however, separated without effusion of blood: for the duke of Brabant had entered into secret negotiations with the townsmen, who consented to receive him as their lord, and to swear to him faith and loyalty. When this was done, the duke returned and disbanded his forces. The Liegeois, on hearing of it, instantly required those of Maestricht, that since they had sworn obedience to the duke of Brabant, they would do the same to their new bishop, who was their true lord. This demand was refused; and they sent for answer, that having done homage to John of Bavaria, and acknowledged him for their lord, they would not take another oath. The Liegeois were very indignant at this answer, as were the governor of the town and bishop, and made preparations to wage war against them, and besiege their town, as shall hereafter be more fully described.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—AMBASSADORS FROM POPE GREGORY ARRIVE AT PARIS, WITH BULLS FROM THE POPE TO THE KING AND UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

AMBASSADORS arrived at Paris bringing bulls from pope Gregory * to the king and the university, expressing that the pope was very ready and willing to make any concessions the king and university should think expedient for the union of the church, provided his rival Benedict would agree to similar terms. The ambassadors and their bulls were received with much joy,—and the contents of the latter were as follows:

"Gregory, a bishop, and servant to the servants of God, sends health and his apostolical benediction to his children of the university. We are the more prepared to write to you, my beloved children, because of the sorrowful concern which you have manifested on account of the schism in the church, which, through the mercy of the all-powerful God, has much

* Angelus Corrarius, a noble Venetian, elected at Rome after the death of Innocent VII. He assumed the name of Gregory XII.

affected you. Innocent VII. our immediate predecessor, of enviable remembrance to this age, was taken from us on a Saturday, the 6th of November. Our venerable brethren the cardinals of the holy Roman church, of whom I was one, being, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, summoned to a conclave, to elect a Roman pontiff,—after many things had been discussed, all eyes were directed to me, a cardinal priest of the title of St. Mark; and with unanimous consent, they elected me bishop of Rome, which honour we greatly feared, from a sense of weakness: however, we trusted in Him who does marvellous works, that he would enable us to bear this burden,—and we trusted not in ourself, but in the virtue of God, by whom we were convinced the thing had been done. This pastoral office has not fallen to us for our profit, but for the glory of God and the public benefit,—to both of which we turn our thoughts and courage, in order that this poisonous schism, in which the Christian people have been so long bewildered, may be destroyed. If, as we hope, so great a grace may be shown to us to bring this about, we trust it may be shortly accomplished.

"In order, therefore, to obviate, as much as in us lies, all obstruction on our part to the much-desired union of the church, we offer to resign our claim to the papacy, provided our adversary, or his successor, whoever he be, shall engage solemnly to make a similar renunciation; that is to say, that he renounce, fully and clearly, all claim to the papacy, and that all those whom he may have created cardinals do unite with those of our college, so that a canonical election of a Roman pontiff may ensue. We offer, beside, any other reasonable concessions, so that this schism may be put an end to; and that what we say may be depended on, we have sworn and promised the above at the time of our election to the popedom, in conjunction with our venerable brethren the cardinals of the same church.

"In case that either of us be re-chosen pope, we have engaged instantly to send properly instructed commissioners to Constance, who shall both privately and publicly labour to bring about this desired union of the church. Do you, therefore, my beloved children, have the goodness to exert all your strength to aid us in the accomplishment of this business, that the church may not longer labour under this disorder; and let affection aid solicitude.—Given at St. Peter's, at Rome, the 11th day of December, in the year 1406."

When the ambassadors had fully remonstrated on the matter of their coming, and made the same offers contained in the bull of the renunciation of the popedom by Gregory, and had been well entertained at Paris, having received promises of messengers being sent to pope Benedict, they returned to their lord and master.

About the ensuing Candlemas, the king of France and the university of Paris, in consequence of the deliberations of the prelates, clergy and council, sent certain ambassadors to pope Benedict,—namely, the patriarch of Alexandria, who was then at Paris, the bishops of Cambray and Beauvais, the abbots of St. Denis and of Mont St. Michel, the lord de Courrouille, master John Toussaint, secretary to the king, and other doctors of the university, with many very respectable persons. They took the road to Marseilles, where Benedict, and some of the cardinals of his party, then resided. These ambassadors were charged to remonstrate with him, in an amicable manner, on the offer which his rival had made to renounce the papacy, in order to effectuate a union of the church. In case he should not be willing to make a similar offer, they were to intimate to him, that if he refused, the whole realm of France and Dauphiny, in conjunction with many other countries of Christendom, would withdraw themselves from him, and no longer obey his bulls or apostolical mandates. In like manner would they act toward his adversary, were he to refuse compliance with the offers made by his ambassadors to the king of France and the university of Paris.

The ambassadors were graciously received by pope Benedict, on their arrival at Marseilles; but when they opened the matter of their embassy, and explained the subject at length, the pope replied in person, that in a short time they should have his answer,—and in the mean while, he was not forgetful that they had threatened to withdraw themselves from his obedience. To provide a remedy against the effects of this menace, and that no cardinal might publish a constitution against such as might withdraw themselves from his obedience, or even that of his successors, he sent an envoy to the king and the university of Paris, to their great astonishment.

The pope having given an answer to the ambassadors from France, very different indeed from what they expected, they set out on their return to Paris much displeased with him. On their arrival, they related all that had passed. The patriarch, however, had remained at Marseilles, with the hope of inclining pope Benedict to a union of the church.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS RECEIVES THE DUCHY OF AQUITAINE, AS A PRESENT, FROM THE KING OF FRANCE.—A TRUCE CONCLUDED BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

[A. D. 1407.]

At the beginning of this year, the duke of Orleans, by means which he had long practised, prevailed on his brother, the king of France, to give him the duchy of Aquitaine, which he had long been wishing for. Truces were at this time concluded between the kings of France and England, for one year only, and were proclaimed at the accustomed places.

Proclamation of a Peace.—From a MS. illumination of the Fifteenth Century.

The Flemings were much rejoiced thereat, for they thought that their commerce would now be more securely carried on. Ambassadors from England arrived at Paris from king Henry, the principal of whom was sir Thomas Erpingham, having with him an archdeacon, and several noblemen. He was presented to the king by Tassin de Servillers, and required in marriage one of the princesses, a nun at Poissy, for the prince of Wales, eldest son to king Henry. But as they demanded too great concessions with the princess, they returned without success. The lord de Hangest, whom the king had lately for his merit made master of the cross-bows, escorted them as far as Boulogne-sur-mer*.

* See the Fœdera. The ambassadors were, sir Thomas Erpingham, John Catcryk, clerk, and Hugh Mortimer, treasurer to the prince of Wales.

Other credentials are given in December of this year, wherein the bishop of Durham is added to the above ambassadors.

CHAPTER XXXV.—THE PRINCE OF WALES *, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS TWO UNCLES, MARCHES A CONSIDERABLE FORCE TO WAGE WAR AGAINST THE SCOTS.

The prince of Wales, son to king Henry, assembled, about the feast of All-Saints, one thousand men at arms and six thousand archers, to make an incursion into Scotland. His uncles, the dukes of York and Somerset, and the lords Mortimer, Rôs, Cornwall, and many other nobles attended him. Their object was to retaliate on the Scots, who had lately broken the truce, and done much mischief with fire and sword in the duchy of Lancaster. They entered Scotland, and committed great carnage wherever they passed; for the Scots were quite unprepared to receive them, nor had they any intelligence of their coming until they were in the midst of their country.

When news of this invasion was brought to the king of Scotland, he was at his town of St. Jangon †, in the centre of his realm. He assembled in haste his nobles, and as large a force as could be collected on so short notice, which he sent under the command of the earls of Douglas and Buchan, with his constable, to meet the English and combat them, should they think it advisable. When they were within six leagues of the enemy, they were informed, that the English were far superior in numbers, and they adopted other measures. They sent ambassadors to the prince of Wales to treat of peace, and they managed so well that the truce was renewed for one year. The prince of Wales, having done great mischief to Scotland, returned to England; and the Scots disbanded their army.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, ONLY BROTHER TO CHARLES VI. THE WELL-BELOVED, KING OF FRANCE, IS INHUMANLY ASSASSINATED IN THE TOWN OF PARIS.

This year there happened the most melancholy event in the town of Paris that had ever befallen the Christian kingdom of France by the death of a single man. It occasioned the utmost grief to the king and the princes of the blood, as well as to the kingdom in general, and was the cause of most disastrous quarrels between them, which lasted a very long time, insomuch that the kingdom was nearly ruined and overturned, as will more plainly be shown in the continuation of this history. This event was nothing less than the murder of the duke of Orleans, only brother to Charles the well-beloved, king of France.

The duke was, on a Wednesday, the feast-day of pope St. Clement, assassinated in Paris, about seven o'clock in the evening, on his return from dinner. This murder was committed by about eighteen men, who had lodged at an hôtel having for sign the image of our Lady, near the Porte Barbette, and who, it was afterward discovered, had for several days intended this assassination. On the Wednesday before-mentioned, they sent one named Seas de Courteheuze, valet-de-chambre to the king, and one of their accomplices, to the duke of Orleans, who had gone to visit the queen of France at an hôtel which she had lately purchased from Montagu, grand master of the king's household, situated very near the Porte Barbette. She had lain in there of a child, which had died shortly after its birth, and had not then accomplished the days of her purification.

Seas, on his seeing the duke, said, by way of deceiving him, "My lord, the king sends for you, and you must instantly hasten to him, for he has business of great importance to you and him, which he must communicate to you." The duke, on hearing this message, was eager to obey the king's orders, although the monarch knew nothing of the matter, and immediately mounted his mule, attended by two esquires on one horse, and four or five valets on foot, who followed behind bearing torches; but his other attendants made no haste to follow him. He had made this visit in a private manner, notwithstanding at this time he had within the city of Paris six hundred knights and esquires of his retinue, and at his

* It is not very easy to say to what this chapter can refer. There appears to have been no expedition into Scotland at this period, nor at any other, to which the facts here related bear the least resemblance. Is it entirely a fabrication of Monstrelet? I have looked at Hollingshed, Stowe, and Henry.

† St. Jangon—Perth, being probably a French corruption of St. John's Town.

expense. On his arrival at the Porte Barbette, the eighteen men, all well and secretly armed, were waiting for him, and were lying in ambush, under shelter of a pent-house. The night was pretty dark; and as they sallied out against him, one cried out, "Put him to death!" and gave him such a blow on the wrist with his battle-axe as severed it from his arm. The duke, astonished at this attack, cried out, "I am the duke of Orleans!" when the assassins, continuing their blows, answered, "You are the person we were looking for." So many rushed on him that he was struck off his mule, and his skull was split that his brains were dashed on the pavement. They turned him over and over, and massacred him that he was very soon completely dead. A young esquire, a German by birth, who had been his page, was murdered with him: seeing his master struck to the ground, he threw himself on his body to protect him, but in vain, and he suffered for his generous courage. The horse which carried the two esquires that preceded the duke, seeing so many armed men advance, began to snort, and when he had passed them set out on a gallop, so that it was some time before he could be checked.

When the esquires had stopped their horse, they saw their lord's mule following them full gallop: having caught him, they fancied the duke must have fallen, and were bringing it back by the bridle; but on their arrival where their lord lay, they were menaced by the assassins, that if they did not instantly depart they should share his fate. Seeing their lord had been thus basely murdered, they hastened to the hotel of the queen, crying out, "Murder!" Those who had killed the duke, in their turn bawled out, "Fire!" and they had arranged their plan, that while some were assassinating the duke, others were to set fire to their lodgings. Some mounted on horseback, and the rest on foot, made off as fast as they could, throwing behind them broken glass and sharp points of iron to prevent their being pursued. Report said, that many of them went the back way to the hotel d'Artois to their master the duke of Burgundy, who had commanded them to do this deed, as he afterward publicly confessed, to inform him of the success of their murder, when instantly afterward they withdrew to places of safety.

The chief of these assassins, and the conductor of the business, was one called Rollet d'Auctonville*, a Norman, whom the duke of Orleans had, a little before, deprived of his office of commissioner of taxes, which the king had given to him, at the request of the late duke of Burgundy. From that time the said Rollet had been considering how he could revenge himself on the duke of Orleans. His other accomplices were William Courteheuze and Seas Courteheuze, before mentioned, from the county of Guines, John de la Motte and others, to the amount of eighteen. Within half an hour, the household of the duke of Orleans, hearing of this horrid murder, made loud complaints; and, with great crowds of nobles and others, hastened to the fatal spot, where they found him lying dead in the street. His knights and esquires, and in general all his dependants, made grievous lamentations, seeing him thus wounded and disfigured.

With many groans, they raised the body and carried it to the hotel of the lord de Rieux, marshal of France, which was hard by; and shortly afterward the body was covered with a white pall, and conveyed most honourably to the church of the Guillemins†, where it lay, as being the nearest church to where the murder had been committed. Soon afterward, the king of Sicily, and many other princes, knights, and esquires, having heard of this foul murder of the only brother of the king of France, came with many tears to visit the body. It was put into a leaden coffin, and the monks of the church, with all the late duke's household, watched it all night, saying prayers, and singing psalms over it. On the morrow, his servants found the hand which had been cut off, and collected much of the brains that had been scattered over the street, all of which were inclosed in a leaden case and placed by the coffin.

The whole of the princes who were in Paris, except the king and his children, namely, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the marquis du Pont, the counts de Nevers, de Clermont, de Vendôme, de St. Pol, de Dammartin, the constable of

* Raoul d'Oquetonville, a knight of Normandy.

† The Guillemins were an order of hermits, instituted by Guillaume, duke of Guienne, and count of Poitou. They succeeded to the church-convent of the Blanc-Manteaus, instituted by St. Louis.

France, and several others, having assembled, with a large body of the clergy and nobles, and a multitude of the citizens of Paris, went in a body to the church of the Guillemins. Then the principal officers of the late duke's household took the body and bore it out of the church, with a great number of lighted torches carried by the esquires of the defunct. On each side of the body were, in due order, uttering groans and shedding tears, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, each holding a corner of the pall. After the body followed the other princes, the clergy and barons, according to their rank, recommending his soul to his Creator, and thus they proceeded with it to the church of the Celestins. When a most solemn service had been performed, the body was interred in a beautiful chapel he himself had founded and built. After the service, all the princes, and others who had attended it, returned to their homes.

Many suspicions were formed as to the authors of this assassination of the duke of Orleans; and at first it was thought to have been perpetrated by sir Aubert de Canny, from the great hatred he bore the duke, for having carried off his wife*, by whom he had a son, of whom, and his education, I shall say more hereafter. The truth was soon known who were the guilty persons, and that sir Aubert was perfectly innocent of the crime. The queen Isabella was so much alarmed the day she heard of this murder being committed thus near her hotel, that, although she was not recovered from her lying-in, she had herself carried, by her brother Louis of Bavaria, and others, to a litter, and thence conveyed to the hotel de St. Pol, where she was lodged in the adjoining chamber to that of the king for her greater security. The night this murder was committed the count de St. Pol and many others of the nobility armed themselves, and went to the hotel de St. Pol, where the king resided, not knowing how far these matters might be carried.

When the body of the duke of Orleans had been interred, as has been related, the princes of the blood assembled at the hotel of the king of Sicily, with the council of state, whither the provost of Paris and others of the king's lawyers were summoned, and ordered by the princes to make the most diligent inquiries, by every possible means, after the perpetrators and accomplices of this base act. All the gates of Paris were commanded to be closed, except two, and those to be well guarded, that all who might pass them should be known. Having given these orders, the lords and the council retired to their hotels in much sorrow and grief. On the morrow the council was again assembled at the king's palace of St. Pol, in the presence of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and other great lords. On the entrance of the provost of Paris, he was asked by the duke of Berry what measures he had taken to discover the murderers of so great a prince as the king's brother. The provost replied, that he had used all diligence in his researches, but in vain; adding, that if the king and the great lords present would permit him to search their hotels, and those of other great lords in Paris, he made no doubt but that he should discover the murderers and their accomplices. The king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, gave him instant orders to search wherever he pleased.

The duke of Burgundy, hearing such positive orders given, began to be alarmed, and, drawing king Louis and his uncle, the duke of Berry, aside, briefly† confessed to them what he had done, saying, that by the temptation of the devil he had committed the murder by means of Auctonville and his accomplices‡. The two princes were so much astonished and grieved at this confession that they were scarcely enabled to make him any reply, but what they did say was reproving him bitterly for having committed so base an act against his cousin-german§. After this confession of the duke of Burgundy, they returned to the council

* The name of the adulteress was Marietta d'Enguien, and the son he had by her the famous John, count of Dunois and of Longueville. Sir Aubert de Canny was a knight of Picardy.

† *Præsenti animo*, says Heuterus.'

‡ Consult Bayle and Brantome for a singular anecdote respecting the private reasons which urged the duke to commit this murder.

§ The monk of St. Denis, author of the History of Charles VI. adds the following damning clause to his account of this foul transaction:—"But what raised to the highest pitch the horror of the princes at the blackness of soul displayed by the duke was, that very shortly before, he not only was reconciled but entered into an alliance of brotherly love with the duke of Orleans. They had yet more recently confirmed it, both by letters and oaths, insomuch that they called God to witness it, and received the communion together. They had every appearance of an entire union in the conduct of the war which was committed to their charge: they had defended one another's honour from the bad success which attended them: it seemed as if they had only one interest; and, for a yet

chamber, but did not immediately declare what had passed between them, when the council broke up, and all retired to their hotels.

On the ensuing day, which was Saturday, the lords before-mentioned again assembled at ten o'clock in the morning, at the hotel de Nesle, where the duke of Berry resided, to hold another council. The duke of Burgundy came thither as usual, attended by the count Waleran de St. Pol; but when he was about to enter the council-chamber, the duke of Berry said to him, "Fair nephew, do not now enter the council-chamber, for it is displeasing to all the members that you should come among them." On saying this, the duke of Berry re-entered the council-chamber, ordering the door to be closed, according to the resolutions of the council. The duke of Burgundy was greatly confused at this; and, being unresolved how to proceed, said to the count de St. Pol, "Good cousin, what should I do?" The count replied, "My lord, you have only to return to your hotel, since it is not agreeable to the lords of the council that you should sit among them." The duke said, "Good cousin, return with me, to bear me company;" but the count answered, "My lord, you must excuse me; for I shall go to the council, since I have been summoned to attend it." After these words the duke of Burgundy, in great fear, returned to his hotel of Artois; and to avoid being arrested, on his arrival there, he mounted a fresh horse, and, attended by six men, hastily quitted Paris by the gate of St. Denis; and only changing horses, but not stopping at any place, he travelled onwards until he reached his castle of Bapaume. When he had slept some little, he again continued his route with all speed to Lille in Flanders. Those whom he had left in his hotel at Paris followed him as speedily as they could, to avoid being imprisoned, of which they were greatly afraid. In like manner, Rollet d'Auctonville and his accomplices changed their clothes, and disguised themselves, and escaped from Paris by different ways, and went to quarter themselves in the castle of Lens in Artois, by orders of their lord and master John duke of Burgundy. With so mean an attendance did this duke quit Paris after the death of the duke of Orleans, leaving the great lords of France in the utmost tribulation and distress.

When those of the household of the late duke of Orleans heard of the secret departure of the duke of Burgundy they armed themselves, to the amount of six score, having at their head sir Clugnet de Brabant, and, mounting their horses, sallied out of Paris in pursuit of the duke of Burgundy, with the intent of putting him to death, could they overtake him. The king of Sicily, learning their intentions, sent after to forbid them executing their plan, on which they returned, very indignant, to their hotels. It was now publicly known throughout Paris that the duke of Burgundy had committed this murder; but the Parisians were not well pleased with the duke of Orleans, for they had learnt that he was the author of all the heavy taxes that oppressed them, and began to say among themselves in secret, "The knotty stick is smoothed."

This melancholy event took place in the great winter of the year 1407, when the frost lasted for sixty-six days with the greatest severity. On the thaw, the new bridge at Paris was destroyed, and fell into the Seine; and the floods did very great mischief to many parts of the kingdom of France. I have no need, in this chapter, to speak of the great hatred and jealousy that had taken place between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, prior to the death of the former, as it would occupy too much room; and besides, they will be fully spoken of in the proceedings which were shortly afterward instituted, namely, in the justification which the duke of Burgundy proposed offering publicly, in the presence of the princes of the blood, the nobility, both ecclesiastical and secular, showing the causes why he openly avowed being the author of the death of the duke of Orleans, and likewise from the answers which the dowager-duchess of Orleans and her children made in exculpation of the late duke, which shall all be written in this present chronicle exactly in the manner in which they were proposed in the presence of the whole royal council, and great numbers of others of different ranks.

greater token of union and love, the duke of Burgundy, hearing that the duke of Orleans was indisposed, visited him with all the marks, I do not say of civility, but of tender affection, and even accepted an invitation to dine with him the next day, being Sunday. The other princes of the blood, knowing all this, could not but conceive the most extreme indignation at so horrible a procedure: they therefore refused to listen to his excuses,—and the next morning, when he came to the parliament-chamber, they forbade him entrance." See Bayle, Art. "Petit." The reconciliation here mentioned is also alluded to, ch. xliv.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS, WITH HER YOUNGEST SON, WAIT ON THE KING IN PARIS, TO MAKE COMPLAINT OF THE CRUEL MURDER OF THE LATE DUKE HER HUSBAND.

THE late duke of Orleans had married the daughter of Galeazzo, duke of Milan, his cousin-german, by whom he left three sons and one daughter, namely—Charles, the eldest, who succeeded his father in the dukedom of Orleans; Philip, count de Vertus; John, count of Angoulême. The daughter was married to Richard of Brittany. We shall say more hereafter respecting these princes, and of the fortunes that befel them.

On the 10th day of December the duchess of Orleans, widow to the late duke, with her youngest son John, and accompanied by the late queen of England*, now wife to her eldest

DUCHESS OF ORLEANS, WITH HER YOUNGEST SON, BEFORE THE KING, complains of the Murder of her Husband.—From an original design.

son, set out for Paris. The king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the counts of Clermont and Vendôme, the lord Charles d'Albreth, constable of France, and many other great lords, went out of the town to meet her, attended by a number of people and horses, and thus escorted her to the hotel de St. Pol, where the king of France resided. Being instantly admitted to an audience, she fell on her knees to the king, and made a pitiful complaint to him of the very inhuman murder of her lord and husband. The king, who at that time was in his sound senses, having lately recovered from his illness, raised her up with tears, and assured her he would comply with all her request, according to the opinion of his council. Having received this answer, she returned to the hotel of Orleans, accompanied by the before-mentioned lords.

On the following Monday the king of France, by the advice of his parliament, resumed in court the county of Dreux, Chastel-Thierry, and Mont d'Arcuelles, and all the lands which the king had given to his brother for his life. On the Wednesday after St. Thomas's-day, the duchess of Orleans, accompanied by her youngest son, the queen dowager of England, her daughter-in-law, the chancellor of Orleans, and others of her council, with many knights and

* Isabella, widow of Richard II.—ED.

esquires, who had been of the household of the late duke, all clothed in black, came to the hotel of St. Pol to have an audience of the king. She found there the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the chancellor of France, and several others, who, having demanded an audience for her of the king, instantly obtained it. She was led into the presence by the count d'Alençon, and with many tears, and before all the princes, again supplicated the king that he would do her justice on those who had traitorously murdered her lord and husband, the late duke of Orleans. The whole manner of this deed she caused to be declared to the king by her advocate in the parliament; and the chancellor of Orleans was by her side, who repeated to the advocate word for word what she wished to have divulged.

She had explained at length the whole history of the murder; how he had been watched, and the hour and place where the assassins had fallen on him; and how he had been betrayed by a false message from his lord and brother the king, giving him to understand that the king had sent for him; and ending by declaring that this murder more nearly touched the king than any other person. The advocate of the duchess concluded by saying, the king was bound to avenge the death of his brother, as well in regard to the duchess and her children, from their proximity of blood, as in respect to the offence which had been committed against justice and his royal majesty. The chancellor of France, who was seated at the king's feet, replied, with the advice of the dukes and lords present, that the king, having heard the detail of the murder of his brother, would, as speedily as possible, do strict and equal justice against the offenders. When the chancellor had said this, the king himself spoke and said, "Be it known to all, that the facts thus exposed, relative to the death of our only brother, affect us most sensibly, and we hold the offence as committed against our own proper person."

Upon this the duchess, her son John, and the queen dowager of England, her daughter-in-law, cast themselves on their knees before the king, and, with abundance of tears, supplicated him to remember to do good justice on the perpetrators of the murder of his brother. The king raised them up, and, kissing them, again promised strict justice, and named a day for the enforcement of it. After these words they took their leave and returned to the hotel of Orleans.

On the second day ensuing, the king of France came from his palace to the chamber of parliament, which had been greatly adorned, and seated himself on the royal throne. He then published an act, in the presence of the dukes, princes, nobility, clergy, and commonalty of his realm, by which he ordained, that should he die before the duke of Aquitaine was of lawful age, notwithstanding this he should govern the kingdom; and that all things should be conducted in his name by the three estates of the realm, until he should be arrived at the proper age to take the government into his own hands. Should it happen that his eldest son should die before he came of age, he ordained that his second son, the duke of Touraine, should succeed him; and in like manner that his third son should succeed the duke of Touraine on his death; but that until these princes should be of the proper age, the three estates should govern in their name.

These ordinances were very agreeable to the princes of the blood and council, and were confirmed by them. On the third day of January, the duchess of Orleans, for herself and children, did homage for the county of Vertus, and all the other lordships that had been held by her late husband. She took her oaths of fealty to the king himself, and, having taken her leave of him, quitted Paris a few days after, and returned with her state to Blois.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ASSEMBLES A NUMBER OF HIS DEPENDANTS, AT LILLE IN FLANDERS, TO A COUNCIL, RESPECTING THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—HE GOES TO AMIENS, AND THENCE TO PARIS.

When the duke of Burgundy was at Lille, he called to him the nobles, clerks, and others of his council, to have their opinion respecting the death of the late duke of Orleans, and he was greatly comforted by the advice they gave him. He went thence to Ghent to his duchess, and there summoned the three estates of Flanders, to whom he caused the counsellor, John

de la Sanceson, to explain publicly the reasons, article by article, why he had caused the duke of Orleans to be put to death at Paris; and as he was desirous that the whole should be made as public as possible, he ordered copies to be given of his explanation to all who might be desirous of having them. He then demanded, that they would afford him their aid, in case anything disagreeable should happen to him in consequence of what he had done; and the Flemings promised they would assist him willingly. In like manner did those of Lille, Douay, and the inhabitants of Artois, after they had heard the reasons for this death, and the duke's request of assistance against all the world, except the king of France and his children. The reasons he assigned for causing the duke of Orleans to be put to death were the same, or nearly the same, as those of master John Petit, when, by command of the duke of Burgundy, he publicly harangued at Paris, before the royal council, and which shall hereafter be very minutely given.

During this time, the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry sent messengers with letters to the duke of Burgundy at Lille, whither he was returned, to require that he would meet them without fail at Amiens, on an appointed day, which they made known to him, in order to confer and consult together on what was to be done respecting the death of the duke of Orleans. The duke of Burgundy returned for answer, by the messengers, that he would not fail to meet them; and, in consequence, he requested of the states of Flanders and Artois to lend him a sum of money, which was granted to him. He made grand preparations for his journey, and assembled a very considerable force. When the day appointed approached, in company with his two brothers, the duke of Brabant and count of Nevers, with many other noblemen and gentry, to the amount of three thousand, excellently armed, and attended by several of his council, he went from Arras to Corbie, and, on the appointed day, entered Amiens, and lodged at the house of a citizen called James de Hanghart. He caused to be painted over the door of this house two lances,—the one with a sharp pointed head, and the other with a blunt one,—which many of the nobles of his company said was meant to signify, that he was prepared for war or peace, accordingly as it might be determined on.

The weather was exceedingly severe at this season, and the country was covered with snow, insomuch that the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry, accompanied by about two hundred horse, on leaving Paris, were forced to employ great numbers of peasants with shovels to clear the road for them. They arrived at Amiens on the day fixed upon; and

Amiens, during the Sixteenth Century.—From old French prints.

the duke of Burgundy, with his two brothers, magnificently attended, went out of the town to meet them, and mutual respects were paid on each side.

The king of Sicily was lodged at the hotel of the bishop, and the duke of Berry at St. Martin-les-jumeaux. At the time that these two princes left Paris, the duke of Bourbon*, and his son the count de Clermont, much grieved and melancholy at the death of the duke of Orleans, did the same, and returned to the duchy of Bourbon.

The king of Sicily and the duke of Berry had brought with them to Amiens some of the members of the royal council, to attempt, if possible, a reconciliation between the two parties of Orleans and Burgundy, for the advantage of the king and realm; but their attempts were vain, for duke John's obstinacy was so great that he would no way consent to ask the king's pardon, nor require any remission for what had passed. On the contrary, he maintained that the king and his council should feel themselves much obliged to him for what he had done. In support of this conduct, he had brought with him three doctors in theology, of high fame and reputation in the university of Paris,—namely, master John Petit, who afterwards argued it publicly at Paris, and two others. They declared, in the presence of these two princes and the royal council at Amiens, that it was lawful for the duke of Burgundy to act as he had done, in regard to the duke of Orleans,—adding, that if he had not done it, he would have been greatly to blame; and they were ready to maintain these two propositions against all who should say to the contrary.

When the two parties had discussed this matter for some days, and when those sent by the king perceived they could not bring it to the conclusion wished for by them, namely peace, they broke up the conference, and took their departure to Paris, having first signified to the duke of Burgundy, in the king's name, that he must not return to Paris until he was so ordered. Duke John, however, plainly told them, he should pay no attention to this order; for that it was his intention to go to Paris as speedily as possible, to lay his charges and defence publicly before the king and the Parisians. On the morrow of the departure of the two princes, the duke of Burgundy, with his two brothers and those who had accompanied them, returned to the town of Arras, with the exception of Waleran count de St. Pol, who remained for six days after them in Amiens.

When the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry, with the lords of the council, were returned to Paris, and had made their report to the king and princes, relating at length the answers which the duke of Burgundy had made, and that he had asserted the king ought to requite him in various ways for having caused the death and murder of the duke of Orleans, they were much disgusted and astonished at the great presumption and audacity of the duke of Burgundy. It was talked of differently according to the bias of each party. Those of Orleans were much angered, and declared, that the king ought to assemble all his forces to subdue the duke of Burgundy, and punish him as his conduct deserved. While others, attached to the Burgundy party, held a contrary opinion, thinking the duke had done a praise-worthy act toward the king and his family; and this was the opinion of the greater part of the Parisians, by whom the duke of Burgundy was much beloved. The cause of his popularity in Paris were the hopes they entertained, that through his means the heavy taxes with which they and all France were oppressed would be taken off, which the duke of Orleans, when alive, had been so instrumental in imposing, because he had had a great share in them.

The duke of Burgundy went shortly after to Flanders, and summoned a great number of his nobles, gentry and men-at-arms, to prepare themselves to accompany him to Paris,—notwithstanding the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry had forbidden him, in the king's name, to come thither until further orders. He did not, however, pay any attention to this command, but advanced by short journeys to St. Denis, whither the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry and Brittany, and several of the king's council, came to visit him,—and

* "The noble duke of Bourbon," says the monk of St. Denis, "was nominated to this embassy, but he generously excused himself from it: he would not even remain any longer at court, but demanded leave to retire to his own estates; for he loved better to renounce the share which he had in the government than consent to compound with the state for the murder of his nephew, which made him exclaim loudly, and many times, as I have been assured, that he could never look with a favourable eye upon the author of a treason so cowardly and so infamous."—See Bayle, *ubi supra*.

again forbade him, in the king's name, to enter Paris, if accompanied by more than two hundred men. The duke of Burgundy, on this, quitted St. Denis, in company with his brother the count de Nevers, his brother-in-law the count de Cleves, and the duke of Lorrain, with a very large body of men well armed, and entered Paris, with the intent of justifying his act and his quarrel with the late duke of Orleans, as well before the king as before all who might think proper to demand it of him. The Parisians showed great joy on his entering the town; and even little children sung carols in all the squares, which much displeased the king, the queen, and the princes then in Paris. He dismounted at his hôtel d'Artois, and was, in truth, greatly beloved by the common people; for they believed he was much attached to the good of the kingdom, and to the general weal. This made him more popular than the other princes of the blood,—and the people freshly remembered the heavy taxes that had been laid on them since the death of the late duke Philip of Burgundy, and principally, as they thought, by means of the duke of Orleans, who was exceedingly unpopular with them; and they considered his death, and the being delivered from his government, as a peculiar mark of God's grace, not foreseeing what was afterward to befal them and the whole kingdom of France.

When the duke of Burgundy had been some days in Paris, and had learnt from his friends and partisans how he was to conduct himself, he found means to obtain an audience of the king, when the princes, clergy and people should be present, to hear his justification of the murder of the late duke of Orleans. He went to the appointed place of audience well armed, and escorted by the princes and lords whom he had brought with him, and great crowds of Parisians. During his stay at Paris he was always armed, to the surprise of the other princes and members of the royal council, who were afraid to say anything disagreeable to him, from his popularity with the citizens, and because he was ever surrounded by men at arms, and had his hôtel full of them; for he had quartered there the whole, or the greater part, of those whom he had brought with him. He had also a strong tower constructed of masonry,* in which he slept at nights, and his chamber was strongly guarded. The justification of the duke now follows, and shall be literally given, as delivered by doctor John Petit.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY OFFERS HIS JUSTIFICATION, FOR HAVING CAUSED THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND HIS GREAT COUNCIL.

On the 8th day of March, in the year 1407, duke John of Burgundy offered his justification for having caused the death of the late duke of Orleans, at the hôtel de St. Pol at Paris, by the mouth of master John Petit, doctor of theology. There were present, in royal state, the duke of Guienne,† dauphin of the Viennois, eldest son and heir to the king of France, the king of Sicily, the cardinal de Bar‡, the dukes of Berry, Brittany, and Lorrain, and many counts, barons, knights and esquires, from divers countries, the rector of the university, accompanied by a great many doctors and other clerks, and a numerous body of the citizens of Paris and people of all ranks.

John Petit§ opened his speech in the manner following. "In the first place," said he, "the duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, of Artois and of Burgundy, doubly a peer of France, and dean of the French peerage, comes hither, with all humility, to pay his reverence to his royal majesty, like an obedient subject,—to which he is bounden by four obligations,

* This shows how general wooden buildings were still in the 15th century.

† The titles of Guienne and Aquitaine were always used indiscriminately.

‡ Louis, cardinal de Bar, afterwards cardinal of the Twelve Apostles, youngest son of Robert, and brother of Edward, dukes of Bar, and heir to the duchy after the deaths of all his brothers.

§ John Petit, professor of theology in the university of Paris, "ame venale," says Bayle, "et vendue à l'iniquité." He was reputed a great orator, and had been employed twice before to plead on occasions of the first importance. The first was in favour of the university against some accusations of the cardinal-legate, in 1406; the second, at Rome before pope Gregory, on the 20th July, 1407, on the subject of the king's proposal for a termination of the schism. The very curious performance with which we are here presented was publicly condemned by the bishop of Paris and the university as soon as they were out of fear from the immediate presence of the duke of Burgundy, and burnt by the common hangman. See, in Bayle, further particulars of the work and its author.

according to the decisions of the doctors of civil and canon law. The first of these obligations is,—'Proximi ad proximum qua quisque tenetur proximum non offendere. Secunda, est cognatorum ad illos quorum de genere geniti vel procreati sunt qua tenetur parentes suos non solum non offendere, sed etiam deffendere verbo et facto. Tertia, est vassalorum ad dominum qua tenentur non solum non offendere dominum suum, sed deffendere verbo et facto. Quarta est, non solum non offendere dominum suum, sed etiam principis injurias vindicare.'

"Now, my lord of Burgundy is a good Catholic, a prudent man, a lord of a godly life in the Christian faith, and likewise nearly connected to the king,—by which he is bound to love him as himself, and to be careful to avoid giving him any offence. He is his relation by blood, so near as to be his cousin-german, which not only obliges him to be attentive not to give him offence, but on the slightest ground to defend him by speech against all who might intend to injure him. Thirdly, he is his vassal, and is therefore bound to defend him not only by words, but by deeds, with all the united strength of his power. Fourthly, he is his subject, by which he is obliged not only to defend him by word and deed against his enemies, but is bound to avenge him on such as commit, or do intend to commit, and contrive any evil attempts against his person, should such come to his knowledge. Beside these obligations, he is also bounden to his royal majesty, from the daily honours and presents he is in the habit of receiving from him,—and not only as his relation, vassal, and subject, as has been stated, but as his very humble knight, duke, count and peer of France; not only a peer of France from two claims, but also the dean of the peerage, which, next to the crown, is the highest rank and prerogative in the kingdom of France. The king has likewise had such an affection for him, and shown him such great honour, as to make him father-in-law to the most noble and potent lord the duke of Guienne and dauphin of the Viennois, his eldest son and heir, by his marriage with the eldest daughter of my lord the duke, and has added to this honour by the marriage of the princess Michelle of France with the eldest son of my aforesaid lord of Burgundy; and, as St. Gregory says, 'Cum crescunt dona et rationes donorum,' he is obliged to defend him from every injury within his power. This he has acknowledged, does acknowledge, and will acknowledge (if it please God), and will ever retain in his heart the remembrance of these obligations, which are twelve in number,—namely, those of neighbour, relation, vassal, subject, baron, count, duke and peer, count and peer, duke, and dean of the peerage, and these two marriages.

"These twelve obligations bind him to love, serve and obey the king, and to do him every personal reverence and honour, and not only to defend him against his enemies, but to exercise vengeance against them. In addition, that prince of noble memory, my late lord of Burgundy, his father, when on his death-bed, commanded him, above all things, to behave most loyally, honourably, justly and courageously toward the person of the king of France, his children, and his crown; for he greatly feared his enemies would practise to deprive him of his crown, and that after his decease they would be too strong for him. It was for this reason that, when on his death-bed, he insisted on his sons resisting every attempt of the sort.

"The wise and determined conduct of my lord duke of Berry, in conjunction with my above-mentioned deceased lord, must not be forgotten, in their government of the kingdom, so that not even the slightest suspicion was ever formed against them. For these reasons, my lord of Burgundy could not feel greater grief of heart, or more displeasure, than in doing anything respecting the late duke of Orleans that might anger the king. The deed that has been done was perpetrated for the safety of the king's person, and that of his children, and for the general good of the realm, as shall be so fully hereafter explained that all those who shall hear me will be perfectly satisfied thereof.

"My lord of Burgundy, therefore, supplicates the king to withdraw from him any hatred he may have conceived against him, and that he would show him that benignity and grace due to his loyal vassal and subject, and to one nearly related to him as he is by blood, while I shall explain the causes of justification of my lord of Burgundy, in consequence of his commands, which I cannot refuse, for the two following reasons:—In the first place, I am bound by my oath, given to him three years ago, to serve him. Secondly, on his perceiving

that I had very small benefices, he gave me annually a considerable pension that I might continue my studies at the schools, which pension has furnished the greater part of my expenses, and will continue, under his good favour, so to do. When, however, I consider the very high importance of the matter I have to discuss, and the great rank of the persons to whom I am to address myself, and, on the other hand, when I feel how weak I am in understanding, memory and language, I am seized with apprehension and fear, so that what abilities and remembrance I may have had are fled. I have no other remedy, therefore, but to recommend myself to God my Creator and Redeemer, to his glorious mother, and to my lord St. John the evangelist, the prince of theologians, that they would have the goodness to guard me from saying or doing any thing wrong, in following the advice of my lord St. Austin, who says, (libro quarto *de doctrina Christiana*, circa finem :) 'Sive apud populum vel apud quoslibet jamjamque dicturus, sive quod apud populum dicendum vel ab eis qui voluerint aut potuerint legendum est dictaturus, oret ut Deus sermonem bonum det in os ejus. Si enim regina Hester oravit pro suæ gentis salute temporali locutura apud regem ut in os ejus Deus congruum sermonem daret, quanto-magis orare debet, ut tale munus accipiat qui pro æterna hominum salute in verbo et doctrina laborat,' &c.

"And because the matters I am to treat of are of such very great moment, it does not behove so insignificant a person as myself to speak of them, nor indeed to open my lips before so august and solemn an assembly. I therefore very humbly entreat you, my noble lords, and the whole company, that should I utter anything improper, it may be attributed to my simplicity and ignorance, and not to malice; for the apostle says, 'Ignorans feci: ideoque misericordiam consecutus sum.'

"I should be afraid to speak of such things as my subject will lead me to, and which I am charged to say, were it not for the commands of my lord of Burgundy. After this, I now protest that I intend no injury whatever to any person, whether he be alive or dead; and should it happen that some parts of my speech seem to bear hard for or in the name of my lord of Burgundy, I pray that I may be held excused, as it will proceed from his commands, and in his justification, and not otherwise. But some one may put a question to me, saying, Does it belong to a theologian to offer such justification, in preference to a lawyer? I reply, that it certainly does not belong to me, who am neither a theologian nor a lawyer; but to satisfy those who may think such a question proper, I shall say, that were I a theologian, it might become a duty under one consideration, namely, that every doctor in theology is bounden to labour in excusing and justifying his lord, and to guard and defend his honour and good name, according to the truth, particularly when his aforesaid lord is good and loyal, and innocent of all crimes. I prove this consideration to be true, from the duty attached to doctors in theology, to preach and say the truth at all times and in all places. They are likewise styled 'Legis divinæ professores, quia inter omnes alios doctores ipsi magis tenentur profiteri veritatem.' Should they die for having uttered the truth, they become true martyrs.

"It is not therefore to be wondered at, if I offer my poor abilities in the justification of my before-mentioned lord, since he has afforded me the means of pursuing my studies, and, if God please, will continue so to do. If ever there were a proper time and place to bring forward the justification of my lord of Burgundy, it is at this moment, and before this assembly; and such as may find fault with me for so doing are, I think, to be blamed, for every man of honour and good sense will hold me excused. In the hope, therefore, that no one will bear me ill will for this justification, I shall produce an authority for it from St. Paul.

"ON COVETOUSNESS.

"'Radix omnium malorum cupiditas, quam quidem appetentes erraverunt a fide,' 1 Tim. vi., which may be thus translated, Covetousness is the root of all evil; for the moment any one is in her net, he follows her doctrine:—she has even made apostates of some who have been too much seduced by her. This proposition contains three dogmas: first, that covetousness is the motive of all evil to such as she has entangled by her wiles; secondly, that she has caused many apostates, who, having denied the catholic faith, have turned to

idolatry; thirdly, that she has made others traitors, and disloyal to their kings, princes, and lords paramount. These three propositions I shall bring forward as my major, and then add a minor, for the complete justification of my said lord of Burgundy. I may indeed divide these into two parts; the first consisting of my major, and the second of my minor. The first will comprehend four others, and discuss the first subject of my theme,—the second the second,—and the third the third. In the fourth article, I propose to bring forward some facts as the groundwork of my lord's justification.

"In regard to the first article, that covetousness is the root of all evil, I may bring forward an instance to the contrary from the holy Scriptures, which declares, 'Initium omnis peccati superbia.' Eccles. x. *Ergo*, non est cupiditas radix omnium malorum. Since the holy church says that pride is the foundation of sin, covetousness is not the root of all evil,—and thus the words of St. Paul do not seem true. In answer to this I say, from St. John the evangelist, 'Nolite diligere mundum nec ea quæ in eo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est charitas Patris in eo: quoniam omne quod est in mundo aut est concupiscentia carnis, aut oculorum, aut superbia vitæ, quæ non est ex Patre sed mundo: et mundus transibit, et concupiscentia carnis; sed qui facit voluntatem Dei vivet in æternum.' That is to say, Do not love the world, nor place your sole happiness in worldly things; for the pleasures of this world consist in covetousness and in a love of the flesh,—in the pursuit of worldly riches and vain honours, which are not the passions given us by God. All worldly things are transitory,—and the world dies and its desires with it; but he who does the will of God, will enjoy everlasting glory with him.

"It appears clearly from this quotation from St. John, that there are three sorts of covetousness, which include within them every sin, namely, covetousness of vain honours,—covetousness of worldly riches,—covetousness of carnal delights; and it was thus understood by the apostle when he said, 'Radix omnium malorum cupiditas.' Covetousness being understood to appear in the three forms aforesaid, and mentioned by St. John,—the first of which is that of vain honours, which is nothing more than a wicked desire, and a disordered inclination to deprive another of his honours or lordships,—this passion is called by St. John *superbia vitæ*, and contains within it every vice, namely, pride, vain-glory, anger, hatred, and envy; for when he who is possessed by this passion cannot accomplish his will, he becomes enraged against God, and against those that stand in his way, and thus commits the sin of anger, which increases soon against the person in possession of the aforementioned superiority, to so great a degree that he practises to put him to death.

"The second covetousness is called 'the covetousness of worldly riches,' which is the passion to take away from another his wealth and moveables, and is called by the evangelist *concupiscentia oculorum*. It includes within it usury, avarice, and rapine. The third covetousness is the *concupiscentia carnis*, which is merely disorderly desires for carnal delights, or perhaps indolence; as, for example, when a monk or other religieux cannot endure to go to matins, because he is more comfortable in his bed. Sometimes it consists in gluttony, as when any one devours too much meat or wine, because they are pleasing to his tongue and savoury to his palate. At other times, it may show itself in luxury, and in other shapes and manners which it is unnecessary to explain.

"My first article is therefore clear, when I said, that 'covetousness was the root of all evil,' if we understand it as the apostle did, when he said, 'Radix omnium malorum cupiditas:' et hoc de primo articulo hujus primæ partis.

"To enter on the subject of the second article of my major, I shall take it for granted that the greatest possible crime on earth is the crime of high treason, for the highest honour under heaven consists in the royal majesty. Can there then be a greater crime than any injury offered to the royal majesty? As this crime, therefore, is the deepest, the punishment of it should be the most severe. There are two sorts of kingly dignity,—the one divine and perpetual, the other human and temporal; and in like manner, there are two kinds of high treason,—the first the crime of treason against the divine, and the second against the human majesty. That of high treason against the divine majesty may be again divided into two parts; first, when an injury is offered personally to our Sovereign Lord God and Creator, such as heresy and idolatry; secondly, when they are committed against the spouse of our

holy Lord God Jesus Christ,—namely the holy Church, and when any schism or division is introduced within it. I therefore mean to say, that heretics and idolaters commit the crime of high treason in the first degree, and schismatics in the second.

"The crime of human high treason may be divided into four degrees: first, consisting of offences done personally against the prince,—of offences done to the person of the queen, his spouse,—of such as are done personally against their children,—and fourthly, of injuries done to the public state. As the crime of high treason has been ever considered as one of the most atrocious, the laws have ordained much severer punishments against it than for any others. In cases of heresy and human high treason, a man may be accused after his death, and a process may be carried on against him: should he be convicted of heresy, his body is taken up from the grave, his bones put into a bag, carried to the place of execution, and burnt. In like manner, should any one be convicted after his decease of human high treason, his body is taken up from the grave, his bones put into a sack, all his wealth in land or moveables is confiscated to the prince, and his children declared incapable of holding lands, or of succeeding to any property. Having distinguished the crimes of high treason, I shall now proceed to prove the second article of my major by authorities and examples, namely, that covetousness has made many apostates, who have denied the catholic faith, and worshipped idols. I have found many instances to prove this, but it would take up too much time to relate the whole: I shall confine myself to three only.

"OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

"The first example is Julian the apostate, who was a Christian and a churchman; but to arrive at the imperial dignity of emperor of Rome, he denied the catholic faith and his baptism, and adored idols, telling the Christians, by way of colouring his apostacy, 'Christus vere dicit in evangelio suo, Nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus.' Saying, 'You who wish to be Christians cannot possess anything.' You must know, that this Julian was a churchman, very learned, and of high descent; and it was said that he might, had he laboured for it, have been pope; but as the popedom was at that time in a state of poverty, he cared not for it.—and the imperial dignity being the highest in the world, he was very eager to obtain it by any means. Having considered that the pagans were sufficiently strong to refuse to be governed by any Christian, he denied his baptism and the catholic faith, and adopted the pagan religion in the adoration of idols. He also persecuted the Christians, and defamed the name of Jesus Christ, which he looked to as one means of succeeding to the empire. The reigning emperor shortly after died; and the pagans, knowing that Julian was of high birth, great learning, and the most bitter persecutor of the Christians in the world, and who said more than any one else against our holy mother the church, elected him emperor.

"I will now tell you the horrible death that put an end to his days. During his government, the Persians rebelled against Rome. He collected a large army to subdue them, and swore on the altars of his cursed gods, that should he return victorious, he would utterly destroy all Christendom. In the course of his march with the army, he passed a city called Cesarea, in the country of Cappadocia, where he met a very learned doctor in theology, who was bishop of that town, and who is now known by the name of St. Basil. He was an excellently good man, and by means of the truth of his doctrines, all the inhabitants of that country were become Christians. St. Basil waited on the apostate Julian, made his obeisance to him, and presented him with three barley-loaves. The emperor was indignant at the present, and said, 'Does he send me mare's food? I will return the compliment by sending him horse-meat, namely, three bushels of oats.' The good man excused himself, saying that it was such bread as he and those of that country ate. The emperor, however, swore, that on his return, he would destroy the town so completely, that a plough should pass over the ground, and make a field of the spot where the town now stood, which field should bear wheat—'Itaque juravit quod faceret eam farriferam et non austeram'—and marched on with his army.

"St. Basil and the Christians took counsel together how they could save the city from this

threatened destruction, and imagined it would be best to offer the emperor all their jewels and treasure to appease his anger. They likewise proposed going in procession to a church of our Lady, situated on a mountain near the city, and to remain there for three days to pray to GOD to save them and their city from ruin. On the third night, St. Basil had a vision, in which he saw a great company of angels and saints assembled before a lady, who thus spoke to one of the saints, called the chevalier Mercure: 'Thou hast always been a faithful servant to my son and to me; and on this account I command thee to go and kill the emperor Julian, that false apostate, who so bitterly persecutes the Christians, and says such infamous things of my son and me.' She instantly restored Mercure to flesh and blood, who, like a good knight, took his lance and shield from the roof of the church where it had been affixed after his interment there, and went as he was commanded. When he overtook Julian, he thrust his lance through his body in the presence of his servants: having withdrawn his lance, he threw it across his neck, and none of the emperor's attendants knew who he was. St. Basil, after this vision was ended, hastened to the church wherein was the tomb of the knight, and found neither body, nor lance, nor shield. He called to him the keepers of the church, and asked them what was become of the lance and shield? They replied, that in the preceding night they had been carried away, but knew not how or by whom.

"St. Basil returned instantly to the mountain, and related his vision to the clergy and people, adding that he had just visited the church where the knight had been buried, but that neither his shield nor lance was to be found; which was a strong confirmation of the truth of the vision. The whole town, shortly after this, visited the church; and the shield and lance were seen hanging to the roof, as formerly, over the tomb of the knight,—but the point of the lance was covered with blood. It was imagined that this action had required but one day and two nights, and that on the second night the body had been replaced in the tomb, and the arms under the roof. The point of the lance was covered with the blood of Julian the apostate, as has been mentioned; and the chronicle adds, that when slain, he received the blood in his hand, saying, *Vicisti me, Galilæe!* that is to say, 'Thou hast conquered me, Galilean!' alluding to JESUS CHRIST, and throwing his blood in the air. The same chronicle says, that one of the counsellors and sophists of this Julian had a similar vision respecting his miraculous death, and that he came to St. Basil to be baptised, like a good Christian. He told him he had been present when the emperor was killed, and saw him throw his blood from his hand up into the air. Thus ended miserably the life of Julian the apostate.

"We have another example in the monk Sergius, who was a Christian of the church, but through covetousness got admitted into the company of Mohammed, and became his apostle. This monk, considering that Mohammed was a great captain in the armies of Syria and other countries beyond sea, and that the principal lords of the country were almost all destroyed by the plague, leaving only children behind them, said to Mohammed, 'If you will follow my advice, I will shortly make you the greatest and most respected lord in the universe.' Mohammed consented to his proposals; and it was agreed that Mohammed should conquer the whole country by force of arms, and make himself lord of it. The monk was to renounce the Christian religion, and compose a new religious code, in the name of Mohammed. This was done; and all the countries of Arabia, Syria, Africa, Fez, Morocco, Granada, Persia, Egypt, with several others that had been Christians, were converted, or the greater part of them, to the religion of Mohammed, six hundred years after the incarnation of our Lord. Mohammed gave to this monk great abundance of worldly riches, which his covetousness received to the eternal damnation of his soul.

"The third example is that of the prince or duke of Simeon, one of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. He was a very powerful prince, and his name was Zambry, and was so smitten with concupiscence, and carnal desires, for a pagan lady, who would not submit to his will unless he consented to adore her idols, that he apostatised, and not only adored idols himself, but induced many of his people and subjects to do the same. The holy Scriptures thus speak of him: 'At illi comederunt et adoraverunt deos earum. Initiatusque est Israel Beelphegor. Et iratus Dominus ait ad Moysem, Tolle cunctos principes populi,

et suspende illos contra solem in patibulis, &c. Et paulopost: 'Et ecce unus de filiis Israel intravit coram fratribus suis ad scortum Madianitem, &c. Quod cum vidisset surrexit de medio multitudinis Phinees, et arrepto pugione ingressus est post virum Israelitem in lupinar, et perfodit ambos simul in locis genitalibus. Et occisi sunt viginti quatuor millia hominum. Et sic Phinees placavit Deum. Et ideo innocentius inde miseria conditionis humanæ ait. Extrema libidinis turpitudo: quæ non solum mentem effœminat, sed etiam corpus aggravat. Omne namque peccatum quodcunque fecerit homo extra corpus est; qui autem fornicatur in corpus suum peccat.' That is to say, This duke and a great part of his people committed fornication with pagan and Saracen women of the country of Moab, who induced them to worship their idols. God was much angered thereat, and said to Moses, who was their sovereign commander, 'Take all the princes of the people and hang them up on a gibbet in the face of the sun.' 'But why,' said he, 'hang all the princes?' 'Because part of them were consenting to this crime, and the other part, though not following their example, were neglectful to avenge such heavy offences against God, their Creator.'

"Moses instantly assembled all the princes and people of Israel, and told them what God had commanded. The people began to weep, because the offenders were so powerful the judges dared not condemn them,—and duke Zambry had full twenty-four thousand men of his tribe. This duke quitted the assembly, and, in the presence of all the people, entered the house of the pagan lady, the mistress of his heart, who was the handsomest woman of the country. A valiant man, named Phineas, roused by this insult to his God, stepped forth and said, 'I vow to God, that I will instantly avenge this offence.' He departed without saying more, or having any commands from Moses, and having entered the lady's house found her in dalliance with her lover, when, with a knife or dagger, he pierced their bodies through, and instantly put them to death. The twenty-four thousand adherents of the duke wished to revenge his death in battle, but, through God's grace, they were the weaker, and were all slain. This example of the valiant man Phineas is worthy of notice, for he was so much enamoured with the love of God, and so grieved on seeing the daring insult offered to him, that he was regardless of exposing his own life to danger; nor did he wait for the orders of Moses to perform the act, but he did it because he saw that the judges would not do their duty, some through neglect, others from fear of duke Zambry.

"See what praise and recompense he received for this act, as it is written in the holy Scriptures: 'Dixit Dominus ad Moysem, Phinees filius Heleazari filii Aaron sacerdotis avertit iram meam a filiis Israel, quia zelo meo commotus est contra eos ut non ipse delerem filios Israel in zelo meo idcirco loquere ad eum. Ecce do ei pacem fœderis mei et erit tam ipsi quam semini ejus pactum sacerdotii sempiternum: quia zelatus est pro Deo suo, et expiavit scelus filiorum Israel.' That is to say, That the act he had done was so agreeable to God that he rewarded him, by ordaining that none but such as were of his blood should be anointed priests; and this is confirmed by the writings in the Old Testament: 'Placuit et cessavit seditio, et reputatum est ei ad justitiam usque in sempiternum.' Scribitur in Psalmo. Which means, That this action redounded to the honour, glory and praise of Phineas and his family for ever. Thus it plainly appears, that concupiscence and disorderly lusts had so entangled the duke Zambry in their snares that he became an idolater, and worshipped idols. Here concludes the third example of my second article.

"Respecting the third article of my major, I must show from the authority of the Bible, which none dare contradict, that covetousness has made many become disloyal, and traitors to their sovereigns; but although I could produce numerous instances from the Scriptures and other writings, I shall confine my examples to three only.

"OF LUCIFER.

"The first instance is that of Lucifer, the most perfect of all the creatures God had made, of whom the prophet Isaiah says, 'Quomodo cecidisti de cœlo Lucifer, qui mane orieberis: qui dicebas in corde tuo, conscendam supra astra Dei, exaltabo solium meum, ascendam supra altitudinem nubium et similis ero altissimo. Veruntamen ad infernum detraheris in profundum laci.' Scrib. Is. xiv. Lucifer, as the prophet writes, considering himself as the

most perfect of creatures, said, within his own mind, 'I will exert myself so greatly that I will place myself and my throne above the angels and rival God;' that, is to say, he would have the same obedience paid to him. For this end, he deceived numbers of angels, and brought them over to his party, so that they were to do him homage and obedience, as to their sovereign lord, and be no way subject to GOD; and Lucifer was to hold his government in like manner to GOD, and independent of all subjection to him. Thus he wished to deprive GOD, his Sovereign and Creator, of the greater part of his power, and attribute it to himself, being induced to it by covetousness, which had taken possession of his mind.

"St. Michael, on discovering his intentions, came to him, and said, that he was acting very wrong; and that, since GOD had formed him the most perfect of his creatures, he was bounden in gratitude to pay him greater reverence and obedience than all the others, for the gracious favours that had been shown him. Lucifer replied, that he would do no such thing. St. Michael answered, that neither himself nor the other angels would suffer him to act so injuriously to their Sovereign Lord and Creator. In short, a battle ensued between them, and many of the angels took part on either side, but the greater number number were for St. Michael. St. Michael slew Lucifer with a perdurable death, and he and his legions were cast out of heaven by force, and thrown into hell. Their sentence is in the xiith chap. of the Revelations: 'Michael et angeli ejus præliabantur cum dracone, et draco pugnabat et angeli ejus cum eo.' Et paulum post,—'et projectus est in terram draco ille, et angeli ejus missi sunt cum eo. Et audivi vocem magnam in cœlo dicentem, nunc facta est salus, et virtus, et regnum Deo nostro;'—which means, That St. John saw in a vision this battle, and how Lucifer was cast with his angels from heaven into hell. When the battle was won, he heard a loud voice proclaiming through the heavens, 'At present, peace is restored to our Lord God and to his saints.'—Thus ends the first example of the third article.

"The second instance refers to the fair Absalom, son to David king of Jerusalem.—Absalom, considering that his father was become old and very feeble, practised a conspiracy against him, and had himself anointed king. He collected ten thousand fighting men, whom he marched towards Jerusalem, to put his father to death and take possession of the town.

"King David received intelligence of what was intended, and in consequence fled from the city of Jerusalem, with some of his faithful friends, to a town beyond Jordan, whither he summoned his adherents. A battle was shortly proposed in the forest of Lendeue, whither Absalom came with a large force of men at arms, leading them as their prince. His constable and other knights advised him to remain within the forest, for it was strongly situated. This he did; but as he was one of the most expert knights in the world, he would himself form his army into three battalions: the first was put under the command of Joab his constable; the second was given to Bisay, brother to Joab; and the third was commanded by Eschey, son to Jeth. When the battle took place, it was very severe and hard-fought; but the party of Absalom was slain or put to flight.

"It happened, as Absalom was flying on his mule after the defeat of his party, that he passed under an oak, whose spreading branches caught hold of his hair, and thus suspended him, while his mule galloped from under him. Absalom had that day taken off his helmet from his head, the more readily to escape, and his hair was extremely thick and long, reaching to his girdle, and got twisted among the branches, so that he seemed to hang there miraculously, as a punishment for the disloyal treason he had formed against his father and sovereign. Absalom was seen in this situation by one of the men-at-arms of Joab, constable to king David, and hastened to tell Joab of it, who replied, 'When thou sawest him, why didst thou not kill him? and I would have given thee ten golden besants, and a handsome girdle.' The man answered, 'If thou wouldst have given me ten thousand besants, I should not have dared to have touched him, or done him the least evil; for I was present when the king commanded thee, and all his men at arms, saying, 'Save me my child Absalom! Oh, save him from being slain!' Joab said, 'that the commands of the king were contrary to his honour and safety; and that so long as Absalom should live, the king would be always in peril, and we shall not have peace in the kingdom. Lead me where Absalom is.' And the man led him to where Absalom was hanging by his hair. Joab, on seeing him, thrust his lance thrice into his body, near to the place of his heart, and then had

him thrown into a ditch and covered with stones; for according to the laws of God, all traitors against their fathers and sovereigns were to be put to death and covered with stones.

"When David heard of the death of his son, he went into an upper chamber, and wept bitterly, uttering these words: 'Fili mi Absalon, fili mi quis mihi tribuat, ut ego moriar pro te Absalon, fili mi*.' It was told to Joab and the other captains, that David was inconsolable for the loss of Absalom, which made them very indignant; and Joab went to David, and said,—'Confudisti hodie vultus omnium servorum tuorum qui salvam fecerunt animam tuam. Diligis odientes te, et odio habes diligentes te, et ostendisti hodie quia non curas de ducibus tuis, et de servis tuis, et vere cognovi modo quod si Absalon viveret, et nos omnes occubuissemus tunc placeret tibi. Nunc igitur surge et præcede et alloquens satisfac servis tuis: juro enim tibi per dominum, quod si non exieris, ne unus quidem remansurus sit tecum nocte hac; et pejus erit hoc tibi, quam omnia mala, quæ venerunt super te ab adolescentia tua usque in præsens.' Scribitur 2 Reg. xix. That is to say, the good knight Joab went to the king, and said to him without disguising his sentiments, 'Thou hatest those who love thee, and art fond of such as hate thee: thou wouldst that we, who have risked our lives in battle to save thee, had perished, so that Absalom had lived. Thy captains and people are so wroth against thee that, unless thou arise and seat thyself at thy gate to thank them cheerfully as they enter thereat, they will deprive thee of thy kingdom, and choose another king; and no greater misfortune will have befallen thee from thy youth to this day, unless thou dost as I have advised.' The king, feeling the justice of what Joab had said, went and seated himself at the gate to thank his men-at-arms on their entrance, and made them good cheer. In this example, it is to be noticed, that Joab killed Absalom contrary to the king's express orders, because they were prejudicial to the honour of God, of the king, and of the people. Notwithstanding that Joab slew Absalom, they had always been intimate friends, insomuch that Joab had made peace for him with his father David for a murder which he had committed on the eldest of the king's sons, and for which Absalom had been a fugitive from the kingdom four years.

"Some may, however, argue the contrary, because king David, when on his death-bed, charged his son Solomon, who was to succeed him, to punish Joab; but I am sure it was not for the above-mentioned act,—for although Joab, at the time he slew Absalom, was a good and loyal knight, he committed two great faults toward the end of his days. The first, when he killed a very good knight and man-at-arms, called Amasa,—and, secondly, by putting that excellent knight Abner to death treacherously, namely, by embracing him, and at the same time thrusting a knife into his body; and as king David had not punished Joab for these two enormous crimes himself, he felt such compunctions of conscience for it on his death-bed, that he ordered king Solomon to have it done when he should be deceased, and punish him in this mortal life, that Joab might escape perpetual damnation, saying thus: 'Tu scis quæ fecerit mihi Joab filius Sarviæ quæ fecerit duobus principibus exercitus Israel, Abner filio Ner, et Amasæ filio Jether, quos occidit, et effudit sanguinem belli in pace. Facias ergo juxta sapientiam tuam, et non deduces canitiem ejus pacifice ad infernos.' Scribitur 3 Reg. ii. Which means, 'that the two knights, chiefs of the chivalry of Israel, had been disloyally slain, when at peace with God and man. I am hurt in mind for having been too lenient towards him; and if thou dost not punish him for these two crimes, thou wilt cause the damnation of his soul.'

"I must here remark, that there is no knight so perfect but who may commit a fault, and one indeed so great as to do away all his former good actions. And therefore men do not at justs and at battles cry out, 'The brave for ever!' (*Aux preux!*) but men always cry out, 'The sons of the brave!' (*Aux fils de preux!*) after the deaths of their fathers. For no knight can be judged *preux* (valiant, or brave) till after his death †.

* See the 19th chap. 2 Samuel.

† This is a very striking allusion to a particular custom at tournaments, and sometimes in actual fight, of which Saint Palaye gives a most interesting account in the "Memoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie." The exclamation, "Aux filz des Preux!" was evidently used to encourage young knights to emulate the glories of their ancestors, and to do nothing unworthy the noble title given them; and in many instances it was attended with the most animating consequences.

The greatest misfortune attending on a translation of French chronicles is the total absence in our language of an expression answerable to the French word "preux," which conveys in itself whole volumes of meaning. The

" My third instance shall be of Athalia, queen of Jerusalem, of whom the holy Scriptures say,—' Athalia vero mater regis Ochosiæ, videns filium suum mortuum surrexit et interfecit omne semen regium. Tollens autem Josaba filia regis Joran et soror Ochosiæ Joas filium Ochosiæ furata est eum de medio filiorum regis qui interficiebantur, et nutricem ejus de triclinio et abscondit eum a facie Athaliæ ut non interficeretur,' &c. 4 Reg. xi. Which, being translated, means, That the wicked Athalia, observing king Ochosias, her son, was dead, and had left but very young children to succeed him, through lust of governing the kingdom, slew all the king's children excepting Joas, who, through the courage of a valiant lady, inspired thereto by the grace of God, was carried away from his cradle, and sent by her secretly to the high-priest, who educated him until he was seven years old. This wicked queen reigned tyrannically for seven years, when the high-priest had her put to death by those who lay in wait for the purpose. He then caused the young child to be anointed king, who, notwithstanding his youth, being only seven years of age, governed his kingdom excellently well, through the advice of the high-priest and other prudent counsellors. The holy Scriptures say, ' Joas regnavit 40 annis in Hierusalem, fecitque rectum coram Domino cunctis diebus quibus docuit eum Joiada sacerdos.'

" Thus you have the third example, which shows how the concupiscence of vain honours is nothing more than a disorderly passion, to take by force the possessions of another. This it was that made queen Athalia a murderess, false and disloyal, and induced her to obtain, by a succession of crimes, the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem. You have heard how she was privily slain by such as lay in wait for her, which is a lawful manner of slaying tyrants, and is the death which all such ought to suffer.—With this I conclude the third article of my major.

" I come now to my fourth article, to which I propose adding eight facts, by way of conclusion, and eight others as corollaries, the stronger to lay my foundation for the justification of my aforesaid lord of Burgundy. I shall first lay down as law, that any subject-vassal, who by an artful desire of obtaining the realm of his sovereign lord and king, shall employ any witchcraft, or other illegal means, against his corporal safety, sins most grievously, and commits the crime of high treason, in the first degree, and, consequently, is deserving a double death. I secondly prove my proposition, by adding, that any subject-vassal who is an enemy to his sovereign lord sins mortally. My conclusion is therefore true,—and that he is a tyrant I shall prove by my lord St. Gregory, who says:

> " Tyrannus est proprie qui non dominus reputatur.
> Non juste principatur; aut non principatu decoratur.
> Nam sicut regnum rectus principatus dicitur.
> Sic dominium perversum tyrannis nuncupatur."

" It appears plain, that whoever commits the crime of high treason against the person of the prince is guilty of the highest possible offence, and is deserving of a double death. By the first death, I mean the separation of the body from the soul, which causes a perdurable damnation; for St. John the evangelist says, ' Qui vivit non morietur nec lædetur a morte secunda;' that is to say, That every human creature who shall obtain a victory over Covetousness and her three daughters, need not to be afraid of the second death, namely, eternal damnation. The second fact is, that in cases where a subject-vassal has been guilty of this crime, he cannot be too severely or too speedily punished; but a man of rank is more deserving of punishment than a simple subject, a baron than a simple knight, a count than a baron, a duke than a count, the cousin to the king than a foreigner, the king's brother than a cousin, the son to the king than his brother. Such is the first part of the second fact,—and I thus prove the second part; for as the obligation is greater, by many degrees, to desire to preserve the safety of the king's person and the good of the state, so the punishment of those who act contrary increases according to their rank; and the consequence I draw from it will prove true, namely, that the son is more bounden than the brother, the brother than the cousin, a duke than a count, a count than a baron, a baron

poet Spenser ventured to adapt the word in its superlative degree to the English tongue. He says somewhere " the *prowest* knight alive." In fact, the word " preux " may be considered as summing up the whole catalogue of knightly virtues in one expression. The exclamation was sometimes varied—" Honneur aux filz, des preux!" which seems to be the original expression.

than a knight, &c. to guard and preserve the honour of the king and the welfare of the realm; for to each of these ranks and dignities is a certain corresponding duty attached,—and the higher the rank, the greater the obligation; for the larger the possessions, and the more noble the person, the more he is bounden, as St. Gregory, before quoted, says, 'Cum crescunt dona et rationes donorum.'

"To continue my argument: the nearer the person is to the king by blood or hereditary honours, should he commit such crimes, it is by far more scandalous than if they were done by others removed at a greater distance from royalty. It is more scandalous for a duke or a potent lord, nearly related to the king, to practise his death, in order to gain his kingdom, than it would be for a poor subject no way related to the king; and being more iniquitous, the more deserving punishment.

"I shall, in the third place, prove my proposition by saying, Where there is greater danger there should be a greater degree of punishment; for the machinations of near relations to the king are of far more importance and more perilous than those of poor people. And as they are more dangerous, they are deserving of severer punishment to obviate the perils that may happen, and to check the desires that may arise in such as are so near to the crown, to gain possession of it. For this end, they may exert every influence, by force or otherwise, to grasp it, which a poorer subject would never think of doing, as he could not have any expectations of wearing it. My third truth is, That it is lawful for any subject, without any particular orders from any one, but from divine, moral, and natural law, to slay, or to cause to be slain, such disloyal traitors; I say it is not only lawful for any one to act thus in such cases, but it is also meritorious and highly honourable, particularly when the person is of such high rank that justice cannot be executed by the sovereign himself. I shall prove this truth by twelve reasons, in honour of the twelve Apostles.

"The three first reasons are drawn from the authorities of three moral philosophers: three others are from three dogmas of sacred theology of St. Augustin, who says, in the last part of the second book of Sentences: 'Quando aliquis dominium sibi per violentiam surripit nolentibus subditis, vel etiam ad consensum coactis: et non est recursus ad superiorem per quem de tali judicium posset fieri. Talis enim qui ad liberationem patriæ talem tyrannum occidit, laudem et præmium accissit. Hic primum laudatur. Item debet laudari per quæ facit opus dignum laude. Idem licitum præmium et honorabile accipit, et idem debet accipere. Ille facit opus meritorium quia nullum opus est dignum, primo nisi fieret meritorium.' To translate this briefly, the holy doctor declares, that a subject who shall put to death such a tyrant does a work deserving praise and remuneration. My second authority is as follows: Salisberiensis sacræ theologiæ eximii doctoris in libro suo Policratiri, lib. ii. cap. 15. Sic dicit:—'Amico adulari non licet; sed aurem tyranni mulcere licitum est, ei namque scilicet tyranno licet adulari quem licet occidere;' that is to say, It is unlawful to flatter a friend, but not so to deceive by fair words the ears of a tyrant; for since it is lawful to put him to death, it is allowable to cheat him by flattering speeches. My third authority is from several doctors, whom I class together, not to exceed the number of three, namely, Ricardi de Media-Villa, Alexandri de Hallis et Astensis, in summa qui conclusionem præfatam ponunt in iii. efforum; adding, for higher authority, the confirmation of St. Peter the apostle, who says, 'Subditi estote regi quasi præcellenti sive ducibus, tanquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, quia sic est voluntas Dei.' Scribitur primæ Pet. ii. That is to say, It is the will of God that all should obey the king, as sovereign lord over his kingdom; and the duke, as being sent by the king to punish those who have done ill, and remunerate the good. Hence it follows, that dukes are obliged, to the utmost of their power, to avenge the injuries that are done, or may be intended, against the king's person, and to oppose all such attempts as may come to their knowledge.

"I now proceed to the authorities from moral philosophers, the first of which is,—'Ante forum principis pluribus locis cuilibet subditorum licitum est occidere tyrannum, et non solum licitum, immo laudabile.' That is to say, It is lawful for any subject to destroy a tyrant, and not only lawful, but even honourable and worthy of praise. Cicero, in libro de Officiis, 'Laudatis illos qui illum Cæsarem interfecerunt quamvis esset sibi familiarium amicus, eo quod jura imperii quasi tyrannus usurpaverat.' That is, Tully writes, in his noble

book on morality, That those who killed Julius Cæsar are praiseworthy, because Julius had usurped the government of Rome as a tyrant. My third authority is from Boccacio, who, in his book De Casibus Virorum illustrium, lib. ii. cap. 15, contra filios tyrannorum, in speaking of the tyrant, says, 'Shall I call him king? shall I call him prince? shall I preserve my allegiance to him? Oh no: he is an enemy to the public welfare. May I employ conspiracies and open force against him? It is very proper and necessary so to do, —for there is not a more agreeable sacrifice than the blood of a tyrant, and it is insupportable to receive blame for having done good.'

"I come now to my three authorities from the civilians. As I am no lawyer, it will suffice if I mention the judgments that have been given without producing them; for in my life I never studied the canon nor civil law more than two years, and twenty years have passed since that time, so that what little I may have learnt I have quite forgotten since the period of my studies. The first authority of the civil law is, That any one may put to death deserters from the laws of chivalry; and who can be a greater deserter from chivalry than he who deserts the person of his king, the fountain of chivalry, and without whom it cannot long exist? Secondly, It is lawful for every one to kill thieves and robbers, who infest forests and rob on the highways,—because they are particularly the enemies of the public weal, and consequently plotting to destroy all travellers: consequently, it is lawful to kill a tyrant, who is continually practising against his king, the sovereign lord, and against the public good. Thirdly, If it be lawful for any one by the civil and imperial law to put to death a thief found by night in a house, it is much more so to slay a tyrant, who day and night devises the death of his sovereign lord. This consequence clearly follows, and will be apparent to any man of sound understanding, if he consider it, and the antecedent texts from holy writ.

"Before I touch on the three examples from the holy Scriptures, I wish to reply to some objections that may be made to what I say, in arguing thus: All murder is forbidden by every law, divine, natural, moral, and civil. Whatever may be said to the contrary, I shall prove it from Scripture: 'Non occides,' in Ex. xx. is one of the divine commandments, which forbids any kind of murder. That it is forbidden by the natural law, I prove by this quotation,—'Natura enim inter homines quandam cognationem constituit qua hominem homini insidiari nefas est.' I prove it forbidden by the moral law, from 'Quia per id: hoc non facias aliis quod tibi non vis fieri: alterum non lædere; jus suum unicuique tribuere: hoc est morale, insuper et de naturali jure.' That the civil and imperial laws forbid murder, those laws shall prove, 'Qui hominem occidit capite puniatur, non habita differentia sexus vel conditionis. Item omne bellum omnis usus armorum vitiosus præcipue prohibitus est: nam qui vitio præcipue bellum gerit, læsæ majestatis reus est. Item regis proprium furta cohibere, adulteria punire, ipsos de terra perdere: qui enim talia sibi appropriat aut usurpat, principem injuriatur et lædit: quoniam ut dicit lex judiciorum vigor: juris et publica tutela in medio constituta est, ne quis de aliquo quantumcunque sceleribus implicito assumere valeat ultionem.'

"To reply to the above arguments: It should be known that theologians and jurists use diversely this word *homicidium;* but, notwithstanding, they agree in the same opinion respecting the thing. The theologians say, that to kill a man lawfully is not homicide; for the word *homicidium* carries with it 'quod sit justum propter hoc dicunt quod Moyses, Phinees, et Mathathias non commiserunt homicidia, quia juste occiderunt;' but some jurists say, that killing of a man, just or unjust, is homicide,—while others deny it, saying there are two modes of homicide, legal and illegal; and for justifiable homicide no man ought to be punished. I answer, therefore, with the theologians, that the killing of a tyrant is not homicide, inasmuch as it is just and legal. According to the general law, I confess it would be homicide; but if there be shown justifiable cause for it, no punishment, but remuneration, should follow.

"With regard to that part of the argument which says, 'Quod hominem homini insidiari nefas est, et quæ magis insidiatur homini,' &c. it alludes to a tyrant who is continually practising the death of his king and sovereign lord. 'Et homo est nefas, et perditio, et iniquitas.' As for him who slays a man, by watching a proper opportunity for it, to save

the life of his king, and preserve him from mortal peril, he does no "nefas," but acquits himself of his duty toward his sovereign lord. 'Et homo est nefas, et perditio, et iniquitas;' and therefore he who kills such a one, by watching a proper opportunity, does it to save the life of his king. In regard to that passage which says, 'Non facias aliis, &c. alterum non lædere,' &c. I reply, that it makes against the tyrant, and in favour of him who slays him; for he (the tyrant) does against his king that which he would not have to be done against himself, 'et ipsum regem injuriatur et lædit.' For which reason, he who has put to death such a person, according to his deserts, has done nothing contrary to the laws, but has preserved the meaning of them, namely, true equity and loyalty towards his king and sovereign lord.

"To the other quotation from the laws that says, 'Hominem occidere capitale esse, omnis usus armorum,' &c. I answer, that there are no laws nor usages so very general but that there may be some exceptions made from them. I say, that the case of killing a tyrant is exempted, more especially when he is guilty of the crimes before mentioned. How can any greater cause of exemption be shown than that, when the murder is done through necessity, to save the king from being put to death? Even when conspiracies against his royal person have been so far carried by witchcraft and otherwise, that he is disabled from administering justice; and the tyrant being found deserving of that punishment, the king, from weakness of intellect, cannot, or will not, punish him, the killing of him, in such cases, is not against the law, properly speaking, for all laws have two meanings: the first is the textual signification, the other is the 'quo animo,'—the person committing a crime has done it, and the law, as intended by those who made it, is to be explained according to the intent of its framers, and not always according to the literal sense.

"Thus the philosopher brings forward the example of citizens who made a law for the defence of their city, that no one, under pain of death, should mount the ramparts, because their city was besieged; and they were afraid, should strangers mount the walls with the inhabitants there might arise danger to them, from these strangers, at a proper opportunity, joining their enemies, or at least making them signs to show where they might the more easily attack the town. It happened, that this town was attacked at several places,—when the strangers and pilgrims who were within it, observing the enemy were much superior to the inhabitants, armed themselves and mounted the walls at the weaker parts, when they repulsed the enemy, and saved the town. The philosopher then asks, Since these pilgrims have mounted the walls contrary to the express words of the law, they have infringed it, and should they not be punished? I say no; for although they have acted contrary to the literal text of the law, they have not disobeyed the spirit of it, which was the saving of the town,—for had they not mounted the walls in its defence, it must have been taken.

"As to the laws which declare, that none ought to administer justice but the prince, nor do any deeds of arms without his license,—I maintain, that these laws were made for the preservation of the king's honour and person, and for the public good. Should there exist a tyrant of great power and authority, who is continually practising, by witchcraft and other means, the death of the king, and to deprive him of his kingdom,—and should that king, from weakness of intellect or want of force, be unable to punish him, and should he permit him to go on in his wickedness,—I should disregard, in this case, the law that forbids me to bear arms without the king's license, or to take the authority into my own hands in a general sense only. What have I to do with the literal sense of it? Am I to leave my king in such peril? By no means. I am bound to defend my king, and put to death the tyrant; for should I, by thus acting, do contrary to the text of the law, I follow the spirit of it, and the object it was directed to, namely, the preservation of the honour and life of my king; and I should think myself more deserving of praise than if I had suffered the tyrant to live on in his wickedness. I ought therefore to be rewarded, and not punished, for having done a meritorious deed, tending to a good purpose, for which end all laws were made.

"St. Paul says, 'Littera occidit, charitas autem ædificat;' which means, that to follow the literal sense of the holy Scriptures is death to the soul, but that we ought to obey the true meaning in all charity,—that is to say, to mark and accomplish the end for which

the divine laws were made. Spiritual edification is a goodly thing. Item, the laws divine, natural and human, give me authority for so doing, and by so doing I am a minister of the divine law; and it is plain, that the objections I have started, as probably to be made against what I have said, are not of any weight.

" I come now to my three instances from the holy Scriptures, to confirm the truth of my third fact. In the first place, Moses, without any authority whatever, slew the Egyptian who tyrannised over the Israelites. At this period, Moses had no authority to judge the people of Israel, for this power was not given to him until forty years after the perpetration of this act. Moses, however, was much praised for having done it. 'Ut patet auctoritate Exodi ii. quia tanquam minister legis hoc facit. Ita in proposito in hoc faciendo ego ero minister legis.' The second instance is that of Phineas, who, without any orders, slew the duke Zambry, as has been related. Phineas was not punished for this, but on the contrary praised, and greatly requited in affection, honour, and riches. In the affection that God showed him, greater than before. In honour, 'Quia reputatum est ei ad justitiam,' &c. In riches, 'Quia per hoc acquisivit actum sacerdotii sempiternum non tantum pro se, sed pro tota tribu sua.' The third instance is that of St. Michael the archangel, who, without waiting for any commands from God, or others, but solely from his natural love, killed the disloyal traitor to his God and Sovereign Lord,—because Lucifer was conspiring to invade the sovereignty and honour of God. St. Michael was rewarded for his action in love, honour and wealth. In love, in that God had a stronger affection for him than any other, and confirmed him in his love and grace. In honour, 'Quia fecit eum militiæ cœlestis principem in æternum.' That is to say, He made him the prince of his angelic chivalry for ever. In wealth, for he gave him riches and glory to his satisfaction Tantum quantum erat capax, de quibus loquitur, 'O altitudo divitiarum sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei, quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viæ ejus.' Ad Rom. xi.

" Thus my third fact has been proven by twelve reasons. The fourth is, That it is more meritorious, honourable and legal, that a tyrant should be slain by one of the king's relations than by a stranger no way connected with him by blood,—by a duke than by a count,—by a baron than by a simple knight, and by a knight than by a common subject.

" I thus prove my proposition. He who is related to the king has an interest to guard his honour and life against every injurious attempt, and is bounden so to do more than any stranger; and, in like manner, descending from those of high rank to the common subject. Should he fail in this his duty, the more deserving is he of punishment; while, on the contrary, by performing it, he gains the greater honour and renown. 'Item in hoc magis relucent amor et obedientia occisoris, vel occidere præcipientis ad principem et dominum suum quia est magis honorabile si fuerit præpotens dux vel comes. Item in hoc magis relucet potentia regis quod est honorabile et quanto occisor vel dictæ occisionis præceptor non fuerit vilior et potentior tanto magis,' &c. In regard to alliances, oaths, promises, and confederations, made between one knight and another, in whatever manner they be, should they be intended to the prejudice of the prince or his children, or the public welfare, no one is bound to keep them; for, in so doing, he would act contrary to the laws, moral, natural, and divine. I shall now prove the truth of this. Arguendo sic: Bonam æquitatem (dictamen rectæ rationis) et legem divinam boni principes in persona publica servare, et utilitatem reipublicæ debent præferre, et præsupponere in omnibus talibus promissionibus, juramentis, et confederationibus: immo excipiuntur implicite secundum dictamen rectæ rationis: bonam æquitatem et charitatis ordinem quia alias esset licitum non obedire principi immo rebellare contra principes, quod est expresse contra sacram Scripturam, quæ sic dicit: 'Obedite principibus vestris, licet etiam discolis.' Et alibi: 'Subjecti estote regi præcellenti, sive judicibus, tanquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum.' 1 Pet. ii. ut sup. allegatum est. Ex illo arguitur sic: Quandocunque occurrunt duæ obligationes ad invicem contrariæ major tenenda est, et minor dissolvenda quantum adhoc, sed in casu nostro concurrunt duæ obligationes. Et cum obligatio ad principem sit major, et alia minor obligatio ad principem tenenda est, et alia non in tali casu. Item arguendo eandem quæstionem, quandocunque aliquis facit quod est melius quamvis juravit se id non facturum, non est perjurium, sed perjurio contrarium: ut expresse ponit magister senten-

tiarum ultima dicti tertii : sed in casu nostro melius est tyrannum in præfato casu occidere quamvis juravit se non occisurum quam presentem vivere ut tactum est superius : ergo occidere tyrannum in præfato casu quamvis juravit se non occisurum non perjurium facit, sed perjurio contrarium. Et consequenter Isidorus in libro de summo bono sic dicit : 'Id non est observandum sacramentum et juramentum quo malum incaute remittitur, sed in casu nostro male et incaute promittitur. Sed non tenent promissiones jurata vel confœderationes contra principem, uxorem principis, liberos, vel reipublicæ utilitatem.'

"Seventhly, If any of the above confederations and alliances should turn out to the prejudice of the person so engaging, of his wife or his children, he is not obliged to abide by them. 'Patet hic veritas per rationes tactas prius et cum hoc probatur sic, quia observare in illo casu confœderationes contra legem charitatis qua quis magis sibi ipsi uxori propriæ vel liberis quam posset obligari cuicunque alteri virtute talis promissionis et omnia præcepta et consimilia in ordine ad charitatem patent per apostolum sic dicentem. Finis præcepti est charitas, quia in omnibus casibus et promissionibus intelligitur hoc, si in fide observaverit juxta illud frangenti fidem, &c. Item, subintelligitur si domino placuerit sed certum est quod non placeret Deo cum foret contra legem charitatis, ideo,' &c.

"In regard to the seventh proposition, namely, that it is lawful and meritorious for any subject to put to death a traitor that is disloyal to his king, by waylaying him, and whether it be lawful for him to dissemble his purposes,—I shall prove it first by the authority of that moral philosopher Boccacio, already quoted, in his second book De Casibus Virorum illustrium, who, in speaking of a tyrant, says, 'Shall I honour him as prince? shall I preserve my faith to him as my lord? By no means: he is an enemy, and I may employ arms and spies against him.' This act of courage is holy and necessary; for there cannot be a more agreeable sacrifice to God than the blood of a tyrant. I prove this from holy writ, in the instance of Jehu : 'Occident te sacerdotes et cultores Baal,' ut habetur secundo Reg. x., ubi sic dicitur Jehu, 'Acab parum coluit Baal, ego autem colam eum amplius.' Et paululum post : Porro Jehu licet insidiose ut disperdat cultores Baal, dicit, Sanctificate diem solennem Baal, &c. et laudatur de hoc. Item de Athalia regina vidente filium suum mortuum 'surrexit, et interfecit omne semen regium, ut regnaret,' et Joyadas summus sacerdos insidiose fecit eam occidi. Et de hoc laudatur ut superius tactum est ad longum. Item, Judith occidit Holofernem per insidias. Et etiam de hoc laudatur pater familias quod ad zizaniæ eradicationem non voluit expectare tempus messis ne triticum simul cum zizaniis eradicaretur, &c. 'Quod intelligitur in occision etyrannorum per insidias sed et bonam cautelam et debet expectari loci et temporis opportunitas et expleri ne boni eradicentur,' &c. This is the proper death for tyrants : they ought to be slain by waylaying, or other means improper to be used toward good men; and for this reason, we are bound, in many instances, to preserve our faith to our capital enemy, but not to tyrants. As the reasons for this, urged by doctors, are common, and of some length, I shall pass them over.

"AS TO WITCHCRAFT.

"Eighthly, Any subject and vassal who shall imagine and practise against the health of his king and sovereign lord, to put him to death by a languishing disorder, through covetousness to gain his crown and kingdom,—any one who shall cause to be consecrated, or, more properly speaking, to be directed against him swords, daggers, knives, golden rods or rings, dedicated, by means of necromancy, to the devils, or shall make invocations with characters, sorceries, charms, after having thrust sharp instruments into the bodies of dead men hung on a gibbet, and then into the mouths of such malefactors, leaving them there for the space of several days, to the horror of all who detest these abominable practices; and, beside these arts, shall wear near their bodies a piece of cloth, containing the powder of some of the bones of malefactors, sewed up, or tied, with the hair from the secret parts : I say, such as shall commit any crimes similar to the above, are not only guilty of human high treason, in the first degree, but are disloyal traitors to God their Creator, and to their king.

"As idolaters, and false to the catholic faith, they are worthy of the double death, here and in the world to come, even when such sorceries and witchcraft shall fail of their intended

effect on the king's person. Quia dicit dominus Bonaventura, lib. ii. d. 6. 'Diabolus nunquam satisfacit voluntati talium, nisi antequam infidelitas idololatriæ immisceatur, sicut enim ad divina miracula plurimum facit fides, &c. Et ideo experientia de effectu prædictarum superstitionum secuta in personam præfati regis probat clare ibi fuisse idololatriam et fidem perversam. Item diabolus nihil faceret ad voluntatem talium in tali casu nisi exhiberetur ei dominium quod multum affectat nec se exhibet ad tales invocationes ipsis invocantibus eum, nisi ipsum adorent et sacrificia et oblationes offerant, aut pacta cum ipsis dæmonibus faciant.' Item, doctor sanctus secunda secundæ in xi. articulo secundo dicit 'quod tales invocationes nunquam sortiuntur effectum nisi fuerit falsa corruptio fidei idololatria et pactio cum dæmonibus.' Ejusdem opinionis videtur esse Alexander de Hallis, Ricardus de Media-villa et Astensis in summa. Et communiter omnes doctores qui de hac materia locuti sunt, et sicut falsarii monetæ et pecuniarum regis, &c.

"I thus perceive that all the doctors in theology agree in saying, that such sorceries, charms, and witchcraft, can only succeed by the work of the devil, or by his false means;—and that these sorceries, and such like superstitions, have not of themselves the power of hurting any one, but that the devils have the ability to injure any person so far only as shall be permitted them by God. The devils will not do anything for those that call on them, unless they perform three things, namely, pay them divine honour, which ought solely to be paid to God, by offering them homage and adoration, proving themselves false to the holy catholic faith,—and the doing of which makes them guilty of the crime of high treason.

"*Primum Corollarium.* Should it happen, that for the circumstances above stated, any of these invocators of the devil, idolaters, and traitors to the king, should be confined in prison, and that during the time that their process is carried to judgment, any accomplice of their crimes should deliver or cause them to be delivered from prison, he shall be punished just as these idolaters would have been, as guilty of the crime of high treason in the first and fourth degree.

"*Secundum Corollarium.* If any subject who shall give, or promise to give, a large sum of money to another for poisoning the king his sovereign lord, and the bargain be proven and the poisons laid, although they may fail to produce their effects, through the interference of the providence of God or other means,—those who have committed this crime are guilty of being traitors and disloyal to their sovereign, and shall suffer the double death for high treason in the first degree.

"*Tertium Corollarium.* Any subject who, by treachery and hypocrisy, shall during any mummeries, through malice aforethought, procure dresses for his king, and, having clothed him in such dresses, shall cause them to be set on fire, with the intent that the king his sovereign may be burnt in them, so that he may obtain his kingdom, commits high treason in the first degree, is a tyrant and disloyal to his king, and is deserving of the double death, even should his sovereign escape, for the noble and valiant persons who may have been burnt to death in exquisite pain through his means.

"*Quartum Corollarium est:* When any subject and vassal to the king shall make alliances with those who are mortal enemies to his sovereign and kingdom, he cannot exculpate himself from being guilty of treason; more especially when he shall send advice to the men-at-arms of the enemy not to surrender any forts they may have gained in the kingdom,—for that when he shall be employed against them he will afford them succour. And beside, when he not only shall prevent the march of any armies against such enemies, but shall encourage them by secret and underhand means, he is a traitor to his king and country, and is deserving of the double death.

"*Quintum Corollarium est:* If any subject or vassal shall, through deceit and false information, sow the seeds of dissension between the king and queen, by telling the latter that the king hates her so mortally he is determined on having her and her children put to death, and that she has no other remedy to prevent this but flying out of the kingdom with her children; advising her strongly at the same time to put this plan into execution, and offering to conduct her out of the realm to any castle she may please, adding with much subtlety, and by way of caution, that the queen must keep this advice very secret, lest she may be prevented from following it; and if, in order to accomplish this plan, he propose to the queen

that she should undertake different pilgrimages, until she be in a place of safety, intending by this means to confine her and her children in some of his prisons, and to gloss it over to the king, so that he may succeed him in his crown and kingdom. Any subject guilty of such a crime commits high treason in the second, third, and fourth degrees. This is such an apparent truth that should I wish to prove it, 'esset adjuvare cœlum facibus.'

"*Sextum Corollarium est:* If any subject or vassal, through ambition to obtain a crown and kingdom, shall visit the pope, and impose on him, by imputing falsely and wickedly crimes and vices against his king and sovereign lord, which would be blots in his royal issue, concluding thence that such a king is unworthy to reign, and his children unfit to succeed him, and requiring most urgently of the pope that he would issue a declaration to the effect of depriving the king and his children of the crown; and likewise declaring, that the kingdom had devolved to him and his race, requesting that the pope would grant absolution to all the vassals of the realm who should adhere to him, giving them a dispensation for the oaths of fidelity that all subjects are obliged to take to their king,—such as may commit the above crime are disloyal traitors to their sovereign, and guilty of high treason in the first and second degrees.

"*Septimum Corollarium est:* If any disloyal subject shall hinder ('animo deliberato') the union of the church, and counteract the conclusions formed by the king and clergy of this realm for the welfare and security of the holy church, and shall use, among other means, that of force, to induce the pope to incline to his iniquitous way of thinking,—such subject is a traitor to his God, to the holy church, to his king and sovereign lord, and ought to be reputed a schismatic and obstinate heretic. He is worthy of the disgraceful death, insomuch that the earth ought to open under him and swallow him up, like to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, as we read in the Bible, 'Aperta est terra sub pedibus eorum, et aperiens os suum devoravit eos cum tabernaculis suis, descenderuntque viri eorum in infernum operti humo.' Num. xvi. Psal. 'Aperta est terra et deglutivit Dathan,' &c.

"*Octavum Corollarium est:* Any subject or vassal who shall, through ambition to obtain the crown, practise the death of his sovereign and his children by secret means, such as the poisoning their food, is guilty of high treason in the first and third degrees.

"*Nonum et ultimum Corollarium est:* Every subject or vassal who shall raise a body of men-at-arms, who do nothing but pillage and devour the substance of the people, rob and murder whom they please, and force women, and whose captains are posted in the strong places, castles, passes, and fords and bridges of the said kingdom, and shall moreover impose heavy taxes on the people under the pretext of carrying on the war against a foreign enemy, and, when these taxes have been raised and paid into the king's treasury, shall seize on them by force, and distribute the amount among the enemies and illwishers to the king and kingdom, in order to strengthen himself that he may obtain his damnable ends, namely, the crown and kingdom,—every subject who thus acts, ought to be punished as a false and disloyal traitor to the king and realm, and as guilty of high treason in the first and fourth degrees, and deserving of the double death.

"Thus ends the first part of my justification of my good lord of Burgundy.

"SEQUITUR MINOR.

"I come now to declare and prove my minor, in which I shall show, that the late Louis duke of Orleans was devoured with covetousness of vain honours and worldly riches: that to obtain for himself and his family the kingdom and crown of France, by depriving our king of them, he studied all sorts of sorcery and witchcraft, and practised various means of destroying the person of the king, our sovereign lord, and his children. So greatly had ambition and covetousness, and the temptation of the hellish adversary, possessed themselves of him, that, as a tyrant to his king and liege lord, he committed the crime of divine and human high treason, in every manner and degree noticed in my major; that is to say, in the first, second, third, and fourth degrees. In regard to the divine high treason, as that concerns the Sovereign Judge in the heavens, I shall not lay any great stress upon this article, but shall touch upon it incidentally, when I speak of human high treason. I shall therefore

enumerate, article by article, how he has committed human high treason in the four degrees above stated, and shall consequently divide my minor into four heads.

"Respecting the first charge I make, of his having committed high treason in the first degree,—that is, when the offence has been done directly against the person of the king,—it may be done two ways: the first by imagining and practising the death and destruction of the prince, his sovereign lord, which may be divided into several heads, but I shall content myself with three.

"The first by practising the death of the prince by sorcery, charms, and witchcraft; the second, by poisons, venoms, and intoxication; the third, by killing or causing the prince to be killed by arms, water, fire, and other violent injections.

"That he is guilty of the first charge I prove thus: To cause the king our lord to die of a disorder so languishing, and so slow, that no one should divine the cause of it,—by dint of money, he bribed four persons, one of whom was an apostate monk, the others, a knight, an esquire, and a varlet, to whom he gave his own sword, his dagger, and a ring, for them to consecrate to, or, more properly speaking, to make use of, in the name of the devils. As such-like sorceries can only be performed in solitude, and far from the world, these persons took up their abode for many days in the tower of Mont-Jay, near Laigny-sur-Marne. The aforesaid apostate monk, who was the principal in this diabolical work, made there several invocations to the devil, and at different times, the whole of which took place between Easter and Ascension-day; and one grand invocation on a Sunday, very early and before sun-rise, on a mountain near to the tower of Mont-jay.

"The monk performed many superstitious acts near a bush, with invocations to the devil; and while doing these, he stripped himself naked to his shirt, and kneeled down: he then stuck the points of the sword and dagger into the ground, and placed the ring near them. Having uttered many invocations to the devils, two of them appeared to him, in the shape of two men, clothed in brownish green, one of whom was called Hermias, and the other Estramain. He paid them such honours and reverence as were due to God our Saviour, after which he withdrew behind the bush. The devil who had come for the ring took it and vanished; but he who was come for the sword and dagger remained,—but afterwards, having seized them, he also vanished. The monk, shortly after, came to where the devils had been, and found the sword and dagger lying flat on the ground, the sword having the point broken,—but he saw the point among some powder, where the devil had laid it. Having waited for half an hour, the other devil returned, and gave him the ring, which to the sight was of the colour of red, nearly scarlet, and said to him, 'Thou wilt put it into the mouth of a dead man, in the manner thou knowest,' and then he vanished. The monk obeyed his instructions, thinking to burn the king our lord,—but through the providence of God, and the aid of those most excellent ladies the duchesses of Berry and Burgundy, who were present, he escaped.

"I shall next show that the duke of Orleans was guilty of the crime of high treason in the first degree, by the alliances he contracted contrary to the interest of the king and kingdom. It is a fact, that when the king our lord and king Richard of England were firmly united in friendship, by the marriage of Richard with the eldest princess of France, king Richard would, at any risk, speak to the king our lord respecting his health; and when they were together, he told him, that the infirmity he was subject to was caused by means used by the dukes of Orleans and of Milan, and entreated him, by the love of God, to be on his guard against them. The king, after this conversation, conceived so great a hatred against the duke of Milan, and not without cause, that the herald who bore his arms dared not appear in his presence. When this came to the ears of the duke of Orleans, he took a mortal dislike to king Richard, and inquired who was the greatest enemy he had in this world. He soon learnt that it was Henry of Lancaster, to whom he made advances, and at length concluded an alliance with him, in order to destroy the king, and to strengthen himself as much as possible, to arrive at his damnable ends.

"The duke of Orleans and Henry of Lancaster agreed mutually to labour and assist each other to accomplish the deaths of the two kings, that they might obtain the crowns of France and England—that of France for Louis d'Orleans, and that of England for Henry of

Lancaster. Henry succeeded in his attempt, but, thank God ! the duke of Orleans has failed. And to confirm the truth of this alliance, the duke of Orleans has ever been favourable to the English, and has assisted Henry with all his power, and particularly in regard to the siege of the castle of Bordes, when he sent to the garrison not to surrender it to the French, for that he would hinder the success of the siege, and afford them sufficient succour when there should be need of it. He also prevented many expeditions from taking place, which were intended against the English.

"Thus he proved himself a tyrant and disloyal to his prince and to the welfare of the kingdom, and committed high treason of the first degree, in a second manner. In confirmation of this, a fact has just struck me which I will relate to you. At the time when king Richard was a prisoner, and it was the intention of Henry to have him put to death, some of the English lords said to him, that great danger might ensue from the indignation of the French. Henry replied, they need not have any fears on that head, for he had a powerful friend in France, to whom he had allied himself, namely, the duke of Orleans, brother to the king, who would not, for any attempt that might be made on king Richard, suffer the French to attack the English ; and to convince them, he made them read the letters that had passed, and the articles of the treaty concluded between them. It appears then, that the duke of Orleans has, in various ways, committed high treason of the first degree. I shall now finish this article of my minor, although there be many other very horrible crimes perpetrated by the duke of Orleans of the first degree of high treason, which my lord of Burgundy reserves to charge him with at a proper opportunity, should there be a necessity for it.

"I proceed to the second article of my minor, wherein I shall charge the duke of Orleans with being guilty of the crime of high treason, not only in the first, but also in the second degree, which consists in offending the king in the person of the queen his wife. It is a fact, that about four years after the king was attacked by his unfortunate disorder, the profligate duke of Orleans never ceased imagining how he could succeed in his wicked and damnable designs, and thought that if he could prevail on the queen to quit the kingdom with her children, he would the more readily obtain his object. With this intent, he falsely informed her, that the king was very indignant against her, and advised her, as she regarded her own life and the lives of her children, to quit the presence of the king and to leave the country. He offered to conduct her and them to the duchy of Luxembourg (thinking that when there he could do with them as he pleased), and promised the queen that he would there safely guard her and her children. He added, that should the king recover from his frenzy, and should he perceive that he was no longer angry with her, and that she might safely return, which he engaged to urge to the king with all his power, he would re-conduct her and her children to his majesty. And in case the king should not have changed his opinion concerning her, he would maintain her according to her rank in the duchy of Luxembourg, were any of the nobles, or even the king or others, to visit her. The better to colour his wicked designs, he gave the queen to understand that this project must be kept secret, and executed with much caution, lest she and her family should be stopped on the road to Luxembourg. He advised her to undertake a pilgrimage with her children to St. Fiacre, and thence to Our Lady at Liesse, whence he would escort her to Luxembourg, and give her such an establishment as should be suitable for her and her children's rank, until the present dispositions of the king should be changed. He frequently pressed the queen on this subject, using nearly the words I have related, all tending to put the queen and her children in his power to do with them as he pleased. They certainly were in great danger ; and it would have increased, if some worthy persons, real friends to the queen, had not informed her that all she had heard was false, which made her alter her intentions the moment she discovered the wicked and damnable designs of the duke of Orleans. She determined, in consequence, not to undertake this journey.—Thus concludes the second article of my minor, which plainly proves the late duke of Orleans guilty of high treason against the person of the queen of France.

"I shall now show, that the duke of Orleans has been guilty of high treason in the third degree, by three different crimes : the first, by poisons and intoxications ; the second, by fallacious deceptions ; the third, by his false representations to the pope.

"In regard to my first charge, I declare the late duke of Orleans guilty of intending the death of the late dauphin by means of a poisoned apple which was given to a child, with orders to offer it to my lord the late dauphin, and to none other, which was done. It chanced as he was carrying this apple, he passed through the gardens of the hotel de St. Pol, where he met the nurse to the children of the duke of Orleans, carrying one of them in her ams. The apple seemed so beautiful that she bade the child give it to her, that she might present it to the infant she was carrying, but he said he would not give it to any one but my lord the dauphin. Seeing the boy so obstinate, the nurse took the apple from him by force and gave it her child to eat, who soon after fell sick and died. I here ask one question. This innocent died of the poisoned apple: ought the boy who brought it, or the nurse who gave it the child, be punished? I reply, No, neither of them; but the crime must be attributed to those who poisoned it, or caused it to be carried.

"In regard to my second charge, of fallacious deceptions, I have already touched upon them, in his treacherous conduct and advice to the queen, to quit the kingdom for the duchy of Luxembourg.

"As to my third charge, it is well known that the duke of Orleans, persevering in his wicked designs, has personally, and by ambassadors, often practised with the pope to deprive the king of his crown and kingdom. To succeed in this damnable conspiracy, he falsely and wickedly charged the king with crimes affecting his royal progeny, which he gave the pope to understand were such as required him to declare the king and his posterity unworthy to hold or succeed to the crown of France. He also requested the pope to grant absolution to all who should act contrary to the oath of fidelity they had been constrained to take to the king, and to declare the next of his blood the successor to the crown and government of France. The better to secure the pope in his interests, he has always favoured and supported him by divers ways, as is apparent from his conduct, in the cession and restitution of the monies from the hospital of Toulouse.

"Thus the third article of my minor is made clear, notwithstanding there are very many other horrible crimes of high treason in the third degree, committed by the late duke of Orleans, unnoticed, which my lord of Burgundy has reserved to himself, to bring forward or not as he may see occasion.

"I now come to the fourth article of my minor, which is, that the late duke of Orleans has been guilty of high treason in the fourth degree, namely, of offending against the public welfare.

"Although I have before noticed his alliance with the enemies of the realm, which is acting positively against the public good, I shall show how he has otherwise committed this crime. In the first place, by keeping men-at-arms in different parts of the realm, who did nothing but plunder the people, rob all travellers, and force women. He moreover placed their captains in the strongest castles, and at all the passes, bridges and fords of rivers, the better to succeed in his wicked designs, namely, the usurpation of the government. Secondly, He has imposed intolerable taxes on the subjects of the realm, pretending they were for the carrying on the war against the enemy, but giving from their amount large sums to the ill-wishers to the kingdom, to induce them to become his allies, and support him in his attempt to seize the crown.

"Thus it appears that I have proved the duke of Orleans guilty of high treason in the fourth degree. There are beside many other facts more wicked and criminal than I have stated; but my lord of Burgundy has reserved them with others, to bring forward, if it be necessary, more strongly to convict the duke of Orleans of having had the design of compassing the king's death, and the deaths of his royal family, that he might obtain the crown.

"Now, if my hearers will unite my minor with my major, it will clearly follow, that my lord of Burgundy is not deserving of any blame whatever for what has happened to the criminal duke of Orleans; nor ought the king our lord to be dissatisfied with him, but, on the contrary, he should be pleased with what he had done, and requite him for it in three ways,—namely, in love, honour, and riches, after the example of the rewards given to my lord the archangel St. Michael, and to the valiant man Phineas, which I have already mentioned in my major. According to my plain understanding, I think our lord and king ought

to declare his attachment to my aforesaid lord of Burgundy, and publish his good fame both within and without the kingdom, by his letters patent, in the manner of epistles or otherwise; and God grant it may be so done, 'Qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen *.'"

After master John Petit had finished his harangue, he requested of the duke of Burgundy that he would vouch for all he had said, which the duke granted, and avowed the whole of what master John Petit had laid to the charge of the late duke of Orleans, in the presence of the dauphin, who represented the person of the king, and all the other princes and lords before particularised. The orator, after this, declared that the duke of Burgundy had reserved some charges of a deeper nature to lay before the king personally, when a proper occasion should offer.

The assembly now broke up, and the princes and lords retired to their different hotels. The duke of Burgundy was escorted to his hôtel d'Artois by a large body of men-at-arms and archers.

There were great murmurings in Paris among all ranks, for the assembly had been open to all, respecting the charges made against the late duke of Orleans, and various were the opinions concerning them. Those attached to the Orleans party declared they were all false, whilst the Burgundians maintained the contrary.

Shortly afterward, queen Isabella of France, apprehensive of consequences to herself and children, set out from Paris with her son the duke of Aquitaine and the others, accompanied by Louis duke of Bavaria, her brother, and fixed her residence in the castle of Melun. The king, who had been very ill of his disorder for some time, now recovered: the duke of Burgundy waited on him, and was not only reconciled but obtained letters sealed with the king's seal and signed with his own hand, by which he was pardoned for what had lately happened to the duke of Orleans, to the astonishment of many great lords and wise men, but at this moment it could not be otherwise.

CHAPTER XL.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS A SOLEMN EMBASSY TO THE POPE.—THE ANSWER THEY RECEIVE.—THE POPE EXCOMMUNICATES THE KING AND HIS ADHERENTS.

About this period, some persons came to the king and the lords then at Paris, to inform them, that the pope and his rival would neither of them resign the popedom, as they had promised in the city of Savona,—but by various deceitful means kept up the schism that had so long hurt the true interests of the church. The king, in consequence, wrote letters to the pope, and sent them by Jean de Château-morant and Jean de Coursen, knights, his ambassadors, to declare, that if peace were not firmly established throughout the Christian church by Ascension-day next ensuing, he himself and the clergy, nobles and people of his realm and of Dauphiny, would no longer obey him or his adversary. Pope Benedict was not well pleased with the contents of these letters, nor with the embassy, although he dissembled with the ambassadors. He made them a short answer, saying he would speedily reply to the letters they had brought, after which they took leave of him and returned to Paris, to make the king and council acquainted with all that had passed. It was not long before a messenger from the pope arrived at Paris, who went to the hôtel de St. Pol, and, understanding the king was in his oratory at the commencement of the mass, proceeded thither, and presenting the king with an apostolical letter, instantly departed.

When mass was over, the king caused the letter to be opened, and deliberately read, by which he learnt that he himself and all his subjects were excommunicated. Search was instantly made in Paris after the person who had brought this excommunication, but in vain, for he had quitted the city as secretly and suddenly as he could. The king and his

* This is one of the most extraordinary pieces of special pleading on record. Its effect was most mischievous, and as we shall see hereafter, the duke of Burgundy, "Jean sans peur," himself fell a victim to the murderous creed broached by his own advocate. Jean Petit was undoubtedly a man of considerable attainments, and in his capacity of professor of theology in the university of Paris, he had obtained great reputation. His conduct on this occasion was reprobated by all his fellow collegians; and notwithstanding all the support of the duke of Burgundy, he could not endure the reproaches heaped upon him, but retiring to Hesdin, died there in 1411.—Ed.

council, noticing the manner and form of this act, in compliance with the exhortations of the university of Paris, the greater part of his council, and the princes of the blood, who were all much angered with the pope, he withdrew himself from his obedience to the holy see.

THE APOSTOLICAL LETTER RECEIVED BY THE KING.

"BENEDICT, bishop and servant to the servants of God, to his very dear son in JESUS CHRIST, Charles king of France, sends health and apostolical benediction.

"Would to God, very dear son, that thou knewest the love and affection we bear to thy noble and potent person, and didst understand the purity of our mind, thou wouldest then be sensible of the great joy we feel in thy prosperity, and of our grief at any tribulations that befal thee. If of this thou hadst knowledge, thou wouldest not listen to those detractors, who by false tales endeavour to set thy heart against us, but love us, as a son should love a father, and then the disturbances in thy kingdom, raised up by thy persecutions against our holy church, would cease. Thou knowest well, glorious prince, and hast also heard from public report, how constantly and diligently we have laboured to restore union to the church; and the advances we have made, in order to obtain peace, towards those who have foolishly encouraged the unfortunate schism, by claiming the right of enjoying the holy see, and more particularly toward Angelo Corrario, who calls himself Gregory, and is at present the adversary to the church. He, however, refuses to perform the promises he had made in various places to resign his pretensions, and prolongs the division in the holy church under frivolous and false pretences. It is, however, notorious, and cannot be denied, that it has not been owing to any fault in us that peace has not been given to the church, and all cause for schism annihilated.

"Notwithstanding this, there are some, we hear, who are very busy in their endeavours to defame us to thee, and to lessen, inasmuch as they can, the purity of our good fame. Others, we learn, are weakening thy devotion, and that of the princes of thy blood, by unjustly blaming us, and charging us most falsely with want of diligence in re-establishing the union of the holy church. In truth, such persons should be answered by stating the real facts, which would destroy their fictions and falsehoods; and we believe that they have been the cause why we have not received anything in our treasury from thy kingdom for the space of two years, an edict having been issued from thy court, which has deprived us of our rights, and we are no longer obeyed in thy realm. We look, however, for consolation and assistance from thee; for thy predecessors, in times past, have laboured to destroy the schisms and errors in the church, and to preserve peace and union. But some in thy kingdom have lately rebelled against the holy see, by appealing from us, against the constitutions of the canon,—and they have been permitted to spread abroad divers errors, contrary to the purity of true religion.

"In addition to what we have stated, we have been much hurt and affected by the conduct of thy ambassadors in this town, and in our presence. Our very dear sons Jean de Château-Morant and Jean de Coursen, noble men and thy ambassadors, have come to us from thee, and brought us letters sealed with thy seal, by which thou makest known to us, that if by the feast of Ascension next coming, union be not established throughout our holy church, and one pope or pastor of that church be elected, thyself, the clergy, nobles and people of thy realm, and of the duchy of Guienne, will observe a strict neutrality, and will not pay obedience to either of the popes, nor wilt thou suffer thy subjects to pay any attention to our mandates. Thou mayest consider, very dear son, if we had not cause for grief at heart, on reading these harsh expressions. They are little proofs of that love a child owes a father, and have been followed by serious consequences; for when thou and the princes of thy blood make use of such expressions, others may carry their meaning to a farther extent, and may include thee in the perdition that may befal them. Thy good renown has been also wounded by the sin thou hast committed in wishing to set bounds to divine mercy. The union thou thinkest to obtain is sinful, and a perseverance in schism: for our adversary and his followers, swollen up with pride, will not bend nor incline to peace, but will acquire greater obstinacy from the hopes thy conduct will have given them, that we shall be

deprived of any power over thy subjects and kingdom. Thus those who were dejected and in despair will, from our oppressions, regain strength and courage.

"Truly, most dear son, we to whom God has intrusted the care of his people, cannot longer suffer such things as may be injurious to the divine Majesty, and may cause the peril of souls, and tend to keep alive the schism in the holy church, and to invalidate my election and reputation. We grieve much at thy deception, and at the wicked counsels thou hast received,—and we exhort and entreat of thee, in the name of our blessed Saviour, that thou wouldst not listen to such wicked men, who seek their own profit from the losses of the church, and from the quarrels they may excite in thy family.

"With regard to our proceedings, thou hast had full knowledge of them, from what we have written to thee on the subject. Consider, therefore, coolly with thy council, the purity of our intentions: have the goodness to revoke and annul all edicts that may be injurious to us and to the church, and use thy endeavours to bring thine and all other kingdoms to that obedience originally due to us. We also must tell thee, that we will not act as thou hast written to us, for it does no honour to thy excellent understanding. If thou wilt obey the mandates and exhortations of thy father, thou wilt gain great merit with God, and, by inclining thyself to the holy apostolical see, much praise from man. Beloved son, be on thy guard against deceivers. We will also, that thou shouldst know, and by these presents do make known to thee, that beside the pains and punishments pronounced by the law, we have lately made other constitutions, which we send thee with our bull, by which thyself and all other such delinquents and disobedient children (which God avert!) will be punished. We have done this to preserve thee and other princes from the heinous offence of high treason, so great is our paternal love toward thee and them, in order that at the day of judgment we may be blameless, by endeavouring to prevent, as much as in us lies, any soul from perishing.

"Given at Porto Venere, in the diocese of Genoa, the 23d day of March, in the 14th year of our papacy."

THE BULL OF THE POPE DELLA LUNA, BY WHICH HE EXCOMMUNICATES THE KING OF FRANCE AND OTHERS.

"Benedict, bishop and servant of the servants of God, in perpetual memory of the increase of wickedness among mankind,—We behold the world daily becoming worse, and the thoughts of mankind so bent on evil that they add crime to crime,—That the good who may be intermixed with the bad may not be corrupted through malice and error, and that the boldness and presumption of vice may be somewhat restrained by fear of punishment,—It has come to our knowledge by public report, that certain children of perdition, as well churchmen as seculars, who, ambitious of rising higher than becomes them, may thence dangerously fall, having been deceived by him who changes himself into the form of an angel of light that he may afterward deceive others, have given great scandal to the simple and weak, and much offence to those of firmer minds, from their attempts to destroy and divide the catholic church by schism, and to prevent the re-union of it, which was taking place when we were elected sovereign and apostolical bishop.

"Two years before this period, when we were of mature age*, we laboured hard to put an end to this schism, which has divided the church of God for nearly thirty years, to the great grief of all sincere Christians, and it still continues through the perverseness of man. We have declared to Angelo Corrario, (who has thrust himself into the apostolical chair, and is called by those under his obedience by the name of Gregory,) the mode of renunciation frankly and sincerely offered by us, and which in our apostolical letters, given at Marseilles the 2d day of February of the aforesaid year of our papacy, is more fully explained. We have again offered to Angelo Corrario to appear in person at a proper and convenient place, that measures may be the more speedily adopted for the success of so desirable an event as the re-union of the holy church. Notwithstanding this, the sons of iniquity exert all their powers, by means of fraud and hypocrisy, to prevent us and our brother cardinals from

* Q. "Et aussi deux ans paravant que nous estiemes en meur estat (?)"

executing so salutary an object, despising the bonds of the holy church, and pretending an ardent desire for its union, while they wickedly withdraw themselves from its obedience, and in their defence appealing from us, which, however, they have not the right to do. We have patiently suffered all this, in the hope it may excite in them repentance and a desire to return to their duty: nevertheless, they persevere with greater boldness and presumption.

"In order, therefore, to check this, we, having duly considered the weightiness of the matter, do, according to the powers vested in us, pronounce sentence of excommunication against all who knowingly shall obstruct the union of the holy church, or shall impede ourself and our venerable brethren the cardinals in the execution of the aforesaid things offered by us, and agreed to by Angelo Corrario or his ambassadors, or all who may appeal against us or our successors, bishops of Rome, legally elected to that dignity, or whoever may countenance and support such appeals, subtractions, or perturbations, under any pretence or colour. We likewise include in this our sentence those who may perversely affirm they are not bound to obey our mandates, whatever may be their rank, whether cardinal, patriarch, archbishop, bishop, or of imperial or kingly dignity, and of whatever rank in church or state. From this sentence none can be absolved but by the pope, excepting when 'in articulo mortis.' And should it happen that any may thus have received absolution, and recover their health, we will and command, that instantly on their recovery they present themselves before the holy see to receive absolution again, and to make such satisfaction as may appear reasonable and conformable to justice. Should this sentence be endured through obstinacy and hardness of heart for the space of twenty days, by any one of any estate or degree above-mentioned, be the same a prince or other secular of any description whatsoever, we subject him to the interdict of the church, with all the lands, towns, cities, and castles, and every sort of inheritance that may belong to him. Universities continuing in the same perverseness, shall be also subject to this interdict of the holy church.

"And as it has been found necessary, through the ingratitude of men, sometimes to revoke benefices, all such and each of them, as well churchmen as seculars, who shall give aid or counsel against this sentence, and suffer it to remain for the space of twenty days, shall be deprived of the benefit of all indulgences, privileges, and other graces granted to them by the holy apostolic see. Such clerks will likewise be deprived of all benefices and dignities in the church, whether with or without cure; and should their rank be that of cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops or bishops, or other dignities, we declare them, by full authority and power vested in us, deprived of the same; and their vassals or other dependants, who have been bound on oath to serve them, we declare absolved from such oaths, and their fiefs, honours, and dependencies on the church, whether moveable or immoveable, shall revert to the governors thereof, for them to dispose of according to their will and pleasure. No judicial hearing will be granted to the sinners and transgressors above-mentioned; and their suits, if proceeded on by public notaries, will be null and void. All persons who may aid and abet, openly or secretly, those who, through perverseness of mind, shall resist this sentence, be they single individuals, cities, castles, or places, shall undergo the same punishment of excommunication; and we will and command that the penalties ordained by our predecessors for similar crimes shall have their full effect and force, notwithstanding any constitutions, ordinances, liberties, graces, or apostolical indulgences that may have been formerly granted to these transgressors by us, or by our predecessors the bishops of Rome,—all which we revoke, as being contrary to the tenor of this present bull. It is unlawful, therefore, for any person to oppose or infringe this our declaration, by any way or means whatever; and should any dare attempt it, they shall know that they will incur the indignation of an all-powerful God, and of his blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

"Given at St. Victor de Marseilles, the 23d of March, in the 13th year of our papacy."

CHAPTER XLI.—THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS DECLARES AGAINST THE POPE DELLA LUNA, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—KING LOUIS OF SICILY LEAVES PARIS.—OF THE BORGNE DE LA HEUSE.

[A. D. 1408.]

At the beginning of this year, the university of Paris declared against pope Benedict, in the manner following, by master Jean Courteheuse, a native of Normandy. The assembly was held in the great hall of the Palace, in the presence of the kings of France and Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bar, and Brabant,—the counts de Mortaign*, de Nevers, de St. Pol, de Tancarville†,—the rector of the university, with deputies from that body,—the earl of Warwick from England, ambassadors from Scotland and Wales, and a great multitude of clergy and people of Paris.

Master Jean Courteheuse took his text from the 7th Psalm : "Convertetur dolor in caput ejus, et in verticem ipsius iniquitas ejus descendet." Which is, For his travail shall come upon his own head, and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.

He divided his speech into six conclusions. First, That Pietro della Luna was obstinately schismatic, not to say an heretic, a disturber of the peace and union of the church.—Secondly, That the said Pietro ought not to bear the name of Benedict, pope, cardinal, or any other title of dignity,—and that he ought not to be obeyed as pastor of the church, under penalty of suffering the sentences pronounced against those who favour schismatics.—Thirdly, That the provisions, sentences, and declarations of the bull, and the pains and penalties therein threatened, are of no value.—Fourthly, That the contents of the said bull and letter are wicked, seditious, full of deceit, and tending to disturb the king's peace.—Fifthly, That no one whatever may pay the smallest attention to them, without being guilty of the crime of favouring schismatics.—Sixthly, That such as may favour or support their contents may be lawfully proceeded against in the courts of justice.

After master Jean Courtheuse had made all his conclusions, he offered certain requests on the part of the university of Paris to the king of France. The first was, That great diligence should be used in searching after copies of Pietro della Luna's letter, and that all who might conceal them should be punished according to their deserts; that many of his supporters existed within the kingdom, whom the university would denounce in due time and place.—The second request was, That henceforward neither the king nor any of his realm would receive letters from Pietro della Luna.—The third, That the king would command his daughter the university to preach the true doctrine throughout the kingdom.—The fourth, That the bishop of St. Flour, who had been sent ambassador to the aforesaid Pietro, should be arrested and imprisoned, together with master Pierre de Courselles, Sansien le Leu, the dean of St. Germain d'Auxerre, and punished according to their demerits,—and that the bull should be torn to pieces, as injurious and offensive to the royal majesty.

The university declared, that it would proceed to greater objects touching the faith, and demonstrate and explain these things before those whom it might concern, in proper time and place. The king instantly assented to the requests made by the university; and then the bull was torn in pieces by the rector of the university, in the presence of the whole assembly. The dean of St. Germain d'Auxerre, being there, was arrested, and put into confinement. Shortly after, the abbot of Saint Denis, master Jean de Sains, formerly secretary to the king, and many others of name, were imprisoned at the Louvre.

Such diligence was used, that the king's officers overtook the messenger who had brought the bull, at Lyons, and brought him back a prisoner to Paris, with the aforesaid Sansien le Leu, who had been taken in the church of Clervaulx; for the king and all the princes were very indignant against the pope della Luna. This pope, hearing how he had excited the anger of the king of France, of the princes, and of the university of Paris, began to be much

* Peter, youngest son of Charles the bad, and brother of Charles III. king of Navarre. He died without issue 1411.

† William count of Tancarville and viscount of Melun, great chamberlain, president of the chamber of accounts, great butler, &c. killed at Azincourt. His daughter and heiress, Margaret, brought the county of Tancarville, &c. in marriage, to James de Harcourt.

alarmed, and, in consequence, embarked at Porto Venere, attended by four cardinals only, and went first to Arragon, and thence to Perpignan.

About this time, king Louis of Sicily took leave of the king of France, and left Paris for Provence, to oppose some who were favourable to his adversary king Ladislaus. The queen of France was still at Melun, whither the king went, and after some days' stay returned to Paris, where the ambassadors from Scotland were waiting for him. When they had received a large sum of money from the king to carry on the war against the English, they took leave and returned home. The king of France also granted to the ambassadors from Wales, for the same object, three hundred men-at-arms and two hundred cross-bows, to be maintained at his expense for one whole year. They were to be commanded by the borgne de la Heuse, a knight of great renown, and a native of Normandy, to whom the king ordered vessels and money to be delivered, that he might embark for Wales.

CHAPTER XLII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY DEPARTS FROM PARIS, ON ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF LIEGE.—THE KING OF SPAIN COMBATS THE SARACEN FLEET.—THE KING OF HUNGARY WRITES TO THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

On the 5th day of July, the duke of Burgundy left Paris, attended by his two brothers, to the great vexation of many princes, governors of the realm. The object of his journey was to celebrate in Arras the birth-day of the bishop of that city, whose name was Martin Porée, of the order of Preachers, and also his confessor. He went thence to Ghent to visit his duchess. He made great preparations to march to the assistance of his brother-in-law John of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, whom the Liegeois had deprived of his bishopric, and banished their country. He had taken refuge with many gentlemen of his party in the town of Maestricht, wherein he was besieged by his enemies under the command of the lord de Pieruels and his son, whom the Liegeois had elected bishop in his stead.

On the other hand, duke William, count of Hainault, brother to John of Bavaria, the count de Conversent*, lord of Anghien, and many other great lords of the country, assembled a large body of men-at-arms, who, when joined by the lords de Croy and de Hely with their men, sent by the duke of Burgundy, amounted to a very considerable force. They marched towards the country of Liege, to make war upon it, for the cause before-mentioned, and first burnt a house and farm belonging to a church of the order of Cistercians. They then advanced to Fosse and Florennes†, where they committed much destruction by fire and sword, as well as throughout the whole country on the banks of the Sambre. They took several forts by storm, and put to death all found therein; nor were the lives of any spared, of whatever sex or rank, in those parts.

On this expedition some new knights were made, among whom were Pierre de Luxembourg count de Conversent, Engelbert d'Anghien, and many more. When duke William had despoiled the country, suspecting the Liegeois would march against him to offer battle, and knowing they were in superior numbers, he retreated homeward, burning every house or village he passed; and his men were loaded with the booty they had made. When he was returned home, he raised another army in conjunction with the duke of Burgundy, with the intent of marching again toward Liege and offering battle to the Liegeois.

At this time, a severe war was carrying on between the Spaniards and the Saracens of the kingdom of Granada. The king of Spain ‡, magnificently attended by his Spaniards, and

* Peter de Luxembourg St. Pol, count of Brienne and Conversano, created knight of the Golden Fleece in 1430. John de Luxembourg, his father, was brother to Waleran, and son to Guy, count of St. Pol; and on the death of Waleran, without issue-male in 1415, Peter succeeded to his title and estates. His mother was heiress of the illustrious house of Brienne, emperors of Constantinople, kings of Jerusalem and dukes of Athens, &c. Anghien was one of the titles which she brought to the house of Luxembourg.

† Fosse and Florennes,—a small town and village in the bishopric of Liege.

‡ This is a mistake. Henry III. king of Castille, dying in December 1406, was succeeded by his son, John II. an infant of 22 months. The battle here mentioned was fought in the ensuing year, D. Alphonso Henriques being admiral of Castille. Tarquet (Hist. d'Espagne) says, there were only 13 Castillian against 23 Moorish galleys, and that eight of the latter were taken in the engagement. Braquemont was rewarded for his extraordinary services by the grant of all conquests which he might make in the Canaries. This contingent benefit he resigned to his cousin, John de Betancourt, for more solid possessions in Normandy; and, in the year 1417, he obtained the high dignity of admiral of France.

sir Robinet de Braquemont, a knight from Normandy, embarked on board twenty-four galleys, well provided with men at arms and stores, to combat the Saracens, who were at sea with twenty-two galleys. These last were defeated, and all on board put to death.

The Alhambra, built by the Moors of Granada.—From a view in Murphy's Arab Antiquities of Spain.

At this period also the king of Hungary wrote to the university of Paris a letter, the contents of which were as follows. It was addressed, "To the learned, sage, and prudent men, the rector and university of Paris, our love and affection." Then follows the letter. "Noble personages, and very renowned in science throughout the world, we have with pleasure received your epistle, full of sense and eloquence, which no doubt will be very agreeable to our Lord and the Holy Spirit, and most profitable to all true Christians; for such is the abomination at present existing in the church of God, that every sincere and pious Christian should offer up his prayers to God that out of his grace he would provide a remedy, by which this abomination, namely, the schism and division that has existed in the church for thirty years, may be destroyed, and put to a final end by the re-union of the whole church. Should not this union be speedily effected, it is to be feared, that from this double division three others may spring up; and it is on this account, and some others, we have sent our orator to that most Christian prince the king of France our lord, in order that the object of our legation to him may not be frustrated by unbelievers and others. We have requested of him by our ambassadors to send us some one of his noble race to aid and counsel us in our affairs, which we hope he will comply with, knowing that, if he grants us this favour, we shall be always ready, as heretofore, to serve him.—Given at Rome, the 11th day of June, in the 22d year of our reign."

CHAPTER XLIII.—HOW ALL THE PRELATES AND CLERGY OF FRANCE WERE SUMMONED TO PARIS.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN AND OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

In these days, the prelates and clergy, or their procurators, were summoned from the greater part of France and Dauphiny to attend the king and his council, to give their opinions respecting a union of the church, and other matters touching the person of the king and his realm. They attended in great numbers, and on the vigil of the feast of St. Laurence

assembled at eight o'clock in the morning in the great hall of the Palace. The chancellor of France presided for the king, who was indisposed. When the mass of the Holy Ghost had been solemnly celebrated by the archbishop of Toulouse, a very renowned doctor in theology, of the order of Friars Preachers, harangued notably in the presence of the dukes of Orleans, of Berry, and many great lords, the rector, the university, and a large body of clergy.

He chose for his text, 'Quæ pacis sunt sectemur, et quæ ædificationis sunt invicem custodiamus,' Rom. iv. c. That is to say, St. Paul tells the Romans, in the 4th chapter of his epistle to them, to follow the things of peace, and be careful of what may bring edification. The doctor harangued much respecting the union of the church, and uttered many invectives against Pietro della Luna, who, he said, from first to last, had opposed this so-much-to-be-desired union, and that he was a schismatic-heretic, obstinate in his wickedness. He proved this by six arguments; and after declaring that the king of France had formerly been neuter, but had since withdrawn himself from his obedience, on account of the letter and bull lately issued, which was full of falsehoods and deceit, and highly offensive to the royal majesty, he said that it was on this account the assembly was held, that it might be notified to the members of it, for them to consider the business, and on the means of obtaining a solid peace and re-union of the church.

While these things were passing, master Sausien and the messenger from Pietro della Luna, who had brought the letter and bull of excommunication to the king, both of them Arragonians, with mitres on their heads, and having surcoats emblazoned with the arms of Pietro della Luna reversed, were carried most disgracefully in a dung-cart from the Louvre to the court of the Palace; and shortly after, near the marble table, at the end of the steps, were set on a pillory. They were thus exhibited, for a very long time, to all who wished to see them, having labels on the mitres, on which was written, "Disloyal traitors to the church and king."

Pillory of Pope Della Luna's Messengers.—From an original Design.

They were then carried back in the aforesaid cart to the Louvre; and on the morrow the assembly met again at the Palace, when the chancellor of France presided instead of the king. A celebrated doctor in theology, called master Ursin Talvande, a native of Normandy,

harangued the assembly in the name of the university of Paris, and took his text from the hundredth Psalm, "Fiat pax in virtute tua." He addressed himself to the throne, and to the princes of the blood and other nobles there present, exhorting them to attempt every possible means to restore peace and union to the church, by putting an end to the dangerous schism,—proving to them the wickedness of Pietro della Luna, that he was an incorrigible heretic, and ought not to be styled pope Benedict, nor enjoy the dignity of cardinal or any other,—and that they were not bound to obey him, and indeed could not without incurring the penalties due to favourers of heresy and schismatics. He brought forward many examples of former popes, which were favourable to his arguments, and the determination of the last council, when it had been resolved, that if Pietro della Luna and his adversary did not establish peace within the church before Ascension-day, as they had promised, the kingdom of France in general, and the inhabitants of Dauphiny, would withdraw themselves from his obedience; for such had been the conclusion of the prelates who had attended this council, as was apparent from their letters to the university of Paris,—in consequence of which the aforesaid obedience had been withdrawn by order of the king of France, until one properly-elected head of the church should be chosen. The doctor then proposed the means for granting dispensations and collations to benefices in the interim, as well for Dauphiny as for France, and also other measures proper to be taken during this neutrality. It was at length concluded, that no one should obey either of the popes after a certain day, under pain of suffering the before-mentioned penalties, and without incurring the indignation of the king. The doctor insisted, that the bull of excommunication, and some letters which had been brought from Toulouse, should be publicly destroyed, which was done.

The prelates and clergy were then ordered to proclaim their neutrality throughout their dioceses and parishes, and different documents were given them by the university to teach them how they were to govern themselves respecting the several points of this neutrality. When this had been done, every one retired to his home. On the morrow, the two Arragonians were again carried through Paris, and pilloried, in the same manner as before.

The queen, who had remained some time at Melun, returned to Paris with her son the dauphin. He was mounted on a white horse led by four footmen, and followed the car of the queen. The dukes of Berry, of Brittany and Bourbon, the counts de Mortaign, de Clermont, de Vendôme, and a numerous train of nobles, as well churchmen as seculars, and esquires, followed the dauphin. Great rejoicings were made on their return by the Parisians, and carols were sung in many of the streets. The queen, the dauphin, and the lord Louis of Bavaria, her brother, took up their lodgings in the castle of the Louvre. On the morrow, the duchess-dowager of Orleans came likewise to Paris with her daughter-in-law Isabella, eldest daughter to the king of France, accompanied by many noble persons, knights and others, dressed in mourning. All the before-mentioned princes went out of Paris to meet them, and conducted them to the queen and the duke of Aquitaine, to request of them justice and reparation for the melancholy death of the late duke of Orleans, and also permission to make a reply to charges which John duke of Burgundy had publicly brought against her late lord and husband the deceased duke of Orleans,—which last request she at length obtained.

CHAPTER XLIV.—THE DUCHESS-DOWAGER OF ORLEANS AND HER SON CAUSE A PUBLIC ANSWER TO BE MADE, AT PARIS, TO THE CHARGES OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AGAINST THE LATE DUKE OF ORLEANS, AND CHALLENGE THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FOR HIS MURDER.

Eight days after, the duke of Orleans, attended by about three hundred men-at-arms, came to Paris. He was met by the duke of Berry and other great lords, his relations, without the gate of St. Antoine, and went to wait on the queen and the duke of Aquitaine, his cousin-german, at the castle of the Louvre. Having strongly recommended his cause to them, he took leave and hastened to visit the duchess his mother, and his wife. They were incessant in their petitions to the king and council to do them justice on John duke of Burgundy and his accomplices for the murder of the duke of Orleans, and obtained leave to

make any reply they might please against the duke of Burgundy. In consequence, the duke of Aquitaine, as representative of his father, and the queen, both dressed in royal robes, went, by command of the king, to the great hall of the Louvre, where were present the dukes of Berry, of Brittany, of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon, de Clermont, de Mortaign, de Vendôme, and many more lords of the council, with numbers of knights, the rector of the university of Paris, and great crowds of common people. The duchess-dowager, attended by her son the duke of Orleans, master Pierre l'Orfevre, his chancellor, master Pierre Cousinet, advocate in parliament, and by a large train of friends and familiars, entered the hall. She then caused to be read aloud by the abbot of St. Fiacre, of the order of St. Benedict, the contents of a book, written in French, which she gave to him publicly, and which were confirmed by quotations from the writings of the prophets in both the Old and New Testaments, as well as from those of philosophers and historians. The contents of the book were as follows:

"Most Christian king, most noble and sovereign prince, and fountain of justice, to thee do I address my speech; for thou art competent to display justice to all thy subjects of the realm of France, inasmuch as not only the neighbouring, but even the most distant nations may take example from the conscientiousness of thy judgments, which flow from thee and thy council, as from the fountains of justice and truth. I address myself to thee in the names of my highly honoured and most noble lady the duchess of Orleans and of my lords her children, who in their deplorable state present to thee their complaints with lamentations and tears, seeing that after God there can be no relief but in thy pity and compassion. That what I have to say may not have the smallest appearance of fallacy, but may be perfectly clear, I shall divide my discourse into three parts, or principal divisions. In the first, I shall show, to the utmost of my ability, that kings, as sovereigns, are bounden to do justice to all their subjects, and to maintain peace within their realms.—Secondly, That our adversary, John duke of Burgundy, and his abettors, have by counsel and otherwise, been instrumental in unjustly and disgracefully murdering the late duke of Orleans, whose soul may God receive!—Thirdly, That my aforesaid lord the late duke of Orleans, has been wickedly and unjustly accused of several crimes of high treason of which he has been no way guilty, as shall appear hereafter.—It is, beside, my intention to divide these three points into six other divisions: thus, therefore, my discourse will consist of eighteen divisions.

"In regard to the first point, it appears very clear to me, that the king is singularly obliged to do justice in this case, and especially for six reasons. The first of which constrains him to do justice from the consideration of his power and dignity, which not only binds him to do it of his own will, but as matter of right from his title of office; for kings are so called on account of doing justice, and not for any thing else.—The second reason is founded on his paternal love,—for, as the common proverb says, 'Nature cannot belie herself:' the king, therefore, as sovereign and brother, is bound from reason and justice to support his right.—Thirdly, From the melancholy state of my lady of Orleans, now reduced to widowhood and despair, who with her disconsolate young children, and many knights, are overwhelmed with grief by the cruel death of her lord and husband.—The fourth reason is, The enormity of the crime, which can scarcely have its parallel found; for all who have heard of this scandalous deed have thought it abominable, and have declared, that if the king did not provide a remedy for it, he could not be considered as sovereign of his kingdom when he is thus forced to humiliate himself before his subjects.—Fifthly, If this crime be not punished, innumerable evils will ensue,—such as the destruction of cities and towns, murders, and rebellion of subjects.—Sixthly, The wickedness of our enemy, who by force of arms seeks to maintain his crime, and who pleads his cause with a drawn sword in his hand. And in these six reasons consist the grounds of our proceedings.

"With respect to my second point, I will demonstrate by six reasons, that our adverse party has so greatly sinned that it is impossible for any reparation to make amends.

"My first reason is, That our opponent had no authority whatever for murdering so great and so noble a person as the late duke of Orleans.—Secondly, That he followed no forms of law or justice in putting my late lord to such a death; and even supposing that he had any authority over him, which was not the case, it was illegal to put him to death

without hearing what he might have to say in his own defence; and seeing that he had not any authority, his crime will appear so much the deeper.—Thirdly, From the alliances formed between these two dukes, I do not mean those of blood, but the engagements mutually entered into, to avoid the inconveniences that might arise from their quarrels, by which they were bounden not to annoy or attack each other without having sent a previous challenge. In confirmation of this, they had several times sworn to the same on the holy Scriptures, and on the cross of our Lord, giving to each other letters signed with their seals. —Fourthly, The death of my said lord of Orleans was so sudden that no true Christian can say it was not damnable to those who committed the crime, as well as to those who had commanded it.—Fifthly, I shall demonstrate clearly, that our opponent did not cause the late duke of Orleans to be murdered for any good purpose, nor for the public welfare, but solely through ambition and covetousness, from a lust of power, and in order to make his dependants rich, and from the great hatred that had been long fostered at his heart.— Sixthly, That the death of the late duke of Orleans was not sufficient for our adversary, but that he has exerted himself to the utmost to blast and scandalize his memory by defamatory libels, and by supporting traitors and murderers. This regards the second part of my discourse.

"In respect to my third point, I shall produce six arguments, in opposition to the six false accusations brought by our adversary against the late duke of Orleans, and which shall clearly prove the innocence of the defunct. Such will be my third division.

"I have thus shown you my three divisions. The first regards justice, the second declares the malice of our adversaries, and the third exonerates the late duke of Orleans from the false charges brought against him. Before I proceed further, I must here solemnly declare, that I intend not to say anything but the exact truth, or to advance more than has been enjoined me by my foresaid lady of Orleans, and my lords her children.

"It is true, indeed, that the defender of our adversary has very unadvisedly called my late lord of Orleans criminal, although he has no way proved it; nevertheless I shall not use this expression in speaking of our adversary, though I repute all murderers criminal, and him in particular, not from any suspicion, but from the confession made by himself; and as wisdom conquers malice, according to the holy Scriptures, it will be sufficient for me to name the adverse party, the party of Burgundy; for it will be better that I first demonstrate the crimes, and then show the duke of Burgundy guilty of them, than to follow his example, and call him criminal without any proof or verification. I shall now, having divided my subject into three divisions, enter on my first point, which treats of the justice of the king, and quote the words of the prophet; which say, 'Justitia et judicium præparatio sedis tuæ.' These words are in the lxxviiith Psalm, and declare to the king that his throne is founded on justice and judgment. I shall quote in regard to my second division; which relates to the malice of our adversary, the very words his defender made use of, namely, 'Radix omnium malorum cupiditas, quam quidem appetentes erraverunt a fide.' These words are taken from the first epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, in the last chapter, and which mean, That covetousness is the root of all evil, and causes a defalcation from the faith.

"In regard to my third division, respecting the innocence of the late duke of Orleans, I shall use the words of the Psalmist in the seventh Psalm, 'Judica me secundum justitiam tuam et secundum innocentiam meam super me;' that is to say, Do me right according to thy justice, and judge me according to my innocence.

"I shall now return to my first point, and repeat the words of the Psalmist, 'Justitia et judicium præparatio sedis tuæ.' This expression I may address personally to the king our lord, in saying, Justice and judgment are the foundations of thy royal throne; for royalty without justice is undeserving of the name, and should be called a robbery, according to St. Austin, in the 10th chapter of his 9th book, De Civitate Dei: 'Regna, inquit, remota a justitia, quid sint nisi magna latrocinia.' It appears, therefore, that the king is bound to do justice to all his subjects, and to preserve to every one his right, and that for the six reasons touched upon at the beginning of my speech; my first reason being founded on the regard due to the royal dignity, which dignity has been instituted principally in order to do justice, the king being truly, in respect to his subjects, what a shepherd is to his flock, as Aristotle

says in his 8th chapter of Ethics, or in the 5th of his Politics, on the government of cities; and it is also declared, in his book on the ruling of princes, that they are bounden to preserve justice: 'Justitia inquit regnantis utilior est subditis quam fertilitas ipsius;' which means, That the justice of the governing powers is more advantageous to the subject than fertility or riches. The Psalmist, on this matter, says, 'Honor inquit regis judicium diligit;' that is, The honour of the king loves justice and judgment. The justice here spoken of is nothing else than to preserve to every one his right, which is also declared by the emperor Justinian, in the first book of his Constitutions: 'Justitia est constans voluntas unicuique jus suum tribuens,' meaning, that Justice is firm and stable, giving to every one his due; and it should be considered that justice is not to be administered according to pleasure, but as the written laws prescribe. Weigh well, therefore, how much you are bounden to do justice.

"To you, then, my lady of Orleans and her children address themselves, requiring from you justice, which is the brightest jewel in your crown. Recollect the numerous examples of kings, your predecessors, who so much loved justice, and particularly that bright instance of a king, who, seeing that his son had deserved, by the laws of that time, to lose both his eyes, ordered one of his eyes to be put out, and had at the same time one of his own destroyed, that the law might not be violated nor infringed. Valerius also mentions, in his 6th book, a king called Cambyses, who commanded a false judge to be flayed, and his skin to be placed on the judge's seat, and then ordered the son of the late judge to sit on the skin of his father, telling him, 'When thou judgest any cause, let what I have done to thy father be an example to thee; and let his skin, forming thy seat, always keep thee in remembrance.'

"O, king of France! thou rememberest what David said, when king Saul unjustly persecuted him, 'Dominus inquit retribuet unicuique secundum justitiam tuam;' that is to say, The Lord God will repay every one according to his justice. These words are written in the second chapter of the first book of Kings. Thou oughtest, therefore, like a true follower of our Lord, to do in like manner according to thy power, and aid and support such as have been unjustly wounded and persecuted. Thou canst not have forgotten how Andronicus, a cruel murderer, was condemned to death on the spot where he had slain the high-priest, as it is written in the book of Machabees.

"O, king of France! take example from king Darius, who caused those that had falsely accused the prophet Daniel to be thrown into the lion's den to be devoured. Recollect the justice that was executed on the two elders who, from false charges, had accused and condemned Susanna. These examples are written in the sixth and fourteenth chapters of the book of Daniel the prophet, and ought to stimulate thee to do justice as king and sovereign; for it is in doing thus that thy subjects will be obedient to thee, and in such wise art thou bound to do them justice, and which will cause them to be highly criminal when disobedient to thee. Some indeed have doubted whether the subject may not withdraw his allegiance from the sovereign on a refusal of justice and equity. May it please thee, therefore, sire, to consider this well, for thou wilt not have anything to fear in doing justice, as I shall hereafter demonstrate; and in conclusion of this my first reason, I shall quote the words of the third chapter of Job: 'Cum justitia indutus sum, et vestivi me vestimento et diademate in coronatione mea;' that is to say, I am clothed with justice, and have invested myself with it, as the robe and diadem of my coronation.

"Consequently, most noble prince, I say that fraternal love ought greatly to urge thee to do justice; for I do not believe that greater love ever existed between two brothers than what you both felt. Be then the true friend to thy brother in justice and judgment; for it will be the greatest disgrace to thee and to the crown of France, throughout the world, if justice and reparation be not made for the infamous and cruel murder of thy brother. It is now time for thee to show thy brotherly affection; and be not like to those friends spoken of by the wise man, in the 8th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, as follows: 'Est amicus socius mensæ et non permanebit in die necessitatis.' That is, There are friends who are companions at table, and in prosperity, but who are no longer such in the day of adversity.

"At this moment, necessity and affection united call upon thee to prove thyself such a friend that the world may not call thee a faint-hearted friend, of whom Aristotle speaks, in his 9th chapter of Ethics: 'Qui, inquit, fingit se esse amicum, et non est, pejor est eo qui

facit falsam monetam.' A faint friend is worse than a coiner of base money. Should some tell thee, that our opponent is of thy blood, and thy relation, thou oughtest, nevertheless, to abominate his crime, and do strict justice between two friends, according to what Aristotle says, in his second book of Ethics: 'Duobus existentibus amicis, sanctum est præhonorare virtutem.'—That is, It is praiseworthy to give the preference to virtue between two friends. Thou rememberest the strong love that subsisted between thee and thy brother; not that I wish to obtain any favour by that remembrance, but solely to exhort thee to justice and truth. Alas! it would be of little value the being son or brother to a king, if such a cruel murder were passed over without any punishment inflicted on the guilty, nor any reparation made for it,—more especially as he who caused his death ought to have loved him as a brother; for in the holy Scriptures nephews and cousins-german are called brothers; as appears from the book of Genesis, where Abraham says to his nephew Lot, 'Ne sit jurgium inter te et me, fratres enim sumus.' Let there be no strife between thee and me, for we are brothers. Saint James is also called the brother of our Lord, when they were only cousins-german. Thou mayest repeat to our adversary the words which God said to Cain, after he had murdered his brother, 'Vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra.' The voice of thy brother's blood cries to me from the earth; and certainly in our case the earth and blood do cry.

"There cannot be a man of common feelings who has not compassion for such a death as that of my late lord of Orleans; and it must not be wondered at if I compare our adversary to Cain, for in them I see many features of resemblance. Cain, moved by envy, slew his brother, because the Lord had accepted of his brother's offerings, and had not received his sacrifice, because he was practising in his heart how he could kill his brother. In like manner, the duke of Burgundy, because my lord of Orleans was the more agreeable to the king, in his heart meditated his death, and in the end had him treacherously and infamously murdered, as shall be fully proved. As Cain, instigated by covetousness, committed his crime, so our adversary, urged on by similar passions, did the act we complain of, as shall be demonstrated from his conduct previous to and after the death of the late duke of Orleans. I find, likewise, that the word *Cain*, by interpretation, signifies, 'acquired' or 'acquisition.' By the same name our adverse party may be called, for vengeance is acquired by the king in body and goods; but let justice take its course, and events will happen according to the good pleasure of God. It therefore seems very reasonable that I compare the duke of Burgundy to Cain.

"Sire, remember, I pray thee, the words addressed to Cain, namely, 'Vox sanguinis:' The voice of thy brother's blood. It is the voice of the lady of Orleans, and of her children, crying to thee, and demanding justice. Alas! my lord king, to whom wouldst thou wish to do justice, if thou refusest to do it for the love of thy own brother? If thou be not a friend to thy blood, to whom wouldst thou be a friend, seeing we ask no more than justice? O most noble prince, consider that thy brother has been torn from thee for ever! Thou wilt never again see him, for the duke of Burgundy has cruelly caused him to be put to death. Recollect he was thy brother, and thou wilt find how greatly he is to be compassionated. He, like thee, was equally fond of the queen and thy children, and, from his natural good sense, honoured all the royal blood of France; and few could be found more eloquent than he was when addressing nobles, clergy, or laymen.

"Our Lord had given him what king Solomon had demanded, prudence and wisdom; for every one knows, that he was adorned with an excellent understanding,—and of him may be said as of David, in the chapter of the Acts of the Apostles,—'Sapiebat sicut angelus Domini;' He was endowed with wisdom like to an angel of God. Were I to speak of the beauty of his person, I could only say, that he was thy image and resemblance, with this good quality, that he was perfectly courteous to all, and never caused any one to be beaten, or put to death, nor did he ever procure the death of any one. He possessed, however, the power of so doing, even to his enemies, who were notoriously defaming him, and attributing to him evils which he never thought of: he could, more especially, have had our adversary put to death several times, had he so pleased,—for no great power is requisite to have any one treacherously murdered. But, in good truth, such thoughts were not in his heart; for

the property of royal blood is to have such compassion and mercy that it cannot suffer any cruelty, murder, or treason whatever; and of this blood my late lord of Orleans had a large share, for he was the son of a king and queen.

"O king Charles! if thou wert now alive, what wouldst thou say? What tears could appease thee? What would have hindered thee from doing justice for so base a murder? Alas! how hast thou loved, and to what honour hast thou diligently trained the tree that has brought forth the fruit which has put to death thy very dear son? Alas! king Charles, thou mayest now say with Jacob, 'Fera pessima devoravit filium meum.' The worst of beasts has devoured my son. Our adversary has made a miserable return to thee, oh, Charles! for all the great riches thou hast heaped on his father. This is the gratitude for the expedition to Flanders, wherein thou and thy kingdom were in such peril, out of love to him. In truth, all the magnificent gifts thou madest the father are already forgotten. Sire, look down, and hear the lady of Orleans, crying in the words of the Psalmist, 'Domine, deduc me in justitia tua propter inimicos meos.' Lord, lead me to thy judgment on account of mine enemies.

"This concludes my second argument. My third is founded on pity, considering the desolate state of the supplicants; namely, the widowed lady of Orleans, in despair, with her innocent children, thy nephews, now become orphans, having no other father to look to but thee. It becomes thee, therefore, to incline thyself diligently to do them justice, as they have no other refuge but in thee, who art their lord and sovereign; and they are besides thy very near relations, as thou well knowest.

"Let pity move thy breast; for as Saint James the apostle says, 'Religio munda et immaculata est visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulatione eorum.' To visit orphans and widows in their distress is the duty of a pure and undefiled religion. It is melancholy that so great a lady should suffer thus undeservedly; and she may be compared to her whom Valerius speaks of in the sixth book. A widow had a son who had been unjustly slain: she went to the emperor Octavian to demand justice, and said, 'Sire, do me justice for the cruel death of my son.' The emperor had already mounted his horse, to perform a long journey, but replied, 'Woman, wait until I be returned, when I will do thee justice.' The woman answered instantly, 'Alas! my lord, thou knowest not if ever thou shalt return, and I wish not justice to be delayed.' The emperor said, 'Should I not return, my successor will see thee righted;' but the widow replied, 'Sire, thou knowest not if thy successor would wish to see me righted: he may, perhaps, have something to prevent it like to thee; and supposing that he should do me justice, what honour would it be to thee, or what merit canst thou claim for it from the gods? Thou art bound to do me justice: wherefore then seekest thou to throw the burden on others?' The emperor, observing the firmness of the woman, and the reasonableness of her arguments, dismounted, and, without more delay, did her ample justice. It was for this meritorious conduct, that when the emperor died, five years after, in the pagan faith, he was brought to life again by the prayers of St. Gregory, then pope, and baptised, as the histories relate. The example of this emperor, O king of France! thou oughtest to follow in regard to the disconsolate widow of the late duke of Orleans, who is now a supplicant to thee, and has formerly demanded, and now again demands, justice for the inhuman and barbarous murder of her lord and husband, who was thy brother. Delays, or reference to thy successors, will have no avail; for thou, as king, art singularly obliged to do this, considering the rank of the supplicants, the duchess of Orleans and her children.

"This lady is like to the widow of whom St. Jerome speaks, in his second book against Jovinian; wherein he relates, that the daughter of Cato, after the death of her husband, was in the deepest sorrow, uttering nothing but groans and lamentations. Her relations and neighbours asked her how long this grief was to last,—when she replied, that her life and her sorrow would end together. Such, without doubt, is the state of my lady the duchess,—for she can have no remedy for her loss, but by means of the justice she is soliciting. In truth, she does not require any hostile measures,—for were that the case, she and her children, with their allies, are so much more powerful than the duke of Burgundy, that they are well able to avenge themselves. This act of justice thou canst not refuse, nor can the adverse

party raise any objections to it, considering the persons who demand it. O, sovereign king! act in such wise that the words the Psalmist spoke of the Lord may be applied to thee: 'Justus Dominus et justitiam dilexit; æquitatem vidit vultus ejus.' Our Lord is just, and loves justice: equity is the light of his countenance.—This concludes my third argument.

"My fourth argument is founded partly on the act itself, which was so abominably cruel, the like was never seen; and all men of understanding must feel compassion for it. This, if duly considered, should incline thee the more to do justice, from the usages of the ancient kings, who, through compassion, bewailed even the death of an enemy: how much the more then does it become thee to bewail the death of thy brother, and to exert thy courage to punish the authors of it? Should it not be so, great disgrace will attach to thee and to many others. We read, that Cæsar seeing the head of his enemy Pompey, wept, and said, that such a man ought not to have died. He was also very much grieved at the death of Cato, though his enemy, and did all in his power to aid and console his children. O, most courteous king of France! thou oughtest likewise to give consolation for the death of thy brother, who was thy dear and loyal friend. Weigh well the manner of his death, which was piteously lamentable. Alas! my lord, could the spirit of thy brother speak, what would it not say? It would certainly address thee in words similar to these: 'Oh, my lord and brother, see how through thee I have received my death,—for it was on account of the great affection that subsisted between us! Look at my wounds, five of which are mortal. See my body beat to the ground, and covered with mud! behold my arm cut off, and my brains scattered about! See if any pains were equal to my sufferings. It was not, alas! sufficient for mine enemy to take away my life so cruelly, and without cause; but he suddenly surprised me when coming from the residence of the queen to thee, which has put me in danger of damnation; and even after my death, he has attempted to blast my reputation by his false and defamatory libel.'

"My sovereign king, attend to these words, as if thy brother had spoken them; for such they would have been, could he have addressed thee. Be then more active to do justice; and having heard the petition of my lady of Orleans, act so that thou mayest verify what is said in the second chapter of the first book of Kings: 'Dominus retribuet unicuique secundum justitiam suam.' Our Lord will render to all according to his justice. And this concludes my fourth argument.

"My fifth is grounded on the great evils and mischiefs that might ensue if justice be not done on such crimes,—for every one will in future take the law into his own hand, and be judge and party. Treasons and murders will be the consequence, by which the kingdom may be ruined, as I shall demonstrate; for, according to the doctors, the surest way to preserve peace in a country is to do equal justice to all. St. Cyprian declares this, in his book on the twelve errors, saying, 'Justitia regis, pax populorum, tutamen pueris, munimentum gentis, terræ fœcunditas, solatium pauperum, hereditas filiorum, et sibimet spes futuræ beatitudinis.' The justice of a king is peace to the people, the defender of orphans, the safety of the subject, the fertility of the earth, the comfort of the poor, the inheritance of sons, and to himself a hope of future happiness. It is an everlasting glory. And on this occasion the Psalmist says, 'Justitia et pax osculatæ sunt.' Righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Should it be urged, that if due punishment be inflicted on this crime, greater evils might ensue from the reputed power of the duke of Burgundy. To this, which has more of appearance than reality, it may be answered, that the duke of Burgundy is as nothing compared with the power of the monarch; for what power or force can he have but what thou givest him or sufferest him to enjoy? Justice and truth, however they may be delayed, always in the end, through Divine mercy, are the mistresses, and there is no security like working for them. Who are the knights or esquires that would dare to serve him against thee? or where are the strangers that would risk their lives in his traitorous quarrel? Certainly none.

"O! ye knights of Burgundy and Flanders, clerks and laymen, and all ye vassals of our adversary, send hither men unbiassed by favour or hatred to hear this cause pleaded, truth declared, and justice adjudged to the right, according as it shall be plainly shown. O most Christian king! ye dukes, counts, and princes, have the goodness to give your aid that justice

may be administered, for which end you have been principally constituted and ordained. O my lord king! consider how small a power, when compared with thine, thy ancestors enjoyed, and yet they punished criminals of yet superior rank to our opponent, as any one may see who shall read our history of former times. Besides, who are they that would dare to oppose their sovereign lord, who, doing an act of justice according to the evidence of truth, becomes a true and upright judge, as Tully showeth, in his second book of Offices: 'Judicis est semper verum sequi.' A good judge should give judgment according to truth.

"The same author says, in one of his orations before he went into banishment,—'Nemo tam facinorosus inventus est vita, ut non tamen judicum prius sententiis convinceretur, quam suppliciis applicaretur.' No one has led so wicked a life but that a verdict has been passed upon his case before he was put to the torture. Thou art bounden, most potent king, to do justice; and should any evil result from it, it will fall on the adverse party, on account of his crimes, as I shall show to you hereafter. The judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ will not certainly fail of having its effect: 'Qui de gladio percutit, gladio peribit.' Whoso kills with the sword shall die by the sword. And Ovid, in his Art of Love, says, 'Neque lex est æquior ulla, quam necis artifices arte perire sua.' No law is more just than that murderers should perish by their own arts. O my lord king! open the gates of justice, and listen to the very reasonable complaints which my lady of Orleans makes to thee, that thou mayest verify in thyself the words of the prophet, 'Dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem, propterea unxit te Deus tuus oleo lætitiæ præ consortibus tuis;' that is to say, Thou hast loved justice, and hast hated iniquity, wherefore the Lord thy God has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows;—and this finishes my fifth argument.

"My sixth and last argument, for the present, is founded on the conduct and demeanour of our opponent after this cruel and detestable crime. There is nothing in this world a king should so much dread and check as the overbearing pride of any subject in regard to his government; and thou, O king! oughtest to follow, in thy governance, the example of the King of kings, of whom holy writ says, 'Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.' God humbles the proud, and raises up the weak-hearted. Thou art therefore bound to humble the pride of our opponent, which has increased to such a pitch as to make him resist thy power in the support of this his wicked deed.

"Oh! king of France, and all ye my lords, weigh well then the rebellion and disobedience of our adversary, not only against the commands of the king, but contrary to the orders of the whole royal council. It is a well known fact, that the king of Sicily, my lord of Berry, and several others, went lately to Amiens, notwithstanding the great severity of the season, to attempt bringing about a reconciliation between the parties, for the general good of the king and kingdom; but these lords, in truth, could not effect this, though they signified to our opponent the king's commands,—but he contended that he would not wait upon his sovereign until he should be sent for by the king himself. When the aforesaid lords advised him to obey the king's commands, they could scarcely obtain from him a promise not to come to the king with a great power of men-at-arms; and even then he delayed his coming for fifteen days. Consider, my lords, what sort of obedience this is, and what fatal consequences may ensue from it. After the conference at Amiens, what was his conduct? Why, he assembled so large a force of men-at-arms, that when he came to Paris, he seemed as if he would conquer the whole kingdom. It is true, indeed, that the king and the princes of his blood, hearing of this, collected a sufficient power to provide a remedy. But when the king had commanded him, by especial messengers, not to enter Paris with more than two hundred men-at-arms, he came accompanied by more than six hundred, in direct opposition to the king's orders.—On his arrival in Paris with so large a force, it seemed to him that the king, queen, and other princes, ought to act according to his will; and for certain, such was the state of affairs that nothing was refused him, but the whole court behaved courteously toward him, to appease his anger.

"O government of France! if thou wilt suffer such things to pass with impunity, thou wilt soon have cause for lamentations. Our adversary next caused all the barricadoes and defences round the king's palace to be taken away, that his wicked intentions, already begun, might be completed. Such deeds are strong proofs of subjects having evil designs against

their king. It behoved him to have come to humble himself and seek for pardon; but, on the contrary, he came with his sword drawn, and accompanied by a numerous body of men-at-arms, the greater part of whom were foreigners.—During his residence in Paris, he frequently excited to rebellion the simple inhabitants, by spreading abroad his defamatory libels, and various false promises. The citizens, believing he was to do wonders, and to be the regent of the kingdom, have been so much deceived by him that they paid great honour to him and to his writings, even by cries of joy, and shoutings of the populace whenever he appeared; by which and other like means, his pride and cruelty are increased, and make him obstinately persist in his iniquities.

"Alas! my lord king, is it not the very height of presumption to ride through Paris openly armed, after having committed such a crime, and to attend thy peaceful council with his battle-axes and lances? where thou oughtest not to have suffered any one to have entered more armed than thyself, lest the devil, who had instigated him to commit the base act he did, should unfortunately have urged him to commit a still greater, because the princes of the council did not approve of the wickedness he had done. Therefore thou shouldest never allow any one culpable like him, who takes the law into his own hands, to be in thy presence, more strongly armed than thou art thyself; for it is possible for such as he to beguile the people by the means before mentioned, and to lead them to thy own destruction as well as that of thy realm. Be pleased, therefore, to humiliate our opponent, and show thyself an upright and fearless judge in the cause of truth, that it may be said of thee as it is written in the 8th chapter of the 3d book of Kings,—'Judicabit servos suos, justificans quod justum est, attribuens eis secundum justitiam.' He will judge his servants, justifying them that are upright, and giving to each according to his deserts. From this, as well as from the preceding arguments, it plainly appears, that thou art bounden to do the justice required by my lady of Orleans.

"I shall now demonstrate the crime of our adversary, and how he perpetrated such an unpardonable deed; to which I shall add six arguments to prove the fealty and loyalty of my lord of Orleans, taking for my theme the words of the advocate of our opponent,—namely, 'Radix omnium malorum cupiditas.' It seems to me, that covetousness has been the original cause of this murder,—not covetousness of wealth alone, but likewise covetousness of honours and ambition.—Covetousness has then been the original cause, as shall more plainly be shown hereafter.

"To prove the greatness and abomination of this crime, I shall use six arguments. The first is founded on our adversary having not the power or authority of a judge over the deceased. Secondly, Supposing he may have had any authority over him, he proceeded in his own way, contrary to every maxim of law and of justice. My third argument is grounded on the strict alliance that had been formed between my late lord of Orleans and our adversary. Fourthly, That this is a damnable murder, and cannot any way be defended or explained. Fifthly, That our opponent caused my lord of Orleans to be slain with a wicked intention. Sixthly, That, not satisfied with having caused the duke of Orleans to be deprived of his life, he has exerted himself to disgrace his fame, by defamatory libels,—thus, as it were, slaying him a second time.

"As to my first argument, it plainly appears, that the malice of our adversary is incorrigible, seeing that he had not any authority over the deceased; for, according to the laws and decrees, as well as to reason and the holy Scriptures, no one can put another to death without authority from the judge or judicial. Otherwise, any one may slay another at his pleasure, and tumults and confusion would reign without any chief or head, and every one would alternately, when strongest, make himself king. So far was our adversary from having any power or authority over my lord of Orleans, that he was bound to do him honour and reverence as son to a king, and to call him his lord, and respect him in his words and actions, for such are the privileges and prerogatives belonging to the sons of kings. This usurpation, therefore, of authority is apparent in our adversary, and consequently his wickedness has been unjustly perpetrated.

"That authority is required as essential to enable any one to put another to death, appears clearly in many parts of the holy Scriptures: and in fact, St. Austin, when

discussing the saying of our Lord, in the 26th chapter of the gospel of St. Matthew, 'Omnis qui gladium acceperit, gladio peribit;' that is, Whosoever useth the sword shall perish by the sword; adds, 'All who shall, without lawful authority, make use of the sword, or shall arm himself against another, is bold in his wickedness.' He afterwards asserts, that even a malefactor cannot be put to death without lawful authority; for in his Civitas Dei, 'Qui, inquit, sine publica administratione maleficum interfecerit, velut homicida judicabitur.' That is, Whoever shall slay a malefactor without the forms of public administration of justice, shall be judged guilty of murder. This the law confirms, 'Vigor, inquit, publicus tutela in medio constituta est, ne quis de aliquo, etiam sceleribus implicato sumere valeat ultionem:'—which is, That the public strength is as a defence constituted and ordained to prevent any one from taking vengeance, even upon him who is involved in great and abominable crimes.

"In truth, the advocate for our adversary may say, that the laws should only take cognizance of such as act contrary to law; and that as a tyrant proceeds directly in opposition to them, he will affirm that this murder is no way contrary to the law. Alas! and does the advocate of our opponent know that my late lord of Orleans was a tyrant? Who is the judge that declares him such? The fallacy of this assertion must be strictly examined, for on this deception is founded the supposition of my lord being a tyrant; and as our adversary groundlessly asserts, that the late duke of Orleans was a tyrant in the eye of reason, he concludes that it was lawful to put him to death. Let us, however, consider the properties of tyranny, and who should be accounted tyrants. The philosopher says, in his 4th chapter on morals, 'Tyrannus est, cum aliquis princeps, vi et violentia potestatis, sine titulo terram usurpat alienam, et de facto aliquam occupat civitatem vel patriam, et qui incorrigibilis est, et nulli obediens.' Now let us see whether my lord of Orleans had these properties. Certainly not; for he never took possession of another's land: if any one know the contrary, let him say so. Our opponent, therefore, ought not to have called the duke of Orleans a tyrant, for he never usurped any dominion, excepting over such places as were given him as appanages by the king, or what he had himself justly acquired. The duke of Burgundy, on the contrary, withholds three castles and their dependencies, without any just title, from the inheritance and domain of the king, namely, Lille, Douay, and Orches, notwithstanding his oaths on the holy sacrament to the king, that he would restore them to the crown, according to the conditions and agreements then made.

"My lord of Orleans was never incorrigible; for I firmly believe that never did so great a prince pay more respect and honour to the laws. Let our opponent say what acts or opposition the duke of Orleans ever committed or made against the laws. There are many noble persons now living, who can testify that no lord ever supported or maintained the dignity of justice more than the duke of Orleans during his whole life. If we consider the properties of a tyrant according to the philosophers, they declare that a tyrant bends his whole mind to slay and destroy the prudent and wise: he seeks the ruin of churches and colleges of learning, and is solely occupied with destruction. He is much to be feared for his wickedness, whilst he studies to preserve his personal safety by strong guards. Such were not the qualities of my late lord, for his were the direct opposite.

"In the first place, he never caused either wise men or fools to be put to death, but was particularly fond of the learned, and desirous of seeing any new improvements. In regard to churches, so far from destroying them, he repaired many, and founded some new ones, to which he gave large estates, as is well known. As for guarding his personal safety, he felt himself so innocent and pure toward all mankind, that he suspected no one of attempting to hurt him, and took no precautions, as you have seen, against his murderers. In fact, had he been of a suspicious temper, he would not have been thus treacherously slain. It is, therefore, wonderfully astonishing how our adversary should have dared to have called the duke of Orleans a tyrant, by way of excusing his abominable act, when it is apparent that his qualities were directly the reverse to those of a tyrant. This I think a sufficient answer to the damnable proposition of our opponent.

"But the advocate for our adversary says, That whatever he may have done contrary to the letter of the law was not, however, contrary to the intention of the maker of the law,

nor contrary to its spirit, but through love of God. Who is he that has thus revealed to him the intention of the Maker of the law, and that it is the object of laws to cause men to be put to death without authority or sentence of the law? The consequence would be, that any prince may be made away with, under pretence that he was a tyrant; for every one would interpret the law according to his fancy, which would create the greatest misfortunes. 'Cujus est leges condere ejus est interpretari.' It is therefore clear, that our opponent could not establish laws binding on the duke of Orleans, who was not his subject, or interpret the law in respect to him. For although his advocate styles him dean of the peers, it does not follow that he had any authority over the defunct; for if so, he would have authority over the whole kingdom, and be equal to the king. What though he be a peer? he has no power but over his own lands; and in so much as he attributes to himself the power of another over the realm, he appropriates to himself kingly domination.

"His advocate has indeed alleged twelve reasons to prove that his lord might lawfully put to death the duke of Orleans without orders from any one whatever. The three first are founded on the declarations of three doctors in theology, and three others on the writings of three moral philosophers,—three on the civil law, and the three last on examples drawn from the holy Scriptures.

"With regard to the first, taken from the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, who says,—'Quando aliquis aliquod dominium sibi per violentiam suscipit nolentibus subditis, vel sine consensu communitatis et non est recursus ad superiorem per quem de tali invasore judicium posset fieri, tunc qui ad liberationem patriæ talem tyrannum occidit laudatur et præmium accipit.' To this I reply, that it is no way applicable to the case; for my lord of Orleans never intruded on any other's domination by violence, nor did he attempt to usurp the power and authority of the king. I say, he never even thought of such a thing, as will more amply be shown in the third part of my defence of him. I am therefore right in saying, that Saint Thomas speaks of him who may be proved a tyrant,—but my lord of Orleans was not one. On this subject St. Austin proposes a question,—whether it be lawful for a pilgrim to kill a robber, who is on the watch on the highway? and from his conclusion it is apparent, that he does not think it lawful for any man to put another to death without sentence of the law, as Henry de Gand afterward determined. I shall add, that supposing my lord of Orleans was such a person as our opponent describes him, but which I deny, he had a safe resort to the king, when he was in good health and cheerful with the queen and the princes of his blood,—none of whom would have hesitated to have personally exposed himself in bringing to punishment the duke of Orleans, had he been proven guilty of usurping the king's authority. Most certainly, my late lord had too good an understanding to imagine he could ever succeed to the crown, when so many obstacles were against him and the king assured of successors.

"The second reason is founded on the authority of St. Peter, who says, 'Subditi, estote regi quasi præcellenti sive ducibus tanquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, quia hæc est voluntas Dei.' These words appear to me of no weight in the present case; for it would seem that the apostle would not that any duke should have dominion over a whole kingdom, but solely in his own country: otherwise it would follow that Brittany, Berry, and the other duchies within the realm, should obey the duke of Burgundy.—The advocate has, therefore, wrongfully perverted the holy Scripture to his purpose.

"His third reason is drawn from what Sabellicus says, in the fifteenth chapter of his third book, 'Tyranno licet adulari quem licet occidere.' That is to say, It is lawful to flatter and deceive a tyrant who may legally be put to death; but Sabellicus here speaks of such as have been proven and known for tyrants. The fourth reason is founded on what Aristotle says, in his book on the government of cities, That it is lawful, and even praiseworthy, to slay a tyrant. But Aristotle alludes to a public tyrant; and such was not my lord of Orleans, as I have before shown. The fifth reason is grounded on the praise, Tully, in his book 'de Officiis,' gives to those who killed Cæsar. To this I reply, that although Tully was a man of great ability, he here speaks as an ill-wisher to Cæsar; for he was always of the party, and supported the cause of, Pompey the rival and adversary to Cæsar,—and Cæsar

perpetrated many deeds which my lord of Orleans never thought of. The sixth reason is grounded on what is said in the sixth chapter of the second book of the Misfortunes of great Men: 'Res est valde meritoria occidere tyrannum.' To this I answer, That it must apply only in cases where no other remedy can be had; and the conduct of our opponent has been illegal and wicked.

"The seventh and two following reasons are founded on the civil laws, which declare there are three sorts of men who may lawfully be put to death,—namely, such as disgrace their knighthood, highway robbers, and housebreakers found during the night within any dwelling. Now my lord of Orleans cannot be included with any one of the above three classes. He was ever attended by a noble body of chivalry, and was fond of it beyond measure. And in regard to the two other cases, I maintain that the law does not command such to be slain except when the danger is most inevitable. They can in no wise be applicable to my lord of Orleans, who, thank God, was no waylayer on the high roads, nor a housebreaker; and there is no law in the world that can excuse our adversary.

"The example of Moses, who slew an Egyptian without any authority, is produced to support the tenth reason. To this I say, according to the opinion of St. Austin and many other doctors, that Moses sinned in killing the Egyptian; and although Moses and St. Peter both acted contrary to the rules of justice, their cases are not similar,—for Moses was a Hebrew, and noticing an unbeliever moving towards his brother, to slay him, put him to death to prevent him from so doing. The eleventh reason is grounded on the instance of Phineas, who slew Zambre without orders, and not only remained unpunished, but was remunerated for it. Thomas Aquinas says, in exculpation of this act, that he did it as a teacher of the law, for he was the son of the high-priest, and, on this account, had power and public authority. This is also inapplicable to the question before us, as history will show.

"The twelfth reason is founded on Saint Michael having slain Lucifer without the Divine command. For this he was rewarded with riches and power, as our opponent says. To this I reply, That St. Michael did not slay Lucifer,—and the assertion that he did so is deserving only of derision; for the slaying of Lucifer is nothing more than the deprivation of the Divine grace, and of the sovereign glory of paradise, whence he was cast out by God for his inordinate pride. O, my lords! in what book has this advocate learned such theology? I am confounded at the boldness of his assertions, for there is not certainly any book in which it can be found. On the contrary, we see in the epistle of St. Jude, that St. Michael dared not to rail against Lucifer, although he had power over him, nor command him to do anything; but he only said, 'Our Lord commands thee;' and thus it clearly appears, that the arguments which our adversary has produced are no way applicable to his case, nor can they serve to justify his disloyal and treacherous act.

"I repeat, that such murders as the above, which our opponent has brought forward, are not of any consequence as examples; for many things have been suffered, that are mentioned in the Old Testament, which are now forbidden. As for instance, Samuel, as a churchman, put to death the king Amalech,—but at this day it is not lawful for a churchman to commit such crimes. To Moses was given the power of repudiation from the marriage-vow, which is now forbidden. The doctrine, therefore, which is here attempted, and the examples quoted to palliate and even justify this atrocious crime, cannot be supported; and truly princes would be in constant dread of death, if this deed go unpunished,—for should any evil report be spread abroad of them, some one of their subjects might take it into his head to punish them himself for it.

"O princes! consider well, that if such doctrines are supported, any man may say, 'I also may kill him as such a one did.' You will therefore be pleased to condemn this false doctrine as dangerous, seditious, and abominable. Our adversary, and all those of his party, may then say with Jeremiah, in his twentieth chapter, 'Confundantur vehementer qui non intellexerunt opprobrium sempiternum quod nunquam delebitur.'

"The second argument is founded upon this consideration, that the cruel death of the duke of Orleans was not accomplished according to the way of justice; and supposing our adversary had the right to inflict it, he was, notwithstanding, bound to do so according to

the forms of law, by information, and on the testimony of irreproachable witnesses. But he no ways followed this course; for he first kills the duke of Orleans, and then seeks for reasons to exculpate himself for so doing. O God! what a trial, and what a judge!! O justice! do thy duty; and what thou owest to thyself, defend thy own cause against one who seeks to reduce thee to nothing. In truth, every law ordains that causes should be first tried, and sentences examined, before they are put into execution; and to this purpose Julius Cæsar, according to what Sallust relates, said, That when judges shall put men to death before they be condemned, the greatest evils may arise, and no man live in security. He brings, as an example, the Lacedemonians, who, after their victory over the Athenians, constituted thirty persons to govern the public state, who put to death numbers without any previous trial, which caused great misfortunes. The like will befal us, if such crimes are suffered to go unpunished. Sallust tells us, that when Catiline and his associates were intending to burn the city of Rome and murder its senators, Tully was then consul; but although he was fully acquainted with the plot, he did not cause one of the conspirators to be put to death until he had fully proved their guilt. Now, my lords, as I have fully and clearly proved the heinousness of the crime with which I have charged the duke of Burgundy; and as it was done contrary to all law and justice, I trust it will not remain unpunished, according to the words of our Lord by the prophet Isaiah, in his 47th chapter: 'Videbitur opprobrium tuum, ultionem capiam, et non resistet mihi homo.'

"My third argument is grounded on our adversary's having entered into the strongest possible alliance with the duke of Orleans, in the presence of many of their dependants; and a twelvemonth prior to the murder of the above duke this alliance was renewed before several prelates, nobles, clergymen, and counsellors of each side, when the two dukes swore on the crucifix, with the holy evangelists in their hands, to the due and faithful observance of it; promising, on the salvation of their souls, and by their honour, that henceforward they would be to each other as brothers and companions in arms: engaging to reveal mutually any evil designs that might be plotted or meditated against their persons or interests. They then agreed to wear each other's badge, which was done. And at the last feast at Compiègne, for the greater confirmation of the above, my lord of Orleans and our adversary made many of their knights and dependants alternately swear, that they would loyally and truly abide by and support the bonds of friendship entered into between them, through love and attachment to their persons,—and would make known to each party anything that should be imagined against their persons or estate. Moreover, my lord of Orleans and our adversary entered into other private engagements, promising and swearing on the true cross, that they would mutually defend and guard each other's person and honour against all who should attack them. This agreement was signed with their own hands and seals.

"What now, O duke of Burgundy! canst thou say to these things? Who now can put any confidence in thee? for thou canst not deny the above alliance, as there are many witnesses to it now living: thou hast been publicly seen by the whole city wearing the badge of the duke of Orleans. How did my late lord act? Certainly in no way hurtful to our opponent; for from that time no reproachful or angry words passed between them, that could anyhow be ill interpreted. It is plain, therefore, that our adversary has wickedly and treacherously put to death him who had the fullest confidence in his honour. O duke! what reply canst thou make to this? Shouldst thou say, that thou didst cause him to be put to death on account of the wickedness which thou hast by thy command caused to be imputed to him,—say, then, why thou enteredst into any alliance or bonds of friendship with such an infamous traitor as thou hast had him painted. Thou knowest, that loyal men will never form a friendship with traitors. Thou sayest, that the duke of Orleans was a traitor to his king: thou therefore makest thyself a traitor by the act of forming an alliance with him.

"Thou hast accused my lord of Orleans of having made an alliance with Henry of Lancaster: what wilt thou say to the alliances thou thyself afterward enteredst into with the duke of Orleans? If these things had happened after thy alliance with my late lord, thou wouldst have had some colour to have broken with him, although even this would have been barely sufficient; but thou knowest well that thou hast not alleged anything against him, in thy scandalous libel, posterior to these alliances. O abominable treason! what can be

offered in thy excuse? O ye knights, who consider honour as your judge; God will never suffer you to approve of such deeds.

"O duke of Burgundy! thou hast frequently visited the duke of Orleans, when alive: thou hast eaten and drunk with him: thou hast even taken spices out of the same dish with him, in token of friendship. In short, on the Tuesday preceding his death, he most kindly invited thee to dine with him the Sunday following, which thou promisedst to do in the presence of my lord of Berry, now here. Assuredly my lord of Orleans might have quoted the words of JESUS CHRIST to the traitor Judas, 'Qui mittit manum mecum in paropside, hic me tradet.' O my lords! weigh well this treason, and apply a remedy to it. Consider how strongly the faith and loyalty of chivalry should be guarded, and the words of Vegetius, when speaking of chivalry, 'Milites jurata sua omnia custodiant.' To the observance of this, all princes are bound,—for he who shall disgrace his loyalty or honour is unworthy of being called a knight.

"My fourth argument is founded on this consideration, that the death of my late lord, the duke of Orleans, was damnable and disloyal,—and any one who should maintain or assert the contrary would not be a good Christian. We see that the secular justice allows to malefactors time for repentance,—but thou, cruel adversary! thou hast caused my lord so suddenly to be put to death that, inasmuch as in thee lay, he died without repenting of his sins. It seems, therefore, that thou hast exerted all thy influence to procure the eternal damnation of his soul when thou destroyedst his body; and most assuredly thou wilt find great difficulty to make thy peace with God,—for insomuch as thou believest him the greater sinner, so much the more need had he, as thou mayst suppose, of a fuller and longer repentance.—It follows, then, that thou hast deprived him, to the utmost of thy power, of any possibility of repentance—and consequently thy sin becomes the more grievous and inexcusable, more especially as my lord was no way expecting to die when he was thus suddenly and cruelly cut off.—Nevertheless, I trust that our Lord may have granted that he died in his grace; and I the more readily believe it, inasmuch as, a short time before this sad event, he had most devoutly confessed himself. I repeat, that it is the deed of a wicked Christian thus to put a man to death; and whoever may say the contrary, or maintain that it is meritorious, I tell him, that he speaks wickedly and erroneously, according to the theologians.

"Hear, my lords, and consider the conduct of our adversary after the death of the duke of Orleans,—how on the Thursday following his murder, clothed in black, and with tears and every sign of grief, he accompanied the dead body from the church of the Guillemins to that of the Celestins! Weigh well, my lords, this treachery and dissimulation! O Lord God, what tears and groans!!! O Earth! how couldst thou bear such wickedness? Open thy mouth, and swallow up all who commit such dreadful sins. Recollect, that on the ensuing Friday, at the hotel of the duke of Berry, in his presence and in that of the king of Sicily, our adversary advanced towards the servants of the late duke of Orleans, entreating them to make every inquiry after the author of this murder, and begging them to recommend him to the duchess of Orleans and to her children: then the three noble persons having conferred together, the duke of Berry declared the request was proper, and that they would exert themselves as much as possible to discover the person who had committed this atrocious act.

"O duke of Burgundy! thou promisedst to do this, by the mouth of my lord of Berry, whereas thou didst the worst thou could; for, not satisfied with having caused the murder of his body, thou seekest to destroy the reputation of the defunct. Thou promisedst to seek most diligently after the murderer, while thou knewest it was thyself that wast the criminal. Now, my lords, consider well, that after a resolution had been taken to seek after the author of this crime, our adversary, the duke of Burgundy, conscious of his guilt, confessed that it was he who had caused the death of the duke of Orleans. When he made this confession on his knees to the king and my lord the duke of Berry, he affirmed, that what he had done was by the instigation of the devil; and certainly in this instance he spoke the truth, for he was urged to it by jealousy and ambition. O my lords! weigh well this confession, and how our adversary contradicts himself,—for when he first confessed his guilt, he said he had been instigated to it by the devil; but afterward he commands it to be argued, that he

committed so atrocious a deed legally and justifiably. If he feel no shame for his wickedness, he ought at least to be sensible of his thus meanly contradicting himself. Consider also, that he was desirous of concealing his crime; and God knows, that if his deed had been of that worth as has been advanced for him, he would have gloried in having so done, and not have wished to remain undiscovered as the perpetrator. And why did he own his guilt? Because it could no longer be concealed. That this was the cause is apparent; for when he perceived that it must be known, he fled most precipitately from Paris, like to one in despair. He might have said, with Judas the traitor, 'Peccavi tradens sanguinem justum.'

"O Philip, duke of Burgundy! wert thou now alive, thou wouldst not have approved the conduct of our adversary, but wouldst have said thy son had degenerated. Thou wert surnamed The Bold,—but he was always fearful and suspicious, consequently a traitor. Thou mightst have truly applied to him what is written in the fifth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, 'Cur temptavit Sathanas cor tuum mentiri te Spiritui Sancto? non es mentitus hominibus sed Deo.'

"My fifth argument is grounded on the falsehood of the declarations of our opponent, that he had caused the death of the duke of Orleans with the purest intentions; for, on the contrary, he committed this crime through lust of power, and to gain greater authority over the kingdom, and also to possess himself of the royal treasury, that he might more largely gratify and increase his dependence. This is evident from the conduct of our adversary before and after the death of the duke of Orleans. It is a truth, that shortly after the death of his father the duke of Burgundy, he exerted himself to the utmost to obtain similar power in this realm, and with the same pensions and authority as his late father had enjoyed. But this was not granted to him, because his father had been uncle to the king, and was a man of great prudence and understanding, qualities not possessed by our adversary. Having been disappointed, he instantly began to practise how he could better obtain his object; and for this end, prior to the death of the duke of Orleans, he caused reports to be circulated throughout the kingdom of his affection to the public weal, and that he alone was the fittest person to govern it. When he perceived, that in spite of his fictions, the duke of Orleans still possessed the authority he was panting for, because he was the son of a king, and the only brother to the king, and more fit for the government than the duke of Burgundy,—seeing, therefore, all his plans frustrated, he conspired to take away the life of the duke of Orleans, expecting that when he should be made away with, no other person would dare to dispute his having the sole government of the kingdom. This is the principal cause of so barbarous a murder, notwithstanding the arguments that have been urged in his excuse, as is well known to all. His conduct, likewise, after the death of my late lord of Orleans, confirms it; for instantly, on his return to Paris, he began to push forward those that were his dependants and supporters, by depriving many valiant and deserving men of places which they held under the king, without any other cause but that they had been appointed to them by my lord of Orleans, as others had been, and giving their offices to such as he pleased, in order to gain more authority and power. He also endeavoured to make all placemen, particularly those who had the management of the royal treasury, subservient to him, that they might not refuse him anything.

"Our adversary was most anxious to have the government of the treasury, and obtained from it the sum of two hundred thousand livres, by warrants thereon, or otherwise, great part of which he distributed among his people, as is well known to the clerks of the treasury; and this was his principal object in putting to death his rival in power, my late lord of Orleans, namely, covetousness of the king's money, and to give it away and enrich his followers. It appears, therefore, that covetousness and pride have been the springs of his actions; but, please God, he shall not in this instance profit from them,—and the words of Job, in his seventh chapter, shall be verified, 'Cum habuerit quod cupierit, possidere non poterit.'

"My sixth and last argument is founded on the conduct of our adversary, who, not satisfied with having murdered the late duke of Orleans, attempts, in conjunction with his followers, to deprive him of his good fame and renown, by defamatory libels, wherein he groundlessly and falsely charges him with the crimes of divine and human high treason, of

which he was perfectly innocent, as has been, and shall be again demonstrated. It may be said, that this justification is even more scandalous than the fact itself; for to fall into sin is the lot of humanity, but obstinately to persevere in it is diabolical. And this manner of justifying murder is the defence of his own sin, and daring to do what God hates: he follows not the example of David when he said, 'Non declines cor meum in verba maliciæ ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis.'

"I come now to my third division, in which I shall reply to the defamatory libel, and to the accusations therein, that were made by our adversary against the character of my late lord of Orleans. I may fairly quote the words of the Psalmist, on the part of my late lord, 'Judica me, Domine, secundum justitiam meam, et secundum innocentiam meam super me.' This request the Psalmist makes to God, and such a request, O king! does the duchess of Orleans now make to thee, as she requires nothing but judgment and justice. May it please thee to listen to the answers of my lady of Orleans to the six charges brought against her late lord, and thou wilt then judge whether he has not been unjustly accused.

"The first charge brought against the late duke of Orleans by the advocate of the duke of Burgundy is, That during his lifetime he committed the crime of high treason in the highest degree, by his idolatrous conduct in witchcrafts and sorceries, contrary to the Christian faith and the honour of God. It is true, that in regard to this accusation, the advocate did not pursue it very far, saying, that the judgment of such crimes belonged to God, the sovereign Lord,—meaning, that no human judge was competent to it. When making this charge, he spoke of an apostate monk and several sorcerers, in whom my late lord of Orleans put confidence, according to his allegations. I shall scarcely offer any reply to this accusation, but, in like manner as he has done, refer the whole to the judgment of God. It will be sufficient for me to show, in the first place, That my late lord of Orleans was a good and true Christian; that he never committed any sorceries or idolatries, nor ever departed from the faith of Jesus Christ. I may likewise add, That from his youth upward, he was of a religious turn of mind,—for, notwithstanding his fondness for amusements, his reliance was in God, to whom he very often confessed himself. Nay, the very Saturday preceding his death, he had most devoutly confessed himself, with many signs of contrition, declaring he would not longer follow youthful pastimes, but solely devote himself to the service of God, and to that of the public welfare. That I may not be suspected of uttering falsehoods, many religieux as well as others are now alive to whom he had made such declarations; and, without saying more, let his uncle the duke of Bourbon be heard, who knows what promises he made to God,—for a little before his decease, he assured him, that henceforward his conduct should be such as to merit the approbation of God and mankind, and that all the inhabitants of this kingdom should be bound to pray for him. I know not if our adversary had heard of these wise declarations, or whether he was afraid of their being effected, as they were quite in opposition to his wish for the government; for he well knew that if my lord of Orleans should act as he had said he would, his authority in the kingdom would have been very small indeed. It may therefore be presumed, it was for this that he was so eager to have my lord of Orleans put to death.

"O Lord God! thou knowest how well he was inclined toward thee at the time of his being murdered, which gives me confidence in his salvation; for the holy Scripture says, 'Justus si morte præoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit.' It is, however, evident, that our adversary did all he could to destroy his soul, and afterwards heard mass most devoutly in appearance, putting what had passed out of his thoughts, and daily saying his canonical prayers.

"O duke of Burgundy! why hast thou done all this through hypocrisy and fiction? Who has revealed to thee the secrets of hearts? and who has made thee the judge of men's thoughts? Thou resemblest the Pharisees, who called Christ a deceiver and possest of a devil! Thou knowest, that even angels are ignorant of the secrets of our hearts, and yet thou pretendest to judge them! O! how well does the Psalmist exclaim, 'Tu solus es scrutans renes et corda!'

"It is notorious, that my late lord founded many masses and private chapels, doing much service to the church: let then his last will, so devoutly written, be considered with what I

have before said, and any one may decide whether he was an idolater or sorcerer. It is true, indeed, that the advocate for our adversary refers to the judgment of God all that respects divine high treason, saying that he will not make this an especial charge against the late duke of Orleans. But I now ask why he thus acts? Because he knows the charge is groundless, and that in many places human judges may and do punish sorcerers and idolaters according to their power; and that numbers have for these crimes been condemned to death, because they were bad Christians, and that from such errors of the faith proceed heresies. It is written in the second book of Kings, that Josias killed and extirpated diviners and sorcerers; and in the tenth chapter of Zecharias, 'Divini viderunt mendacium et somniatores locuti sunt frustra.' It is also written in the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, 'Ne declinetis ad magos, nec ab ariolis aliquid sciscitemini.' The reason why the advocate passed so rapidly over this charge was, that he knew nothing against my lord of Orleans that could prove him a bad Christian, or that he was not firm in his belief of religion. O, lord king! my lady of Orleans supplicates thee, that the words of Job, in the twenty-second chapter, may be verified,—'Salvabitur innocens in munditia manuum suarum.'

"The second accusation was, That my lord of Orleans favoured the schism in the church, by affording aid to Pietro della Luna, formerly called Pope Benedict, and was consequently guilty of high treason in the second degree. In reply, I say, that my lord of Orleans gave no aid nor showed any favour, but with the laudable end of making an honourable peace in the church, and particularly when he considered Benedict as the true pope. It is well known, that our obedience to the church would have been brought about more to our honour if Pietro della Luna had done his duty, by yielding up his claims, for the union of the church, than by violently supporting them. My lord of Orleans may have said, it will be better to wait a little, for the above Pietro to send in his cession, than by hurrying make affairs worse. In this there could not be any evil intentions; for it is a fact that he was anxious for the union of the church, and believed firmly that Pietro della Luna was willing to abdicate his claims, whenever the Roman pontiff should do the same. Many are now living who have heard the duke swear, that if he knew Pietro della Luna was unwilling to yield up his pretensions, when the other pope should resign his, he would be the bitterest enemy he had in the world; and should it be thought necessary, they are ready to prove it. Now let us consider what advantage the division of the church could be of to him. He was wise enough to see all the evils that flowed from it, and not so weak as to found confidence on a man so old as Pietro della Luna. He knew, besides, that by the union of the church more spiritual and temporal advantages would fall to the share of himself and friends, without comparison, than if the schism were continued.

"To show more evidently the earnest desire my lord of Orleans had for a union of the church, I will mention a proposal which he made to the university of Paris three weeks before his death. When he perceived that the Roman pontiff would neither come to Genoa nor Savoy, nor accept as hostages those who had been presented to him by the mareschal de Boucicaut, and that nothing else prevented the union of the church, for Pietro della Luna was ready to go to either of these places, he addressed the following speech to the members of the university: 'O rector, and you all my good friends! see I pray ye that we may shortly, through the grace of God, restore peace to the church, and may give satisfactory security, that the Roman pope may come to Genoa. I have offered him the choice of one of my sons, as his hostage, and am ready to send him, at my own expense, to Venice, or elsewhere. Write, therefore, such letters as you shall think proper to him, and I will sign them. Tell what I have said to the whole university, and bring me their opinions on it.' The heads of the university thanked him very warmly for his offer,—adding, that he could not make a more generous proposal, and that he had demonstrated by it the affection he bore to the church. There are persons still living whom he had ordered to go to Rome and Venice to give notice of the offer he had made. Now, my lords, could he have done more than to give his own flesh and blood for an hostage? And our witnesses of this act are neither weak nor ignorant persons, but doctors and professors of theology.

"O duke of Burgundy! this will show to thee how false has been thy accusation; and on this charge thou oughtest to have been silent, knowing as thou must how anxious thou

wert to acquire the friendship of Pietro della Luna. At the time when Pietro was in the greatest disgrace, thou didst write and send to him to obtain bishoprics and other preferments for thy dependants; and thy messengers were not pages nor common persons, but the guardian of thy soul, namely, thy confessor, that he might the more clearly and securely explain thy meaning.

"It was also said, that my lord of Orleans consented to the malicious excommunication sent by Pietro della Luna to induce the king to continue his obedience to him. Now it is quite clear that this wicked excommunication carries no effect against Pietro della Luna, except in case the king should become disobedient, and that he had given his consent to the said excommunication, which, as has been said, was to have no effect, except in case of renunciation of allegiance or disobedience. It is certain that Pietro della Luna was of a temper obstinate enough to do such things, and that he acted thus without consulting any one, and as certain that my lord of Orleans was unfavourable to this act,—for it was not put in force until after his death. Weigh, at the same time, my lords, the misconduct of our adversary, and the innocence of the duke of Orleans, who may say with the Psalmist, 'Os peccatoris et os dolosi super me apertum est, locuti sunt adversum me lingua dolosa, et sermonibus odii circumdederunt me.'

"The third charge of our adversary is, that my late lord of Orleans practised different means to cause the death of his prince and lord, the king of France: first, as it is said, by sorceries, witchcrafts, and superstitions;—secondly, by poisons;—thirdly, by fire, water, or other violent injections, which consequently inculpates my lord of Orleans in the crime of human high treason, in the person of the king our lord.

"In regard to the first part of the charge relative to poison, supposed to be administered by a monk under the forms of a sword, a buckler, a ring, or a wand,—and that, to accomplish this, my lord of Orleans had sent for this monk, a knight, an esquire, and a varlet, to whom, our adversary says, he gave large sums of money,—all this I deny as absolute falsehoods, for my said lord of Orleans never consented to sorceries or such forbidden deeds. Should this monk have done such sorceries, it was no way through the exhortation of my lord of Orleans, nor ought this to have been so lightly alleged against him,—for there was a long trial held of this monk before the ministers of the king, from whom the truth may be known. It was then discovered by the confession of the monk, that my lord had forbidden him to use any magic arts that would any way prove to the prejudice of the king's person; and God knows, if there had been any truth in the charge, it would not have been concealed until after my lord's death. By this, the falsehood of the accusation is evident; and although my foresaid lord may have at times held some conversation with this monk, let it be remembered that he was then young, not more than eighteen years old, and that princes of that age are frequently deceived by artful talkers, to gain money from them. With respect to the bone wrapped up in a small linen bag, which he wore between his shirt and skin, as our adversary says, until it was torn from him by a knight, whom he hated ever after, and continued to persecute until he had ruined him in his fortune, and procured his banishment out of the realm,—this is most assuredly false; for the knight was banished the kingdom by sentence of the courts of justice, for a very notorious cause; and this odious circumstance was never mentioned but by this knight, who published it, and who, according to our adversary, was suspected of hatred to the duke of Orleans, and consequently not a competent witness to be admitted against the defunct.

"Consider, my lords, what falsehoods are contained in the accusations of our adversary, and that such as read his libel must be deceived. It behoves, therefore, the reverend professors of theology to correct it as soon as possible, for they know that such libels ought not to be written nor published; but the most marvellous circumstance of all is, that this libel and these falsehoods have been suffered and made public by a theologian in the presence of the king's majesty. We are at present in a similar situation to that in which Saint Austin represents the companion of the physician and astrologer disputing on twin children, the one fat and the other lean. The astrologer attributing the difference to the ascendancy of the stars,—the physician declaring, that the fat one received the soul first, and, being the strongest, sucked nearly the whole of the food,—which ought to be believed? The physician,

certainly, as St. Austin says. We, in like manner, may give greater credit to the faculty of medicine in this manner than to the faculty of theology: the professor has very foolishly argued his case.

"O most merciful God! apply a remedy to this, for thou seest theologians affirm that sorcerers may succeed in their incantations; and it is erring against the holy Scriptures to say, that sorcerers are others than liars. And the wise Solomon makes this answer to those who asserted similar errors, in the 33d chapter of Ecclesiasticus,—'Quod divinatio erroris, et arguta mendacia et somnia maleficiorum vanitas est.' Thomas Aquinas quotes this authority to prove that sorcerers cannot succeed. O thou university of Paris! please to correct thyself; for such absurd sciences are not only forbidden, as being contrary to the honour of God, but as containing nothing true, which is confirmed by the workers of magic.

"Ovid says, in his book, 'De Remedia Amoris,'

'Fallitur Hermionæ si quis mala pabula terræ:
Et magicas artes posse juvare putat.'

"Master John de Bar, who was very expert in this accursed art, and who was burnt, with all his books, declared, at his last confession, that the devil never appeared to him, and that his invocations and sorceries never succeeded, although many said the contrary. He added, that he had practised this art to obtain money from persons of high rank. It is therefore most strange to charge the duke of Orleans with such vain and foolish sorceries, as there never was a man who hated them more, or who persecuted such as practised them with greater rigour.

"Every one knows that my late lord was the principal cause of the trial of John de Bar and of two Augustan friars, before the king's council and clergy summoned for this purpose, and were in consequence executed for their evil deeds.

"With regard to what the advocate for our opponent says, that the late lord of Milan only gave his daughter to the duke of Orleans in the hope of her being queen of France; and that, on her taking leave of him, he should say, 'Adieu! my child: I never wish to see thee again but as queen of France.' This is absolutely false; for my lord of Milan was in treaty with the duke of Gueldres, brother to the king of the Romans, to marry his daughter: ambassadors were even on their road to Milan to conclude the match, when Bertrand Gaad, at that time tutor to the count de Vertus, was sent by the king and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, (whose soul may God receive!) to propose the alliance of the duke of Orleans. The lord of Milan, preferring the honour of a connexion with France, consented to give his daughter to the duke of Orleans, ceased to treat with the duke of Gueldres, and recalled the ambassadors he had sent to him. As to the words the lord of Milan has been supposed to address to his daughter on her taking leave of him, they are also false,—for he left Pavia without seeing or speaking to her, because he could not have done either without weeping. The advocate for our adversary utters another falsehood, when he says, that the lord of Milan expressed his astonishment to a French knight, on his telling him the king of France was in good health, replying, 'Thou sayest, that the king of France is in good health: how can that possibly be?' My lord of Milan is too reserved ever to have held such a conversation; and it is well known to many now alive, that my lord of Milan loved the king of France above all other princes, and was very much attached to his family. This he always testified by the honours and presents he lavished on ambassadors and nobles of France, who travelled through his country, all from his respect to the king and his royal blood.

"With regard to the history of that gallant man, sir Philip de Mezieres, whom the advocate has most scandalously defamed,—it is true, that when sir Philip came from Cyprus, king Charles, whom God pardon! retained him, and made him his chamberlain. After the death of the king, sir Philip put on the humble dress of a monk, in the church of the Celestins, where he devoutly remained until his death. The late duke of Burgundy had a friendship for the lord of Milan, and, perceiving sir Philip to be a man of ability and prowess, sent him to Milan to propose a crusade to the holy land: the lord of Milan received him honourably, and willingly listened to all he had to say. Before that time, sir Philip had never resided in Milan, nor had any connexion with the lord Bernabo, uncle to the present

lord. Sir Philip had left Milan very long before any mention was made of the marriage of the duke of Orleans with the present duchess, which clearly proves how ill-founded have been the imputations of our adversary.

"Another infamous falsehood has been boldly advanced, namely, that my lord of Orleans, seeing he could not compass the king's death by sorceries, practised other means to accomplish it, that he might succeed to the crown of France, by promising to one man four thousand francs, to another five thousand, to make up and administer different poisons,—and that some accepted his offers, and others refused them. Most assuredly, if there had been such loyal persons as to refuse these great sums of money, they would not have hesitated to reveal the matter, that it might be inquired into and punished; but as they have not done so, we may safely conclude the assertion is false. Our adversary has alleged, that at a dinner at the queen's palace, the duke of Orleans threw some powder over the king's dish. This may be proved to be false, for no mention was made during the dinner of any such act,—for it is clear, that if the queen had observed anything of the sort at her dinner, she would have denounced it to the servants and family of the king, otherwise she would not have been loyal. As to the story of the queen's almoner, which our adversary has brought forward,—namely, his falling down dead and losing his hair and nails,—it is notoriously false, for he lived five or six years after the time when he was supposed thus suddenly to die. I may therefore apply to our opponent the words of the prophet Jeremiah, in his seventh chapter, 'Ecce vos confiditis in sermonibus mendacii, sed non proderunt vobis.'

"Our adversary next advances, that my lord of Orleans, finding he could not destroy the king by poisons or sorceries, attempted to do it by fire and other means; that my lord of Orleans, in consequence, proposed a masquerade dance of persons dressed as savages, in cloth covered with pitch and tow, and other inflammable materials,—among the number of whom was the king,—and that the duke of Orleans caused his dress to be made too tight, that he might be excused from being of the party. Our adversary adds, that when one of the king's servants was warning him of the danger that might ensue from such dresses, the duke of Orleans was greatly enraged and gave him much abusive language: in short, that my lord of Orleans set fire to the king's dress, who was in the utmost peril of death, had not God, and certain ladies by their exertions, prevented it.*—Now, in answer to this heavy charge, I shall reply, that my lord of Orleans did not provide the dresses, nor could he then have known where to have sought for them. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, lately deceased, well knew who were the proposers of this dance, and that it was not the duke of Orleans. Had he been the author of it, he would not have escaped death, or very great blame, considering the commotion it caused, for he had then scarcely any power. As to what our adversary says, that the dress of the duke of Orleans was purposely made too tight, there is not the smallest appearance of truth in it, for at that time the duke was the thinnest of the company.

"It is true, that my lord of Orleans and the lord Philip de Bar had gone before the commencement of this ball to visit the lady of Clermont, who had not come to the wedding held at the hôtel de St. Pol, for which this entertainment was given, and on their return they found all the dresses had been made use of. This was the sole cause why the duke of Orleans was not dressed to make one of the party. It is an infamous lie to say, as our opponent has done, that the duke of Orleans wished to burn the king our lord; for the duke and the lord Philip de Bar intended dressing themselves in these clothes, and, without thinking or intending any ill, they both told Peter de Navarre to set fire to the dresses of the savages, that when on fire they might run among the ladies to frighten them. Peter de Navarre is living, and he can prove the truth of this to the king. Let us suppose, that in this youthful frolic, my lord of Orleans should have set fire to one of the dresses, as he had ordered the same to be done to all, it is not credible that it could have been done through malice or evil intentions. It is then apparent, that what our adversary has asserted is a lie; and I

* See an account of this dreadful accident in Froissart, book iv., chap. 53, vol. ii. p. 553, Smith's edition. Froissart entirely acquits the duke of any evil intention, and attributes it to his causing the torches to be held too near them, that he might recognise the persons of the maskers. Three of the party were burnt to death; a fourth saved himself by rushing to the buttery, and plunging into a tub of water placed there, and the king was rescued by the duchess of Berry, who threw the skirt of her robe over him.—Ed.

comfort myself with the words of the prophet,—'Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium,'—and in the 20th chapter of Proverbs, 'Qui profert mendacia peribit.'

"As to the alliances which our opponent says the duke of Orleans entered into with Henry of Lancaster, at present calling himself king of England, to the prejudice of the king and realm, and colouring his assertion by adding, that Richard, late king of England, had assured the king of France, that his infirmities were solely owing to the machinations of the dukes of Milan and Orleans,—I answer, that they are wicked falsehoods; for when Henry of Lancaster came to France, he was most honourably received by the princes of the royal family as their relation, and frequented the company of the duke of Orleans and others of the blood royal as of their kindred, when, as a friend to the king, he formed an alliance with the duke of Orleans publicly, and in the presence of the king and princes of the blood, which at the time was considered as perfectly lawful, and for the good of the kingdom. This plainly shows, that my lord of Orleans had made no alliance against king Richard; but what is more, at the treaty of marriage of the king's daughter, now duchess of Orleans, with king Richard, the duke of Orleans and king Richard formed an alliance similar to that which the latter had formed with the king of France. After this, my lord of Orleans went to Calais, where he was most amicably received by king Richard as a very dear brother. In addition, when king Richard died, the duke of Orleans showed great grief for it, and made an enemy of king Henry of Lancaster, by the challenges he sent him, accusing him of being guilty of the crime of high treason against his sovereign lord king Richard, offering to fight the said king Henry, in revenge for the death of Richard, either in single combat, or with any number of persons he might choose. These and many more circumstances can be brought forward to prove that my lord of Orleans had a strong affection for king Richard, from his alliance by marriage with the king of France, and that he hated king Henry for having laid hands on his sovereign.

"There is not more truth in what our adversary has advanced, that my lord of Orleans, when with Pietro della Luna, exerted himself to obtain bulls to the prejudice of the king and his family, and on this account always favoured the said Pietro; for at that time my lord of Orleans had procured with this Pietro, then called Benedict, a very advantageous alliance for the king of France, by which he engaged to support the king and his family by every means in his power, as may be seen in the bulls issued to this effect. It is therefore very extraordinary, that any man, endowed with common sense, should have asserted publicly things that are evidently false. As to what our adversary says, that my lord of Orleans supported Pietro della Luna, I have before answered it; and my lord proposed himself, that if the two rival popes did not speedily agree to send commissioners to the council, France should withdraw itself from their obedience. This was more displeasing to Pietro della Luna than anything that had been done in this kingdom relative to church-affairs, and is not a sign that my lord of Orleans was desirous of retarding a union of the church in favour of Pietro della Luna. It is therefore evident, that the duke of Orleans is innocent of the charges that have been brought against him.

"O lord king! may it please thee to guard his innocence by means of thy justice, according as it is written in the thirteenth chapter of Job, 'Justitia custodit innocentis viam.'

"The fourth accusation of our adversary is, That for the space of three whole years my lord of Orleans, by his artful and deceitful tales, and advice to the queen, attempted to prevail on her to quit the kingdom, with her children, and reside in the county of Luxembourg, that he might enjoy greater power in the government of the realm. So far is this charge from being true, that my lord of Orleans did everything in his power to honour and support the queen during the melancholy illness of the king, of which it does not become me to say more, for, thanks to God, she is now present, and knows full well the truth of this, and which she may more fully declare whenever it may be her good pleasure so to do. I do not, however, know that she made any complaints on this subject to our adversary, or to any other persons. I believe the contrary, to this charge of our opponent, will be found to be the truth; and that it has been purposely brought forward to defame the reputation of the deceased.

"The fifth accusation is, That my lord of Orleans committed the crime of high treason in

the third degree, on the person of my lord the dauphin, whose soul may God pardon! by compassing his death by means of a poisoned apple given to a child, from whom one of the nurses of the children of the duke of Orleans took it by force, and gave it to one of the children of the duke of Orleans, and caused its death, as well as that of the dauphin, who also ate of it. This is an absolute falsehood. True it is, that one of the duke of Orleans' children died about the time when this fact was supposed to have taken place, of a bowel complaint, which was then very prevalent, and carried off many others. Let the physicians, master William le Boucher and master John de Beaumont, be examined, who visited this child, and they will declare the truth, that it did not die of poison. Consider, my lords, the improbability of a nurse of the children of the duke of Orleans daring to give an apple or pear to any of them without the express orders of the duchess of Orleans; and that when the nurse went to these gardens with the child, she was accompanied by several women of character, who would not have suffered her to give it an apple, or any suchlike thing.

"O most noble and well-beloved duke of Aquitaine! while young, learn to love justice, and act like Solomon. Consider the evils that may happen, unless justice be observed; and if thou neglectest it, thou wilt not love thy brothers, for they will be in danger of death if the doctrines of our adversary be not checked. The prophet says, 'Justitiæ Domini rectæ lætificantes corda.'

"The sixth crime alleged against the duke of Orleans is, That he committed high treason in the fourth degree, by ruining the king in his finances, and by oppressing the people with intolerable taxes, and quartering large bodies of men-at-arms in various parts of the country. My lords, it is very astonishing that our adversary should have made this charge; for it is notorious to every one, that these taxes were not levied in this kingdom for its own concerns, nor were they for the profit of the duke of Orleans: thy were proposed with great deliberation of the king, the princes of his blood, and his council, for the benefit of our adversary himself, in his expedition to Hungary, and for the payment of the ransom of himself and his army. This was the cause of such heavy taxes being raised throughout the kingdom, and of immense sums of money being sent to Turkey, and other distant places, to the irreparable loss of the country. When our adversary charges the duke of Orleans with having taken four thousand francs from the tower of the palace, and one hundred thousand from the castle of Melun,—I reply, that it is false: if any sums of money were in the tower of the palace, they were distributed according to orders from the king. In regard to the hundred thousand francs in the castle of Melun, it is well known that the queen and the duke of Orleans went thither to amuse themselves,—during which time our adversary very improperly came to Paris with a large body of men-at-arms, and forced the duke of Aquitaine to return thither, instead of going, as he intended, to join his mother the queen. He had collected this force of men-at-arms with the design of attacking the queen and the duke of Orleans in Melun, which, of course, made it necessary for her majesty to raise an army for her own defence, and for the security of the king and kingdom. She was therefore advised to make use of the money in the castle of Melun for the pay of the men-at-arms, but my lord of Orleans never touched one penny of it; and when it came to the knowledge of the king, he was well satisfied that it had been so applied.

"It therefore appears, that this sum of money was expended to oppose the damnable act of our adversary, and for no other cause. In regard to the men-at-arms said to have been kept on foot by my lord of Orleans, certainly some bodies of them, being quartered over the country, declared they were sent thither by command of the duke of Orleans, in order that no one might dare to molest them,—but they had no letters or commissions from him. On the contrary, he was greatly displeased at the evil acts they at times committed. When their conduct was laid before the king and council, the duke of Orleans caused letters to be sent in the king's name to all bailiffs and other officers throughout the realm, ordering them to assemble the nobles and gentlemen of the country to force those who committed such disgraceful acts to quit the kingdom, having first punished them for their wicked conduct.

"O duke of Burgundy! recollect the irreparable damages that have been done to many parts of this realm by the bodies of men-at-arms which thou hast introduced within it, many of whom were foreigners, who wasted the countries they passed through, and every one

should feel compassion for events of so pitiable a nature: they can never be enough bewailed. O thou king of France! most excellent prince, deplore the death of thy only brother; for thou hast lost the most precious jewel in thy crown, which thy justice ought to avenge, if no other way be found.—O thou most noble queen! weep for a prince who so greatly honoured thee, and whom thou hast seen so infamously murdered.—O thou my most redoubted lord, duke of Aquitaine! lament that thou hast lost the most precious member of thy blood, council and state, which has caused thee to fall from peace into great tribulation.—O thou duke of Berry! grieve that thou hast seen the brother of the king thy nephew, thus disgracefully end his days, solely because he was brother to the king, and for no other reason.—O duke of Brittany! thou hast lost the brother to thy duchess, who greatly loved thee.—O thou duke of Bourbon! weep that thy friend is now buried under ground; and ye other princes! join in lamentations, for the way is now opened to put ye all to death most traitorously and unexpectedly.

"Mourn, men and women, old and young, rich and poor! for the sweetness of peace and tranquillity is now torn from ye, by this assertion of the doctrine of assassinating princes, whence wars and destruction must fall upon you.—O ye churchmen! deplore the loss of a prince who was much attached to you, and who greatly respected all who performed the divine service, from his love to God.—Ye clerks and nobles, of all degrees! consider how ye will henceforward act; for our opponent has deceived you by his false arguments, and caused you to favour his wickedness. But as ye are now aware of the murder committed on the person of the duke of Orleans, of the falsity and lies published in our adversary's defamatory libel, and consequently of the innocence of my lord of Orleans,—should ye, from this time forth, in any way support the party of our adversary, know that it will be treason against the king, and you will then incur the danger of losing your lives and fortunes, as usual in such cases.

"Understand then, princes and men of all degrees, that ye are bounden to assist in maintaining the laws against the duke of Burgundy, who, by this murderous act, has usurped the power and authority of the king and his sons, and has deprived them of great aid and consolation; for he has brought the commonweal into grievous tribulation by shamelessly violating the wholesome statutes in vindicating his offence against nobility, kindred, oaths, alliances and assurances,—against God and all his saints. This mischief cannot be amended except by the laws. To obtain this reparation, my lady of Orleans and her children are now come before thee, O lord king! and the princes of thy royal blood, supplicating you all to weigh well the injury that has been done to them, and to make them amends in the manner required by her council, or in any other way, so that it may be publicly known that her lord was cruelly murdered, and unjustly and falsely accused and defamed. By doing this, you will perform your duty as you are bounden to do, and acquire eternal life, as it is written in the 21st chapter of Proverbs, 'Qui sequitur justitiam inveniet vitam et gloriam,'—which may God, who reigns and lives for ever and ever, grant. Amen."

CHAPTER XLV.—THE CONCLUSION OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS' ADVOCATE AGAINST THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND THE REPLY FROM THE CHANCELLOR.

The chancellor of France, in the king's name, ordered the duchess's advocate, master William Cousinot, to draw up such conclusions as should be satisfactory to the duchess and her son, the duke of Orleans. The advocate, after many excuses, began by showing how pitiable their state was, and took for his theme part of the 7th chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke, "Hæc vidua erat quam cum vidisset Dominus misericordia motus est super eam."

"Most noble prince, when our Lord entered a city called Nain, he met the corpse of a young man, which his friends were carrying to the grave; and when he noticed that the mother of the young man was a widow, he was on this account moved with compassion toward her, and restored her son to life. I may most truly apply these words to my lady of Orleans, for she is a widow who bewails the death of her lord and husband, and our lord will have compassion on her; for the king is our lord, in respect of terrestrial jurisdiction;

and not only the king, but thou, lord of Aquitaine, and all other princes of this world having territorial powers, seeing my lady of Orleans thus disconsolate, ought to feel compassion for her, and give her aid and support in procuring strict justice to be done for the cruel death of her husband.

"In every case, and at all times, full justice should be administered to all; for, according to the words of the Psalmist, it is a good and meritorious act,—'Beati qui custodiunt judicium et faciunt justitiam in omni tempore.' Psalm cv. But justice should always be more rigorously observed in regard to widows and orphans, who have been deprived of their fathers or husbands, than in any other case; for the divine, canon and civil laws urge the necessity of succouring the widow and orphan. We have the first instance of this in the 22d chapter of Jeremiah,—'Facite judicium et justitiam, et liberate vi oppressum de manu calumniatoris, pupillum et viduam,' &c. In regard to the canon law, the decrees declare, that it is very proper for kings to do justice and execute judgment, and deliver from the hands of the oppressors, widows and orphans who are injuriously used by them. As for the civil law, it is very clear, that widows and orphans are particularly privileged in many cases, as may be seen in different law writings.

"My lady of Orleans has lost her husband: her children have lost their father, certainly one of the handsomest and most accomplished princes in Christendom. But let us see how they have lost him: had he been taken from them by a natural death, their case would not have been so much to be pitied; but he is cut off violently in the flower of his youth. In truth, this is such an outrage that every law and customary proceeding should bend in their favour against the malignant author of the deed.

"In the first place, our king and sovereign lord is bounden particularly by the commands of God, to whom he cannot be disobedient without sinning, to execute judgment, according to the words of Jeremiah in the chapter before mentioned,—'In memetipso juravi, dicit Dominus, quia in solitudine erit domus vestra.' And this is conformable to the reply made by St. Remy to king Clovis when he baptised him. The king asked him how long the kingdom of France would endure. The saint answered, that it would last so long as justice should reign there. The converse of which is, that when justice shall cease to be administered, the kingdom will fall. To the king therefore may be applied what is written in the canon law, 'Quod justitia est illud quod suum firmat imperium.'

"O duke of Aquitaine! thou art he who, after the king, art bound to do justice according to the words of the Psalmist, 'Deus judicium tuum regi da et justitiam tuam filio regis.' Thou art the eldest son to the king, to whom, by the grace of God, thou wilt succeed, and be our lord: attend to our case for the love of God, for to thee more particularly does it belong; and if thou dost not lay thy hand on it, when thou shalt come to reign, thou mayest find thy kingdom desolate and destroyed,—for each will in his turn seize parts of it, and be the master, should this atrocious crime remain unpunished. Ye also, my lords, princes, dukes and counts of the royal blood, relations of the late duke, and ye other nobles, who have an affection for the king's crown and honour, what ought to be your conduct on this occasion? Why, certainly, if the king will not interfere in this matter, ye ought to take up the business and execute judgment; for ye are bound by oath to guard and defend the king's honour against all who may infringe upon it. This ye have done in former times, through God's grace, and for which this kingdom has gained greater glory than any other realm in Christendom: insomuch that the English, the Germans, and other foreigners, have come hither to seek for justice.

"My lords, for the love of God, let your loyalty burst forth, according to your oaths, in behalf of my lady of Orleans, as she has the fullest confidence it will; for, after God and the king, you are her only refuge. Let no one fear to do justice, from the scandal or persecution that may ensue; for it is a maxim of law, 'Utilius est scandalum nasci ac permitti, quam ut veritas relinquatur,'—although it were certain the doing justice in this case would cause much grievous persecution to ensue. Yet for all this justice should not be neglected; for in that case you would be indeed reproachable, if, through fear of the offender, you shall not dare to decree justice. On no occasion should justice be neglected: therefore, my lords, act according to what the prophet says, 'Viriliter agite, et confortetur cor vestrum et sustinete

Dominum.' In truth, if ye do not act with courage, for one inconvenience that may happen, by executing judgment, one hundred would ensue from default of justice. Therefore, my lords, do not hesitate to do justice to my lady of Orleans and her children from any dread of inconveniences that may happen, but follow the dictates of our Lord,—' Judicare pupillo et humili ut non apponat magnificare se homo super terram.' Let the punishment be so exemplary that none other may henceforth commit so great or so disgraceful a crime, and that it may be held in perpetual memory and abhorrence. This is the object of my lady of Orleans and her children, namely, that the crime may be atoned for as heavily as possible in this world. In order that this atonement may be made, my lady of Orleans and her children would willingly take the legal steps for the infliction of capital punishment, if this could regularly be done; but as these steps, according to the customary usage of France, belong to the king's attorney-general alone, they propose that the offender shall be punished in manner following,—that is to say, by sentence of the king and of the court, be it ordered that our adversary, the duke of Burgundy, be brought to the castle of the Louvre, or elsewhere, according to the king's pleasure and that of my clients, and there, in the presence of the king, of my lord of Aquitaine, and the other princes of the blood, as well as of the council and people, the duke of Burgundy, without hood or girdle, shall, on his knees, publicly confess, with a loud voice, before my lady of Orleans, her children, and as many other persons as she may please, that maliciously and treacherously he has had my lord of Orleans assassinated, through hatred, envy and ambition, and for no other cause, notwithstanding all the charges made against him, and other imputations thrown on his character, to justify and exculpate himself from so base a deed; and shall demand pardon from my lady of Orleans and her children, most humbly supplicating them to forgive his offences, declaring that he knows of nothing prejudicial to the honour and reputation of the said duke of Orleans deceased, and recals all he may have said or published to the contrary. In this state he shall be carried to the court of the palace, and to the hotel de Saint Pol, the residence of the king, and to the spot where the murder was committed, and there, on high stages erected for the purpose, he shall repeat the above words before such commissioners as my lady of Orleans and her son may please to appoint. He shall remain on his knees, at the last place, until priests nominated for the purpose shall have recited the seven penitential psalms, said the litany, and the other parts of the burial service, for the soul of the deceased, after which he shall kiss the earth, and ask pardon of God, of my lady of Orleans, and of her children, for the offences he has committed against them.

" The manner and form of this recantation, and begging pardon, shall be written out, and copies sent to all the different towns in the kingdom, with orders for the magistrates to have them proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that it may be notorious to all within and without the realm. And as additional reparations for such offences, and that they may remain in perpetual remembrance, all the houses belonging to the duke of Burgundy in Paris shall be razed to the ground, and remain in ruins for ever. On the places where any of his houses shall have stood, there shall be erected handsome crosses of stone, having large and strong tablets, on which shall be written a full account of the murder of my late lord, the duke of Orleans, and the cause of these houses being destroyed. On the spot where my late lord was murdered shall be erected a similar cross; and the house wherein the murderers hid themselves shall be pulled down. This spot, and the adjoining houses, the duke of Burgundy shall be forced to purchase, and to build thereon a handsome college for six canons, six vicars, and six chaplains, whose nominations shall remain with my lady of Orleans and her heirs. In this college six masses shall be said every day for the soul of the deceased duke of Orleans, and high mass at the usual time of canonical hours. For the support of this college there shall be a mortmain rent of one thousand livres parisis; and the whole shall be well furnished with dresses, books, chalices, ornaments, and all other necessaries, at the sole expense of the duke of Burgundy; and over the entrance shall be written in large letters the cause of its foundation.

" The duke of Burgundy shall, beside, be constrained to found a college for the salvation of the soul of the deceased, in the town of Orleans, consisting of twelve canons, twelve vicars, and twelve clerks, which college shall bear the name of the defunct; and the nominations

to it shall belong to my lady of Orleans, and to the heirs of the late duke of Orleans. It shall be situated in whatever part of the late duke's possessions in Orleans the duchess shall please, and shall be handsomely constructed, furnished with books and all other necessaries, with an income of two thousand livres parisis; and a similar inscription to the one before mentioned shall be placed over the gate. For the greater perpetuity of this event, and that it may be made known to all foreign nations, the duke of Burgundy shall be enjoined to erect two chapels; the one near the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and the other at Rome, and assign to each the annual value of one hundred livres in the coin of those countries, and to provide them with all necessary furniture. In each of these chapels shall a daily mass be said for the soul of the deceased, and over the doors shall be placed the same inscriptions as over the colleges. The duke of Burgundy shall also be constrained to pay the sum of one million in gold, not to the profit of my lady of Orleans or her children, but to found and endow hospitals and monasteries, and to distribute in alms and other works of piety for the salvation of the soul of the defunct.

"That this sentence may be carried into due effect, all the lands which the duke of Burgundy possesses in this kingdom shall be placed in the hands of the king, that they may be sold for the accomplishment of the above works. The duke of Burgundy shall also be condemned to close imprisonment in whatever place it may please the king, until the above sentence be carried into execution. After which, he shall be banished for ever beyond sea, or at least for the space of twenty years, to bewail and repent of his crime, or until it shall be thought he may have sufficiently done it. On his return, he shall be ordered, under severe penalties, never to approach within one hundred leagues of the queen or the children of the late duke of Orleans, without being condemned to such heavy damages, and other penalties suited to the enormity of the case, as shall be held in perpetual remembrance. He shall also be condemned to pay whatever costs my lady of Orleans and her children may have incurred on this present occasion.

"I say, therefore, that such ought to be the judgment given for them, and without delay, considering the notoriety and enormity of the offence of our adversary; for it is publicly known, that the duke of Burgundy has confessed himself guilty of it. He first made a confession of his guilt to my lord of Berry and to the king of Sicily, giving no reason for it but that he was urged on by the devil: he then did the same before several noblemen. This ought therefore to weigh against him, and convict him of the crime, without further trial: nor ought you to suffer any sort of colouring to be admitted in palliation of his guilt. He ought not to be heard otherwise than he has been, for he varied not in his confessions to the different persons; and pope Innocent approves of this, in his chapter on Free Will, and Guillermus de Montleon, in his chapter on Clerical Constitutions. Pope Nicholas held king Lothaire, in like manner, convicted to his prejudice in a certain case, about which he had written to the pope, as appears in the above chapter. This confession of king Lothaire had been made in a letter, previously to any trial. The duke of Burgundy, therefore, ought to be condemned from this public confession of his crime in the presence of different persons. He has beside made a similar confession when he appeared publicly before thee, lord of Aquitaine, when thou didst sit in judgment representing the person of the king, and before the princes of the blood and all the council of state. He cannot, therefore, deny his having made such confession before competent judges. It follows then, that no further trial is necessary, but that sentence should immediately be passed; for confession of guilt should be judged the fullest evidence.

"The law says, 'In confitentem nullæ sunt partes judicantis.' And supposing, that according to some, a sentence is requisite, at least it is certain that no trial or examination of the cause is necessary, since this present case is extremely notorious. So has it formerly been determined by the sentence and judgment of the kings in times past, against several great lords of their day,— to wit, that when the facts were notorious, no other process or inquisition was required. And so shall it be determined, by the grace of God, in the present case,—for so reason demands. Should it, however, be thought necessary to go into another trial, which, from all I have said, I cannot suppose, my lady of Orleans is ready prepared to bring forward the fullest proof of what I have advanced, and such as must convince all

reasonable persons. But as my lady can now only offer civil conclusions, and would willingly propose criminal ones, but that it belongs to the king's attorney-general according to the usage in France,—my lady, therefore, most earnestly supplicates the king's attorney to join with her, and propose such sentence as the law in this case requires."

These were the conclusions of my lady of Orleans and her sons; after which the council of the princes of the blood, and others of the king's council, with the approbation of the duke of Aquitaine, made the chancellor reply to the duchess of Orleans, that the duke of Aquitaine, as lieutenant for the king, and representing his person, and the princes of the blood-royal, were well satisfied with her conduct respecting her late lord the duke of Orleans: that they held him perfectly exculpated from all the charges that had been brought against him; and that, in regard to her requests, speedy and good justice should be done her, so that she should be reasonably contented therewith.

A few days after, the young duke of Orleans, Charles, did homage for the duchy of Orleans, and all his other possessions, to his uncle Charles king of France: then, taking leave of the queen and dauphin, and the princes of the blood who were in Paris, he departed with his men-at-arms for Blois, whence he had come. The duchess-dowager of Orleans remained in Paris.

CHAPTER XLVI.—GUYE DE ROYE, ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS, APPEALS FROM THE CONSTITUTIONS DRAWN UP BY THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, WHICH ANGERS THAT BODY, AND THEY IMPRISON HIS COMMISSARY.

At this period, Guy de Roye*, archbishop of Rheims, who had been summoned specially by the king to attend the meeting of the prelates at Paris, assembled to consider on the means of uniting the whole church, neither came himself nor sent any one in his behalf. He refused to agree to the decisions of this council, and sent a chaplain as his commissary, with letters signed with his name and seal, to confirm his opposition to all the statutes they had drawn up, as well for himself and his diocese as for all his subjects within the province. The king and the clergy were much displeased at this conduct; and the university of Paris requested that the commissary should be confined in close imprisonment, where he remained for a long time.

The cardinal of Bordeaux came at this time to Paris, partly for the union of the church; and then also returned thither master Peter Paoul, and the patriarch of Alexandria, named master Symon Cramant, who had been sent by the king of France and the university of Paris, as ambassadors to the two rival popes. The assembled prelates were very anxious for their arrival, that they might be better acquainted with the business they had to manage, and on what grounds they should proceed. Master Peter Paoul frequently rode through the streets of Paris in his doctor's dress, accompanied by the cardinal riding on one side of his horse as women do. In the presence of this cardinal and doctor, the abbot of Caudebec, of the order of Cistercians, and doctor in theology, proposed, on the part of the university, a union of the church. The abbot of St. Denis, with other doctors in theology, declared for a union of the universal church; and, shortly after, the cardinal departed from Paris for Boulogne, and thence went to Calais.

The abbot of St. Denis and another doctor of theology, who had been, by the king's orders, confined in the prison of the Louvre, were released, at the request of the cardinal de Bar, and set at liberty, contrary to the will of the university of Paris. In like manner did the bishop of Cambray, master Peter d'Ailly, an excellent doctor of theology, gain his liberty. He had been confined at the instance of the university, because he was not favourable to their sentiments, and was delivered at the entreaties of count Waleran de St. Pol, and the

* Of one of the most noble houses in Picardy.

Matthew II. lord de Roye and d'Aunoy, grand master of the cross-bows, mentioned by Froissart, had issue,

1. John III. lord of Roye, &c.
2. *Guy, archbishop of Rheims.*
3. Matthew Tristan, lord of Busancy, &c.
4. John Saudran de Cangy.
5. Drogo, counsellor and chamberlain, grand master of waters and forests in Languedoc, killed at Nicopolis.
6. Raoul, abbot of Corbie.
7. Reginald, who went to Hungary with his brother Drogo.
8. Beatrix-John de Châtillon, vidame of the Laonnois.

great council of the king. All Christendom was now divided in religious opinions, as to the head of the church, by the contentions of the two rival popes, who could not be brought to agree on the means to put an end to this disgraceful schism. *

CHAPTER XLVII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ASSEMBLES A LARGE BODY OF MEN-AT-ARMS TO SUCCOUR JOHN OF BAVARIA AGAINST THE LIEGEOIS, AND COMBATS THEM.

About this time, John duke of Burgundy was busily employed in collecting a body of men-at-arms to aid his brother-in-law, the bishop of Liege, whom, as has been said, the Liegeois had driven out of their country, and besieged in the town of Maestricht.

John "the Intrepid," Duke of Burgundy.—From a picture in the Chartreuse at Dijon, engraved in Vol. III. of Histoire Générale et Particulière de Bourgogne.

He sent for succour among his friends and allies, namely, to Burgundy, Flanders, Artois, and the borders of Picardy, whence came very many, and several from Savoy. The earl

* This schism commenced in 1378, and was not put an end to till 1409, see chap. 53, *infra*. It took its rise from the unwillingness with which the people of Rome beheld Avignon converted into the seat of the papal power, and their city deserted,—a course which had been pursued by all the popes since Clement V. first took up his residence there in 1309. Gregory XI. had, at the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants, visited Rome in 1377, hoping by his presence to compose the disorders which distracted all Italy; but finding all his efforts vain, he was preparing to return to Avignon, when death overtook him in March, 1378. The conclave which assembled consisted of only twenty cardinals, of whom sixteen were ultramontane, and only four Italians, and consequently they were but ill disposed to comply with the wishes of the Romans, who demanded an Italian pope. They were, however, overawed, and Bartolomeo Prignani, archbishop of Bari, then sixty years of age, a man of considerable learning, and, as it was supposed, of singular modesty and humility, was somewhat tumultuously elected. As soon as the ultra-montane cardinals found themselves freed from their fears of the violence of the Roman populace, they denounced the election of the archbishop of Bari, who had taken the name of Urban VI., and demanded his resignation, which he peremptorily refused. Upon this they pronounced a sentence of nullity against Urban's election, and excommunication of his person; and assembling at Fondi, prevailed upon the Italian cardinals to join them in the election of a new pope, when their choice fell upon cardinal Robert, brother of the count of Geneva, and allied to most of the royal houses of Europe. He was a man of learning, talent, and courage, and being still in the prime of life, (he was only thirty-six when he was elected, on the 27th August, 1378,) he was regarded as the fittest opponent to Urban. He took up his residence at Avignon, where he continued to reside till his death, which took place on the 16th Sept., 1394. Peter of Luna, a man of a noble Arragonese family, possessed of high talents, but of a rest-

of Mar*, also, a Scotchman, then at Bruges, with about fourscore combatants, ready to embark for Scotland, advanced into the Tournesis, whither the duke came, and had a conference with their principal captains in the town of Tournay. On the eleventh day of September, he marched thence with a numerous body of men-at-arms, and a great train of artillery and baggage-waggons, to Enghien, where he was gladly received by the lord of the place. On the morrow, he advanced to Nivelle in Brabant, within a league of Salmes. He marched next to Flourines, where he met sir Richard† Daulphin, sir William de Tignonville, lately provost of Paris, and master William Bouratier, one of the king's secretaries, ambassadors to him from the king of France. Having obtained an audience, they said they had been sent to him from the king and the great council on two objects; first, to know whether the Liegeois and their bishop were willing to submit their differences to the king and the great council; secondly, to inform him of the suit urged against him by the duchess-dowager of Orleans and her children, for the death of the late duke of Orleans, his brother, of the replies they had made to the charges he had brought against the late duke, and that they demanded instant justice on him the duke of Burgundy, and that neither law nor reason ought to prevent sentence being passed by the king according to the conclusions that had been drawn up against him.

The duke of Burgundy shortly answered, that in regard to the first point, he was willing, as was right for him to do, to obey the king's orders, but that his brother-in-law, John of Bavaria, who had married his sister, had most earnestly solicited his assistance against the commonalty and his subjects at Liege, who had rebelled, and even held him besieged. Similar requests had been made to duke William, count of Hainault, his brother-in-law, and also brother-in-law to John of Bavaria: wherefore the armaments could not now be broken up, since, during the time the ambassadors would be negotiating between the two parties, John of Bavaria, their bishop and lord, might be in great danger from his rebellious subjects, and their success might serve for an example and inducement for other subjects to resist their lords, and give rise to a universal rebellion. He added, that the king and his council might, without any prejudice to themselves, have refrained from so readily listening to such requests, as none of the aforesaid parties were subjects to the kingdom of France. In regard to the second point, he, John duke of Burgundy, made answer, that instantly on his return from this expedition he would wait on the king of France, and act towards him, and all others, in a manner becoming a good subject, and the near relationship in which he stood to the king.

less and ambitious spirit, who had alternately applied himself to the law, to arms, to divinity, and to diplomacy, having acted as ambassador in Spain from Clement, was chosen to succeed him. He assumed the name of Benedict XIII. Meantime a succession of popes had occupied the Roman chair. Urban VI., after a violent and turbulent reign, died in October, 1389, and was succeeded by Boniface IX, who was followed successively by Innocent VI., elected in 1404, and Gregory XII., raised to the papal chair in 1406. Repeated attempts had been made to heal the breach in the church, without any effect, and at length the council of Pisa, in 1409, (see chap. 53,) proceeded to depose both Benedict and Gregory, and Peter of Candia was elected as the only true pope, under the name of Alexander V. His history is extraordinary. Abandoned by his parents in his childhood, he was found begging from door to door, by an Italian monk, who, struck by the boy's intelligence, befriended him. After studying at Oxford and Paris, he attracted the notice of John Galeas Visconti, duke of Milan, by whom he was confidentially employed, and who procured for him considerable church preferment; he was made a cardinal by Innocent VII., and at length, at the age of seventy years, attained the highest dignity then existing in Christendom. He, however, enjoyed his new honours but ten months, when, on his death, he was succeeded by a man whose history is yet more extraordinary. Balthazar Cozza, a scion of a noble but decayed Neapolitan family, passed the earlier days of his life as a rover on the high seas. In fact, his occupation was little, if at all, to be distinguished from piracy. He was on sea what the free companions were on shore. His vessels being employed to convey Louis of Anjou to Naples, his ambition was aroused by the splendour he beheld at the court of Avignon, which he visited in the execution of his mission. He at once abandoned his old pursuits, and, at the age of twenty-five, devoting himself to the study of divinity, his talents and application were so great as to enable him to proceed doctor at the earliest regular period. Platina relates of him, that on leaving Bologna, where he had pursued his studies, being questioned whither he was going, his reply was, "To the popedom." Attaching himself to Boniface IX., who was his countryman, he quickly gained his confidence, and was by him promoted to the purple in 1402, and at length attained the object of his ambition in 1410. His subsequent history, and that of the final settlement of the church, will be found in the ensuing pages. —Ed.

* Qy. Dunbar, earl of March, who, about this time, had retired from Scotland in consequence of the affront put upon him by the king, Robert III., or rather the duke of Albany, who broke the match between Rothsay, the king's heir, and Dunbar's daughter, and forced the prince to marry a daughter of Douglas. Dunbar was well received and pensioned by Henry, and undertook to raise a body of troops for his service. Although we do not find any mention of his visiting Flanders, yet it is far more probable that he is the person alluded to than Archibald Stewart, Robert's nephew, then earl of Mar.—Ed.

† Probably a mistake for Guichard.

The ambassadors, finding they could not obtain more satisfactory answers to the points on which they were sent, were obliged to be contented. They resolved, however, to wait the event of this expedition against the Liegeois; and during that time there came to the duke of Burgundy, from the country of Hainault, his brother-in-law duke William, accompanied

Duke of Burgundy armed, and bearing the great Ducal Sword.—From an original picture engraved in Vol. I. of Sanderus Flandria Illustrata.

by the counts de Conversan, de Namur, and de Salines, in Ardennes, with many notable lords, as well knights as esquires, from Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Ostrevant, and other places, to the number of twelve hundred helmets*, or thereabout, and two thousand infantry well equipped, with from five to six hundred carriages laden with provision and military stores.

Many councils were held at Flourines, and in that neighbourhood, as to their future conduct, and whither they might march their army with the greatest probability of success. It was determined that duke William should command the van, and, as he advanced, destroy the whole country with fire and sword; that the duke of Burgundy, with the earl of Mar and the main body, should direct their march along the causeway of Branchaut, which leads straight to Tongres and Maestricht. In the last place, the lord de Pier-vves† and the Liegeois had, as has been before said, besieged their bishop and lord, John of Bavaria. In consequence of this resolution, the two dukes began their march by different roads, and destroyed all the country on the Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and met on the Saturday evening, about vespers, in the town of Montenach, situated on the above causeway. In this place and neighbourhood was the whole army lodged, forming but one body; and two marshals were appointed to command and find quarters for it;—on the part of the duke of Burgundy, the lord de Vergy‡,—and on that of duke William, the lord de Jeumont. They had under their immediate orders five hundred helmets, seven hundred cross-bows, and fifteen hundred archers, all men of tried courage, with sixteen hundred carriages, as well carts as

* 'Bachines.' Q. Is not this rather *lances*? the more usual term.

† Before called Pieruels: rightly Parwis.

‡ John III. de Vergy, lord of Champlite, seneschal, mareschal, and governor, of Burgundy.

waggons, laden with arms, ammunition, and provision, and all other necessaries for such an expedition.

On this Saturday, the lord de Pier-vves, and his son the newly-elected bishop of Liege, as they were besieging Maestricht, learnt from their spies, that the two before-mentioned dukes were rapidly advancing against them, and burning the country on their line of march. They instantly raised the siege, and retreated to the city of Liege with full forty thousand combatants, where they fixed their quarters, Liege being only five leagues distant from Maestricht. The commanders there held a council, with such of the inhabitants as had not been at the siege; and at its close it was proclaimed through different parts of the town, by orders of the governor and his son, the bishop, that every man capable of bearing arms should, on the morrow morning, at the sound of a bell, be ready equipped to follow their commanders out of the town whithersoever they might lead them. In consequence of this order, on the morrow, the 22d day of September, 1408, there issued out of Liege, according to computation, about fifty thousand armed men. In this number were from five to six hundred well armed, in the French manner, on horseback, and from one hundred to six score English archers, in their pay. They were followed by infinite numbers of carts and other carriages, and a mob of people dressed in various manners, according to their own fancies.

The bell tolled at break of day, and they then sallied forth in good array, following their governor and bishop, very eager to offer combat to the enemy. Their governor had frequently warned them of the dangers that might ensue from a battle, as their enemies were, for the greater part, nobles or gentlemen accustomed to war and obedience to their commanders, which was not the case with them; and that it would be more to their advantage to remain within well-inclosed towns and castles, harassing the enemy by various means, and so tiring him out that he should be forced to quit their country. This advice, however, was not agreeable to the Liegeois; for it seemed to them that their numbers were so great that the enemy could not resist them; and they were not well pleased with what their governor had told them. The governor, perceiving the Liegeois determined on battle, led them into the plain, and drew them up in handsome array. He frequently exhorted them to behave themselves valiantly, and with one accord, this day against the enemy, who was marching to attack them, and to defend with courage their lives and liberties.

They marched near to Tongres, which is five leagues distant from Liege, whither the two dukes had advanced on the Saturday; for they had already heard the siege of Maestricht was broken up, and that the men of Liege were intending to offer them battle. After some councils had been holden with the captains and the most experienced in their army, they sent off, very early on the Sunday morning, two hundred light troops, under the command of Robert le Roux and some other noblemen of the country, to inquire into the truth of what they had heard, and to see what the enemy was about. They shortly returned, and told the dukes that the intelligence they had received was true; for that they had seen the Liegeois in great numbers marching in battle-array. The dukes, on hearing this, commanded their men to arm, and to draw up in order of battle. When this was done, they marched to meet the Liegeois; and scarcely had they advanced half a league, when they appeared in sight. The Liegeois also saw them, for they were near to Tongres. Both armies advancing, the dukes then posted themselves and all their infantry on a very advantageous spot; and thinking the enemy would attempt to dislodge them, they formed their army into one battalion, the better to support the attack, and placed their baggage in their rear. They posted the greater part of their archers and cross-bows on their right and left as wings. The lord de Miraumont this day commanded the archers, by orders of the duke of Burgundy, and with great credit to himself. The duke of Burgundy was on the right, and duke William on the left of the army, each attended by his own people.

After the proper orders had been given, and every arrangement made according to the advice of the most experienced officers, very many new knights were created. The men of Liege, swelled with pride, and arrogantly considering the army of their opponents as infinitely inferior to them, marched on the right for an eminence called the heights of Hasbane, where they halted in handsome array. They had with them the standard of St. Lambert, and those of their different guilds; and the reason why they had halted on this

spot was, that some of their old men had told them that it was there their ancestors had gained a victory, and they flattered themselves with similar success. They then formed their army in handsome order, and played off many cannons against their enemies, which annoyed them very much. It should be known, that between the two armies was a narrow valley, at the bottom of which was a ditch to carry off the water in times of rain.

The two dukes having with their army remained stationary, observing that the Liegeois did not seem inclined to quit their position, and begin the battle, held a short council with their ablest officers; and thinking success was more likely to follow the most courageous, determined to advance slowly toward them in battle-array, on account of the weight of their arms, and attack them where they were, before they could fortify themselves, or increase their numbers by reinforcements. In consequence, five hundred men-at-arms, on horseback, were ordered to attack the army of Liege on its rear, and about a thousand infantry, under the command of the lords de Croy, de Helly, de Neufville, and de Raise, knights, with Enguerrand de Bournouville, esquire, on the part of the duke of Burgundy; and by the lords de Hamette and de Ligne, knights, with Robert le Roux, esquire, who instantly advanced into the plain according to their orders.

The Liegeois, observing so large a detachment quit the duke's army, and march away, as it were, thought they were running off from fear of their great numbers, and began shouting, in their language, "Fuyo, fuyo!" and repeating this word many times. The lord de Pier-vves, the governor, like an able man, well versed in war, frequently, but gently, checked them for making this noise, saying, "My very dear friends, that troop on horseback which you see, are not running away, as you suppose; but when that other body of infantry, much greater, as you may observe, shall be advanced near enough to begin the attack, those on horseback will instantly wheel about, like skilful soldiers, and charge your rear, with a design to divide your army, while the others shall attack you in front. Notwithstanding we have every appearance of a successful issue to our battle, I have always advised you to the contrary; and though your hearts are set upon it, as if already sure of victory, I remain still in the same opinion,—because you are not so well used to warfare, nor armed like to your adversaries, who have learnt all military exercises from their childhood. This was the reason why I proposed avoiding a battle; for it would have been more to your advantage to have defended your towns and fortresses, and whenever a favourable opportunity offered, to have fallen on your enemies, so that they would have been forced to have quitted your country. However, the day you have so ardently wished for is now come; and I beg of you to put your hopes in God, and boldly and steadily exert yourselves in the defence of your country against the enemy now marching to attack you."

Having finished this speech, he wanted to mount some of his most determined men on horseback to oppose the detachment then on the plain; but in truth the commonalty would not suffer it to be done, and uttered against him many reproaches, calling him a traitor. He patiently suffered their rude ignorance, and hastily commanded the army to be formed into a square, in the front of which was a body drawn up in the form of a triangle,—and the carts and baggage were towards the rear, on the right and left of his army, handsomely arranged: their horses were in the rear, on one of the wings, intermixed with their archers and cross-bows,—but they were of little value, except the English archers, who were better disposed of in other places. The lord de Pier-vves, accompanied by his son the bishop and some of his best companions in arms, like a good commander, posted himself at the head of his army, fronting the enemy.

During this time, the two dukes began their march, gaily exhorting their men to behave themselves gallantly against the enemy, a rude and ignorant people, who had rebelled against their lord, and who confidently trusted in their superior numbers for success,—telling their men, that if they acted as they expected they would, victory would infallibly be theirs, and they would gain everlasting honour. When the dukes had made such like speeches, they retired to their posts, and under their banners, and advanced slowly toward the enemy, who kept up a heavy fire against them with their cannons.

The banner-bearer of the duke of Burgundy was a very valiant knight, called sir James de Courtjambe, who, accidentally falling on his knees as he marched, alarmed many, who

thought it was an unfavourable omen of their success; but he was soon raised by the help of those of his guard, and behaved himself honourably the whole day. This knight was a native of Burgundy. The banner of duke William was that day borne by a gallant knight, called sir Hoste d'Escaussines, who behaved himself right well.

When the two armies met, the conflict became very severe on each side, and lasted for upwards of an hour, when many deadly blows were given by both parties. At this moment, the detachment on horseback, with the infantry, according to their orders, advanced to the rear of the Liegeois; but from the position of their baggage-waggons, they had much difficulty to force their way. At length, by dint of courage, they succeeded, and, having gained an entrance, began to lay about them so vigorously that the army of the enemy was divided,—and they saw full six thousand Liegeois quit their ranks, with their guns and the banners of their guilds, and take flight with all speed towards a village half a league from the field of battle. When the detachment perceived this, they left off the attack they had begun, and pursued the runaways, whom they charged, not once, but several times, beating down and slaying them without mercy,—and, in short, routed them so effectually that, through fear of death, they fled here and there, into woods and other places, to hide themselves.

This party of the Liegeois being either killed, dispersed, or taken prisoners, the horsemen returned to their main body, gallantly fighting the enemy, who, it must be said, defended themselves courageously. In truth, the event of this battle was some time doubtful,—for, during one half hour, it could not be known which side would be victorious. The noise of their war-cries was frightful:—the Burgundians and Hainaulters shouted under their banners, "Our Lady for Burgundy! Our Lady for Hainault;" and the Liegeois, in their turn, shouted, "St. Lambert for Pier-vves!" The men of Liege would perhaps have conquered, if this detachment on horseback, when returned from the defeat of the runaways, had not again fallen on their rear, and behaved so marvellously well that those who opposed them were pierced through, and all attempts to check them were vain. A great slaughter was made by them in a short time, for none were admitted to ransom; and by their vigour whole ranks fell one over the other, for now all the weight and power of the infantry were brought against them.

The defeat once begun, there were such heaps of dead and wounded that it was melancholy to behold, for they were thicker in many places than stooks of corn in harvest. This ought not to occasion surprise; for when the common people are assembled, badly armed, and puffed up with their extravagant desires, although they be in great numbers, yet shall they hardly be able to resist an army composed of noblemen well tried in arms, even when God shall permit it so to be. At this period of the battle, and near to the banner of the duke of Burgundy where the conflict was the strongest, fell the lord de Pierre-vves and his two sons,—namely, the one who had been elected bishop of Liege and his brother: they were instantly put to death. The heir of Salmes*, who bore the standard of St. Lambert, namely, the eldest son to the count de Salmes*, who was in the army of the two dukes; sir John Collet, and many other knights and esquires to the amount of upwards of five hundred; all the English archers, and about twenty-eight thousand of the commonalty, were left dead on the field,—and more perished by arrow-shots than by any other weapon. Sir Baldwin de Montgardin, knight, to save his life, surrendered himself to the duke of Burgundy:—he was led out of the engagement, and afterward given by the duke to sir Wicart de Bours.

I have no need to particularise the great courage and coolness of the duke of Burgundy, nor how he galloped to different parts of the army, exhorting them to act well,—nor how, until the end of the battle, he most gallantly behaved himself,—for in truth, his conduct was such that he was praised and spoken of by all knights and others; and although he was frequently covered with arrows and other missile weapons, he did not on that day lose one drop of blood. When he was asked, after the defeat, if they should cease from slaying the Liegeois, he replied, "Let them all die together! for I will not that any prisoners be made, nor that any be ransomed!!"

In the like gallant manner did duke William, the other princes, and in general the whole

* Salmes. Q. Salines.

body of the chivalry and nobility of the two dukes, behave themselves. There were slain from five to six hundred of their men; and among the number were, John de la Chapelle, knight to the above duke,—sir Flourimont de Brimeu, John de la Trémouille, who on this day had been made a knight,—Hugotin de Nambon, John de Theune, viscount de Brimequet, a native of Hainault,—Rollant de la Mote, and others, to the amount of one hundred and six score gentlemen: the rest were varlets*.

Just as the dukes had gained the victory, about two thousand men made a sally from Tongres, to assist the Liegemen. When they saw they were defeated, they retreated to their town, but were so closely pursued by the body of horse that had done such essential service, that very many of them were killed.

The two dukes, seeing their victory was now complete, met, and returned thanks to the Creator, congratulating with one another for their success. They had tents pitched on the field of battle, and remained there for three days and three nights. The French ambassadors, having now taken their leave, departed for Tournay, and continued their road to Paris to the king and his council; but prior to their departure, the duke of Burgundy had despatched a messenger to the king of France, with letters to inform him and his good friends in Paris of the fortunate event of the battle. This news was not very agreeable to many who were intending to urge the king to prosecute the duke of Burgundy for the murder of the late duke of Orleans,—and on the contrary, it gave great joy to his friends.

On Monday, the morrow of the battle, about the hour of twelve, John of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, attended by the heir of Heinseberg, and several others, nobles and not nobles, to the number of six hundred helmets, or thereabout, came from the town of Maestricht, wherein they had been besieged, to the camp of the two dukes, and most humbly thanked them for the succour they had afforded him. He and his party were received with much joy; and, on his arrival, he was presented with the head of the lord de Pier-vves, which had been found among the dead, with his two sons, and was fixed to the top of a lance, that all who pleased might see it!

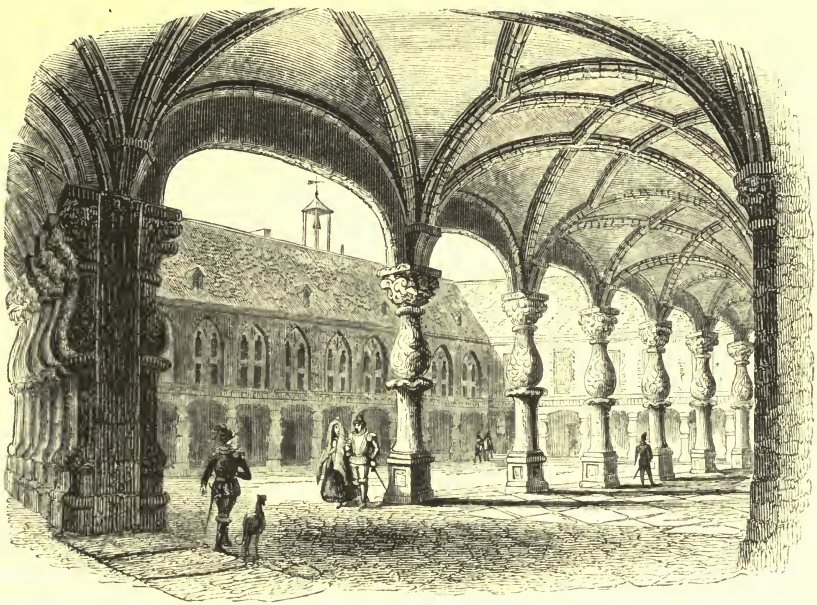
On the following Tuesday, the feast of St. Fremin, a martyr, the inhabitants of Liege, Huy, Dinant and Tongres, and of all the other good towns in the bishopric of Liege, excepting the castle of Bouillon, hearing of the great destruction of their countrymen, and the power of their enemies, were panic-struck, and, seeing no probability of any assistance, surrendered themselves to the obedience of the dukes of Burgundy and of Holland. They sent to them ambassadors to this effect, and also to supplicate John of Bavaria, their bishop and lord, that he would graciously have pity upon them, and grant them his pardon. The bishop, through the intercession of the two dukes, complied with their request, on condition that such as had been most active in promoting the rebellion, many of whom were still alive, whose names they would set down, should be given up to the two dukes, to do by them as they in their justice should think right; and each of the towns gave sufficient hostages for the due performance of the terms. On the ensuing Thursday, the two dukes and the bishop, with the whole army, broke up the camp, and advanced toward the town of Liege. The duke of Burgundy was quartered in the town of Flauye, on the river Meuse, one league distant from Liege, and duke William among the mountains.

On the following Sunday, the dukes and the bishop held a full council, to which all their ministers were admitted, on the present state of affairs. Other councils were continued until the Tuesday, when the bishop made his entry into Liege, and was received with great humility by the remnant of its inhabitants. The most culpable in the late rebellion had been before arrested and thrown into prison in this and in all the other towns. The bishop went first to the cathedral church of St. Lambert to offer his prayers, and reconcile himself with the chapter: after this he went to his palace, when he was most humbly entreated by the people to have mercy on them, which he granted; and, shortly after, he returned to the camp of the two dukes.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, on the morrow, the dukes and the bishop, with several nobles of the army, assembled on an elevated spot near the camp, whither sir John de Jeumont, marshal to duke William, by the commands of the two dukes and the bishop,

* This battle was fought on the plains of Eichtfeld, near Tongres.

had ordered the heir of Rochefort, a rich nobleman, John de Saramie*, knight, and fifteen other citizens, to be brought from the town, and had their heads cut off, one after another, by the executioner. Many churchmen, and some women, were also drowned in the Meuse



Liege :—Court of the Bishops' Palace.—From an original drawing.

for having been concerned in the rebellion! On the morrow, the dukes and the bishop moved with the army to a town three leagues distant, called Beaucloquet, where many conferences were held, on the state of the country. The count de Nevers joined his brother, the duke of Burgundy, at this place, with four hundred combatants. Hither also sir John de Jeumont ordered nineteen citizens from the town of Huy to be brought, who underwent a similar punishment to those of Liege, and for the same cause; and, as before, many churchmen and women were drowned†.

Amé de Viry, a Savoyard, a nobleman well experienced in war, came hither also to aid the duke of Burgundy, and accompanied by three hundred helmets from that country. When the dukes and the bishop had for several days consulted together on the affairs of Liege, it was at length concluded, with the approbation of John of Bavaria, now surnamed John the Pitiless, that they should all meet again in the city of Tournay, on St. Luke's day next ensuing, to determine finally on the measures to be pursued touching these matters. After many executions had taken place in the bishopric of Liege on those who had been concerned in the rebellion, and when the fortifications of the towns of Huy, Dinant and others, had been destroyed, the two dukes began their march homeward, taking with them a number of persons from Liege, who had been given as hostages for the observance of all the articles of the treaty that should be made with them. Some of them were sent by duke William to Mons and Valenciennes, and some to Lille, Arras, and other places belonging to the duke of Burgundy, who went to his county of Flanders, and duke William to Hainault, after they had disbanded their men-at-arms. The greater part returned to their homes much enriched by the plunder of the Liegeois, who, thunderstruck by the misfortune that had befallen them, became stupified and indolent.

* The lord d'Agimont, son to the lord of Rochefort, and the lord de Saraing, according to Placentius.

† There seems to have been some pretext, on the score of retaliation, for the commission of these barbarities, the insurgents, during the time of their power, having exercised many similar enormities against those of the government faction.

Many great lords attended the duke of Burgundy on this expedition: among them were, from Burgundy, sir John de Châlons*, sir Gaultier de Ruples, the lord de Vergy†, marshal of Burgundy, the lord de St. George, sir John de la Balme‡, sir William de Champ-divers, sir James de Courtjambe, the lord de Montagu, and many more. From Picardy, the lords de Croy§, de Heilly, de Fosseux, de Vaurin, sir Bort Guieret and his brothers, the lord of Inchy, the lord of Raisse, the lord de Brimeu, sir Regnault de Crequy lord of Comtes‖, Enguerrand de Bournouville, the lord de Ront, sir Raoul de Flandres, the lord de Poix, sir Wincart de Bours, the lord d'Auxy, the lord de Mailly, the lord de Thiennes and the lord d'Azincourt. From Flanders, sir John and sir Louis de Guystelle, the lord de Hames, sir John de Bailleul, sir Collart de Fosseux, and others, the principal nobles of the country. In like manner, duke William had assembled his nobles, with many others, his allies; among whom was sir John de Bethune, brother to the viscount de Meaux. Common report said, that Anthony duke of Brabant, brother to the duke of Burgundy, and Waleran de Luxembourg count de St. Pol, had refused their assistance, because they had not been made acquainted with the terms and agreements entered into by John of Bavaria on the one part, and the lord de Pier-vves on the other, for the resignation of the bishopric of Liege. They also made other excuses.

When the day appointed for the meeting of the duke of Burgundy, duke William and the bishop of Liege, in the town of Tournay, for the final settlement of the affairs of Liege drew near, the inhabitants of that town sent them a petition, by ambassadors chosen from among the principal citizens, to request they would fix on some other town, as the numbers of their attendants would greatly harass and impoverish them, considering the very small stock of provision that was in Tournay. Their request was granted,—and the town of Lille was chosen for their meeting on the day that had before been fixed on. Thither all the hostages from Liege were conducted, and brought into the presence of the aforesaid dukes and bishop, with several more that had been deputed to hear what judgment should be given, which was as follows:

"The dukes of Burgundy and Holland declare, that this their judgment shall be punctually fulfilled in every respect, with regard to the present time, reserving to themselves the power of making any future alterations in it as often as, and in what manner, they shall please.—First, They consent that the inhabitants of Liege, of the towns and country of that bishopric, situated within the district of Liege, the country of Los, the countries of Hasbane, St. Tron, and the territory of Bouillon, shall enjoy their customary franchise and privileges. They order, that the citizens of Liege, and of the other towns above-named, do bring to the monastery des Escolliers, in the town of Mons in Hainault, on the morrow of Martinmas-day next ensuing, all the letters patent and charters of their laws and privileges, which they possess, which they will deliver into the hands of such as may be commissioned by the said dukes to receive them. Those who bring them shall make oath, on the salvation of their own souls, and of the souls of them who sent them, that they have not fraudulently left behind any charters of their laws and privileges.—Item, the dukes aforesaid declare, that should the city of Liege, or any other town, neglect to send, or fraudulently retain, any of their charters, that town so retaining them shall be for ever deprived of its privileges and particular laws.—Item, the lords aforesaid will, that these charters and letters patent be delivered to the commissioners punctually on the morrow of Martinmas-day.—Item, they likewise ordain, that when these charters and privileges shall have been duly examined, and new ones drawn up and delivered, neither the bishop of Liege nor his chapter shall grant any new privileges to the inhabitants, without the consent of the two dukes or their successors.

"Item, they also ordain, that henceforward the commonalty shall not appoint or nominate, in the aforesaid towns and bishopric, any officers, such as governors, masters of trades,

* John, third son of Louis I. and brother of Louis II. de Châlons, counts of Auxerre.

† Mentioned in p. 118, *ante*.

‡ Amblard I. lord of La Baûme, had issue, Peter, Perceval, *John*, William, and Louis. John was a monk at Ambronnai; but Perceval, who continued the line, had issue, Amblard II. and William, surnamed Morelet, who was grand butler of Burgundy in 1430. Perhaps he is the *great lord* here meant.

§ Mentioned p. 37, *ante*.

‖ John III. lord of Crequy and Canaples, is mentioned by Froissart. He had issue, John IV. lord of Crequy, &c. *Reginald*, killed at Agincourt, and others.

doctors of arts,—but that from this day all such offices be annulled.—Item, they ordain, that all bailiffs, provosts, mayors, and others bearing similar titles, shall be nominated by the bishop of Liege and the count de Los; and also, that the sheriffs in such towns as claim the right of shrievalty shall be renewed yearly, and a certain number appointed according to the exigency of the case and size of the towns. In no large town shall father and son, two brothers-in-law, two cousins-german, the uncle and nephew, nor any one who has married the mother of another, be appointed sheriffs at the same time, in order that no improper favours be shown from partiality of kindred. All officers shall swear solemnly, on their creation, to preserve and abide by every article and point contained in the constitution delivered to them.—Item, they ordain, that the bishop of Liege may, each year, at the expiration of the shrievalty, appoint such sheriffs as he shall please, or re-appoint those of the preceding year, others according to his good pleasure, provided they are not any way connected by blood, as has been before-mentioned. All disputes respecting the persons or fortunes of the inhabitants of the different towns having sheriffs, shall be brought before their jurisdictions; and at the end of the year, the sheriffs shall be bound to render an account of their administration before their lord, the bishop of Liege, or his deputies, and before one commissary deputed by the chapter, and another on the part of the different churches.

"Item, they ordain, that all guilds and fraternities in the city of Liege, and in all the other towns, shall henceforth cease and be annulled; and that the banners of the above guilds in Liege shall be delivered up to commissaries, on an appointed day that shall be made known to them; and the banners of the other towns shall be brought by the inhabitants to a certain place on an appointed day, to the commissioners named to receive them, and who shall do with them as they may judge expedient.—Item, they also ordain, that in the above city, and in the towns within the said bishopric, no one shall be reputed a citizen unless he shall have really resided within such town in which he shall claim his right of citizenship. And all such rights of citizenship are for the present annulled; for although there may be resident citizens in the aforesaid towns, they cannot, in such right, claim any moveables by reason of inheritance, without the cognizance of the lords under whom such persons have lived, and in whose territory such inheritances are situated.—Item, they ordain, that from this moment, and in times to come, the towns of Huy, Dinant, and others within the territory of Liege, the country of Los, the country of Hasbane, and all within the jurisdiction of Liege, shall no longer call together any assembly, or congregation of people, under pretence of holding councils or otherwise, without the consent of their aforesaid bishop and lord, or of the chapter of Liege, should the bishopric at the time be vacant.

"Item, they ordain, that the bishop of Liege, or any others having the government of the said territory and its dependancies, shall never bear ams against the king or kings of France, their successors; nor against the two said dukes, their successors in the said duchies and counties; nor against the count de Namur for the time being, or his successors; nor against any of the countries of the aforesaid, except when ordered by the emperor, and only when the emperor shall be himself present: provided, nevertheless, that the king of France and the above-mentioned persons do not invade the territories of the bishop and chapter of Liege.

"Item, they likewise ordain, that in perpetual remembrance of this victory, and the conquest made over them by the above two dukes, they and their successors shall have a free passage, whenever they may choose to cross the river Meuse, through all towns in the territory of Liege, fortified or not, and with a body of men-at-arms or with few attendants according to their pleasure—provided they do not permit any of the inhabitants of the said towns, villages, or country through which they shall pass, to be any way molested by their men,—and provisions shall be found them for their money, without demanding higher prices for the articles than they are usually sold for.—Item, they ordain, that the coin of the aforesaid dukes and their successors shall have free currency throughout the territories and dependancies of the bishop and chapter of Liege.

"Item, they ordain, that a chapel shall be erected on the spot where the last victory was gained, and funds allotted for the support of four chaplains and two priests; and the said

chapels shall be furnished with chasubles, chalices, and other ornaments for celebrating mass and such other divine services as shall be thought advisable for the eternal welfare of the souls of those who were slain in that battle. The nomination to the above benefices shall remain with the two dukes, according to regulations which they shall hereafter make between themselves,—the Liegeois only to be once at the expense of providing this chapel with sacred vessels and ornaments. The bishop of Liege shall allot from his revenues two hundred golden crowns of annual rent for the support of the four chaplains and two priests; that is to say, for each chaplain forty crowns, for each priest ten crowns, and for the repairs of the chapel twenty crowns.—Item, the said dukes will, that on the twenty-third day of every month of September, on which day the battle took place, a mass shall be celebrated to the blessed Virgin, with great solemnity, by the provost or dean of the church of St. Lambert, in Liege, who shall chaunt it in the choir and at the grand altar, in commemoration of this victory, and for the welfare of the souls of those who fell in battle. The same shall be required of all the churches and chapels to monasteries, as well for men as women, within the said town of Liege, as of all others within its jurisdiction.—Item, the said dukes require from the bishop of Liege and the chapter, that they strictly enjoin such services to be regularly performed on every twenty-third day of September throughout the diocese; and that all priests, after the performing of this service, shall be suffered peaceably to return to their homes.

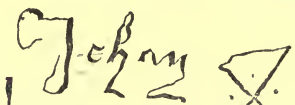
"Item, they ordain, that the bishop of Liege and his successors, and such as may have the government of the country in times of a vacancy in the see, and the members of the chapter of Liege, shall appoint such governor of the castle of Huy as they shall approve of: in which castle, likewise, they shall not place a greater garrison, nor more stores of provision, than they shall judge expedient, like as an upright lord shall determine. They also insist on having a free ingress and regress into and from the town of Huy and the adjacent country. They likewise ordain the same regulations respecting the castles of Escoquehen * and Bouillon, as to their governors, garrisons and stores.—Item, the aforesaid dukes ordain, that should any one, however high his rank, attempt, by force, or otherwise, to deprive those of such gifts and preferments in the church, or any other offices for life, as have been usually granted by the bishops of Liege and their predecessors, the members of the chapter of Liege shall be bound to restore, and defend them in, their possessions to the utmost of their power, without any fraud whatever.—Item, as there are still living many perverse conspirators, who are now fugitives from the territories of Liege and county of Los, and have retired into the neighbouring countries, where they have been received, the dukes aforesaid will appoint proper commissioners to make inquiry whither such wicked persons have gone, and publish their names. On the discovery of the places to which they have withdrawn, applications shall be made to the princes and lords thereof, that they may be surrendered to the bishop of Liege, for him to inflict on them the punishments due to their deserts, or at least that such princes and lords may drive them out of their respective countries. But should these lords refuse to comply, or to do justice on such conspirators, they shall be for ever banished from the bishopric of Liege, the county of Los, and their dependancies, as conspirators and movers of sedition; and it shall be proclaimed throughout the above countries, that no one receive them within their houses, but deliver them up to justice, should any attempt to return, demanding assistance from their lord, should there be a necessity for it. Should they be unable to arrest them, they shall denounce them to the nearest officers of justice, under pain of suffering corporal punishment, and having their fortunes confiscated, as would have been done to such conspirators and rebels. While exerting themselves in the performance of this duty, should they accidentally put to death any of such rebels, no consequences shall ensue to their loss.

'Item, they ordain that the walls of the castle of Thuin, with its gates and towers, be razed, as well the part toward the town as that toward the mountain, and the ditches filled up.—Item, the same to be done to the town of Fosse and to the town and castle of Commun, —which towns shall not be repaired. And in like manner shall all the posts on the river Sambre be destroyed, the ditches filled, and neither they nor the towns shall be ever again

* Escoquchen. Q. Stocheim?

repaired, so that they may serve for places of defence to the inhabitants, on any pretence, in future times.—Item, the gates, walls, and towers of Dinant shall be pulled down, as well on the opposite side of the Meuse as on this ; and the inhabitants shall never rebuild them again. —Item, the inhabitants of the said towns of Thuin, Fosse, Commun and Dinant, or any persons from other towns, shall not rebuild or repair the fortified places between or on the two rivers Sambre and Meuse, on the road to Namur.—Item, one of the gates of Tongres shall also be razed, namely, that which leads to Maestricht, with forty feet of wall on each side of the said gate, without a possibility of its ever being re-erected. The town of Tongres shall likewise, at its own expense, cause to be filled up the trenches they had opened before the said town, when they besieged their lord within it, because they had put the country of Liege under heavy taxes, and had subjugated it.

"And whereas it is notorious, that very great losses have attended this subjugation, the aforesaid dukes will, that an aid be levied on this city, and the towns before mentioned, to the amount of two hundred and twenty thousand golden crowns, which shall be raised as soon as may be, being levied in proportion to the comparative riches of each inhabitant.—Item, in case any of the hostages shall die before all the articles of this treaty are completed, the aforesaid lords will, that the town or district whence such hostage or hostages shall have been sent, do instantly furnish others of the same rank and property as those who have died. —Item, they ordain, that when this treaty shall be properly engrossed, the bishop of Liege, his chapter, and the principal inhabitants, shall come to sign it, and engage, that should any



Great Seal of the Duke of Burgundy.—From Olivarius Vredius.

articles of it be not completed according to the exact tenor of the terms, then for each omission or neglect, the bishop, his successors, the chapter and chief towns, shall forfeit two hundred thousand golden crowns of the coin of the king of France, or other florins of gold of France,

of the value of the aforesaid crowns. That is to say, fifty thousand to the then emperor or king of the Romans; to the king of France fifty thousand; and to each of the said dukes the like sum;—the whole to be levied on the lands and moveables of the said Liegeois, by seizure of their goods and bodies wherever they may be. They are likewise to signify their consent, that should obstacles be thrown in the way by any of the said towns to prevent the articles of the said treaty from being carried into effect, the bishop of Liege, and the archbishop of Cologne for the time being, shall be the arbitrators between such towns,—and their decision shall be final.

"When a legal pope shall be elected, and his authority over the whole church of God be acknowledged, then such as make opposition to the execution of the above treaty shall be laid under an interdict, which shall not be taken off, until sufficient reparation be made, and the aforesaid pecuniary forfeitures be paid. Should any of the towns, or their inhabitants, offer any insult, in contradiction to the above treaty, to either of the said dukes or their successors, the bishop of Liege, or his vicar in his absence, the chapter and citizens shall be required to constrain the offenders to make full reparation within one month from the time of complaint being made. And should such reparation not be made within the month, as aforesaid, after the summons to that effect has been delivered, the country shall be liable to the same fines as before mentioned.

"The dukes of Burgundy and of Holland order, that all these articles be fairly engrossed, and then sealed with their seals, and then given to the lord bishop of Liege, or to his chapter, with a copy for the city of Liege and one for each principal town. In return, the bishop and the towns shall give to the dukes aforesaid, letters signed with their great seals acknowledging the receipt of the above treaty, and promising obedience to all the articles of it, and binding themselves to the fines therein mentioned.

"As many noble persons and others, as well secular as ecclesiastic, have presented many petitions to complain of the great losses they have suffered during the late rebellion, and specifying their particular grievances,—the dukes aforesaid, not having had time to examine them with the attention they deserve, will have them examined with all possible speed, and will attend to each of them."

The whole of the above, having been written out fair, was, by the command of the two dukes aforesaid, publicly proclaimed in the great hall at Lille, and in their presence, the 24th day of October, in the year 1408.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE HOLDS A GRAND COUNCIL AT PARIS, TO CONSIDER ON THE MANNER OF PROCEEDING AGAINST THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FOR THE MURDER OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

During the expedition of the duke of Burgundy against the Liegeois, a great many of the principal lords were, by the king's orders, assembled at Paris. Among them were, Louis king of Sicily, Charles king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, the duke of Bourbon, and several others, the greater part of whom were friendly to the duchess-dowager of Orleans and her children in their prosecution of the duke of Burgundy. Many councils were held as to the manner in which the king should proceed against the duke of Burgundy, who was the principal actor in this murder, as has been before explained. It was at length determined in these councils, that a most rigorous prosecution, in conformity to the laws, should be carried on against him; and should he refuse to obey, the king, with all his subjects and vassals, should march, with as great a force as could be raised, against him, to bring him and his abettors to due obedience. At the same time, at the solicitations of the duchess of Orleans and her children, the king annulled all his letters of pardon which he had formerly granted to the duke of Burgundy, and declared them of no weight, in the presence of the queen, the duke of Aquitaine, the princes of the blood, and the whole of the council. The duchess demanded and obtained letters, confirming this renunciation of the pardon; after which, she and her daughter-in-law, wife to the young duke of Orleans, left Paris, and returned to Blois.

Not long after this, news came to Paris of the great victory which the duke of Burgundy had gained over the Liegeois. This was confirmed by the return of the king's ambassadors, sir Guichard Daulphin and sir William de Tignonville, who, as has been related, were present at the battle, and gave to the king, and the lords then in Paris, a most circumstantial account of it. On hearing this, several who had been most violent against the duke of Burgundy, now hung their heads, and began to be of a contrary opinion to what they had before held, fearing the steadiness, boldness, and power of the duke, who was said to have a mind equal to the support of any misfortunes that should happen to him, and which would encourage him to oppose and conquer all attempts of his adversaries. In short, all the measures that had been adopted against him were dropped, and the men-at-arms were ordered to return to the places whence they had come.

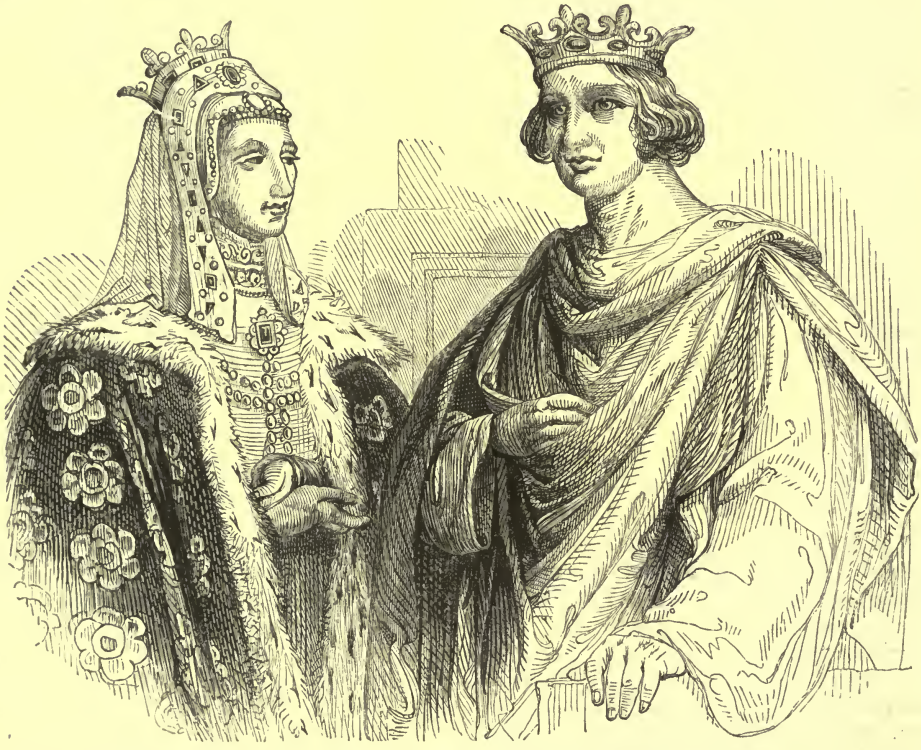
Ambassadors had arrived from England to treat of a peace, or a truce for one year, between the kings of England and of France; which having obtained, they set out on their return, through Amiens and Boulogne, to Calais. On the road, they heard of the grand victory of the duke of Burgundy, which surprised them very much, and they gave him the surname of "Jean sans peur." The duke of Burgundy was very active in attaching to his party noblemen and warriors from all countries, to strengthen himself against his enemies, of whom he was given to understand that he had many. He held on this subject several consultations with his two brothers and brothers-in-law, namely, duke William of Holland and John of Bavaria, to which were admitted his most trusty friends; and they deliberated long on the manner in which he should now carry himself. It was at length finally concluded, that he should openly oppose all, excepting the king of France and the duke of Aquitaine; and those present promised him aid and support with all the power of their vassals, on these terms.

CHAPTER XLIX.—THE KING OF FRANCE IS CARRIED, BY THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD, TO TOURS IN TOURAINE.—PEACE IS MADE IN THE TOWN OF CHARTRES.—THE DEATH OF THE DOWAGER DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

The king of France left Paris, accompanied by the kings of Sicily and Navarre, the queen, the duke of Aquitaine, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, who, with others of the blood-royal, conducted him, under the escort of a large body of men-at-arms, to Tours in Touraine, as his place of residence,—to the great displeasure of the inhabitants of Paris, who were so much troubled thereat that they barricadoed the streets with chains. They hastily sent to inform the duke of Burgundy, at Lille, of the king's departure, giving him to understand that the greater part of those who had carried him away from Paris were not well inclined towards him. This intelligence was not very agreeable to the duke, for he suspected that the king had only been conducted to Tours that his enemies might carry their measures against him more securely; for the lords who had the government knew well that the Parisians loved the duke of Burgundy, and would not that any other should have the government of the kingdom; believing, from the hints he had thrown out, that when in power he would abolish all gabelles, and other taxes which oppressed the people.

The duke of Burgundy first consulted the dukes of Brabant and of Holland, and other steady friends; and then remanded his men-at-arms from Burgundy, who were on their march to their own country from Liege, and assembled another body from various parts. He advanced to Roye, in the Vermandois, where he mustered his men, and then marched them toward Paris. He quartered himself, on the 23d day of November, in the town of St. Denis, and his forces in the adjacent country. On the morrow, as he was advancing with his men-at-arms in array toward Paris, two thousand or more combatants sallied out thence, and conducted him, with every mark of honour, to his hôtel of Artois. Many of the Parisians sung carols in the squares, although all rejoicings had been strictly forbidden on his arrival, to avoid increasing the envy of the princes of the blood. Some of the king's servants said to those who were singing carols, "You may otherwise show your joy for his arrival, but you ought not thus to sing." Notwithstanding this, all the principal citizens, and those in authority, showed him as much honour and respect as if he had been king himself.

A few days afterwards, duke William, count of Hainault, arrived at Paris, well accompanied by unarmed men; and, at the request of the duke of Burgundy, set out for Tours, attended by the lords de Croy, de St. George, de la Viefville, d'Olhaz, and others of the council of the duke, to negotiate his peace with the king, and the lords who had carried him from Paris. The count of Hainault was most honourably received at Tours by the king, the queen, and the other great lords; for the marriage had taken place between John duke of Touraine, second son to the king, and the daughter of the duke of Burgundy: he was also nearly related to the queen.



Charles VI., from his Tomb at St. Denis, and his Queen Isabella of Bavaria.—
From a print in Vol. II. of Mezeray's Histoire de la France.

On the conclusion of the feasts made on his arrival, the count of Hainault, and those who had accompanied him, opened, in full council, the business of their mission, namely, to make peace for the duke of Burgundy. After many discussions, it was resolved, that the king should send certain persons, selected by him, to hold a conference with the duke of Burgundy at Paris, and point out to him the means of his regaining the good graces of the king. Duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, Montagu, grand master of the king's household, and other experienced counsellors, were nominated for this purpose; and they returned with the count de Hainault to Paris, when what had passed was told to the duke of Burgundy. As all the circumstances of this treaty were not agreeable to the duke, and as he had many suspicions respecting Montagu, he was not disposed to receive the negotiators in the way they were sent to him. He even personally made many reproaches to Montagu, who bore them patiently, excusing himself for anything that had passed. The treaty, however, having been altered and corrected, was sent back to the king at Tours, and in the end agreed to in the manner you shall hear.

While these negotiations were going forward, and before their conclusion, the duchess-

dowager of Orleans*, daughter to Galeazzo, duke of Milan, died in the town of Blois, broken-hearted at not having been able to obtain justice from the king and council against the duke of Burgundy for the murder of her late lord and husband, Louis duke of Orleans. The duke of Burgundy was much rejoiced at this event, for the duchess had bitterly carried on her prosecution against him. Her heart was buried at Paris, near that of her husband, and her body in the church of the canons at Blois. After her death, Charles, her eldest son, was duke of Orleans and of Valois, count of Blois and of Beaumont, lord of Coni and of Ast,

Charles Duke of Orleans.—From a MS. illumination engraved in Montfaucon, Vol. III.

with many other lordships:—Philip, the second son, was count of Vertus,—and John, the youngest, was named count of Angoulême. These three brothers, and one sister, thus became orphans, but they had been very well educated; yet, by the deaths of the duke and duchess of Orleans, they were much weakened in support and advice,—and several of the king's ministers were not so zealous to prosecute the duke of Burgundy as they had been. This was very apparent in the negotiations which took place some little time after the death of the duchess, between the duke of Burgundy and the children of Orleans; for although the treaty sent by the king was not wholly to the liking of the duke, as has been said, yet it was so corrected that the parties accepted of it in the following terms:

* This unfortunate princess, who was subjected to so much obloquy from vulgar prejudices, was one of the most amiable women of her time. She was loudly accused of having practised arts learnt in Italy, where the preparation of poison was best understood, and its use most frequently practised, for the destruction of the king. Witchcraft was also imputed to her, but the only arts she practised were the spells of a gentle and affectionate disposition. Whilst her husband, the duke of Orleans, was occupied in gallantries with Queen Isabella, his gentle wife was soothingt he paroxysms of the afflicted king, who, in such cases, could only be calmed by her voice. He was accustomed to call her his dear sister, *sa sœur cherie*, and was never easy when away from her presence. Her husband's infidelities could not obliterate the affection she had borne for him, not even when he publicly took pride in them, causing his death by a vain unfounded boast, that even the duchess of Burgundy had smiled on him,—a boast never forgiven by the duke. Disappointed of the justice she sought, her heart failed her at last; but, on her death-bed, she called around her her children, and exhorted them never to cease their pursuit of their father's murderer. Dunois, the bastard of Orleans, accompanied them,—a striking proof of the duchess's constant love, since she included her husband's illegitimate child in her affections. He answered her appeal more warmly than the rest, upon which she touchingly exclaimed, "Alas! they robbed me; he ought to have been *my* son."—Ed.

First, it was ordered by the king and his great council, that the duke of Burgundy should depart from Paris with his men-at-arms, and return to his own country, where he was to remain until a certain day, namely, the first Wednesday in February, when he was to meet the king at the town of Chartres, accompanied only by one hundred gentlemen-at-arms, and the children of Orleans with fifty. It was also ordered, that duke William, count of Hainault, should have under his command four hundred of the king's men-at-arms, to preserve the peace. It was also ordered, that the duke of Burgundy, when he appeared before the king, should be attended by one of his council, who should repeat the words he was to say; and the duke, in confirmation of them, was to add, "We will and agree that it should be thus." Afterward, according to the tenor of the treaty, the king was to say to the duke of Burgundy, "We will, that the count de Vertus, our nephew, have one of your daughters in marriage." The duke was by this treaty to assign over to his daughter three thousand livres parisis yearly, and give her one hundred and fifty thousand golden francs. When this treaty had been concluded, duke William set out from Paris for Hainault; and shortly after, the duke of Burgundy disbanded his men-at-arms, and left Paris to go to Lille, whither he had summoned the duke of Brabant his brother, duke William and the bishop of Liege, his brothers-in-law, and many other great lords.

At this period, there was a great quarrel between the duke of Brabant and duke William. It was caused by the father of duke William having borrowed in former times from the late duchess of Brabant one hundred and fifty thousand florins to carry on a war against some of his rebellious subjects in Holland, which sum the duke of Brabant had claimed as belonging to him. He had in consequence, by the advice of his Brabanters, taken possession of a castle called Huesden*, situated between Brabant and Holland. The duke of Burgundy took great pains to make up the quarrel between these two princes, that they might the more effectually assist him in his plans, which were very extensive. After this business had been settled, and the parties had separated, duke William assembled in Hainault, according to the king of France's orders, four hundred men-at-arms and as many archers. The principal lords among them were, the counts de Namur, de Conversant, and de Salmes. The duke of Burgundy, conformably to the treaty, set out, the day after Ash-Wednesday, attended by his son-in-law the count de Penthievre†, and lay at Bapaume. Thence he went to Paris, with duke William, the above-named lords, the count de St. Pol, the count de Vaudemont‡, and several others of the nobility. On Saturday, the 2d day of March, they arrived all together at the town of Gallardon, four leagues distant from Chartres. The Wednesday following, duke William of Holland advanced with his body of forces to Chartres, where the king then was. On the ensuing Saturday, the duke of Burgundy set out from Gallardon, to wait on the king, escorted by six hundred men-at-arms; but when he approached Chartres, he dismissed them all, excepting one hundred light horsemen, in compliance with the treaty, and thus entered Chartres about ten o'clock in the morning, riding straight to the church as far as the cloisters of the canons, where he was lodged.

At this same time, the duke of Orleans, in company with his brother the count de Vertus, and, according to the treaty, attended by only fifty men-at-arms, entered the church of our Lady at Chartres, with the king their uncle, the queen, the duke of Acquitaine, and several princes of the blood. That the king and lords might not be pressed upon by the spectators, and that all might plainly see the ceremony, a scaffolding was erected in the church, on which the king was seated near the crucifix. Round him were placed the queen, the dauphin and dauphiness, daughter to the duke of Burgundy, the kings of Sicily and Navarre, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon; the cardinal de Bar, the marquis du Pont his brother, the archbishop of Sens, and the bishop of Chartres, with other counts, prelates, and the family of Orleans, were behind the king. At the entrance of the church, by the king's orders, were a body of men-at-arms drawn up in battle-array.

It was not long before the duke of Burgundy entered the church, and on his advancing toward the king, all the lords, excepting the king, queen, and dauphin, rose up from their seats. The duke, on his approach to the king, kneeled down with his advocate the lord

* Heusden,—a town between Gorcum and Bois-le-Duc.

† Oliver, count of Penthievre, mentioned before.

‡ Frederic, or Ferry, count of Vaudemont.

d'Ollehaing, who repeated to the king the following words :—"Sire, behold here my lord of Burgundy, your subject and cousin, who is thus come before you, because he has heard you are angry with him, for the action he has committed against the person of the late duke of Orleans your brother, for the good of yourself and your kingdom,—the truth of which he is ready to declare and prove to you, whenever you shall please. My lord, therefore, entreats of you, in the most humble manner possible, that you would be pleased to withdraw from him your anger, and restore him to your good graces." When the lord d'Ollehaing had said this, the duke of Burgundy himself addressed the king, saying, "Sire, I entreat this of you :"—when instantly the duke of Berry, seeing the king made no reply, bade the duke of Burgundy retire some paces behind,—which being done, the duke of Berry, kneeling before the king, said something to him in a low voice,—and immediately the dauphin, the kings of Sicily and Navarre, with the duke of Berry, knelt down to the king and said, "Sire, we supplicate that you would be pleased to listen to the prayer of your cousin the duke of Burgundy." The king answered them, "We will that it be so,—and we grant it from our love to you." The duke of Burgundy then approached the king, who said to him,—"Fair cousin, we grant your request, and pardon you fully for what you have done." After this, he advanced, with the lord d'Ollehaing, toward the children of Orleans, who, as I have said, were behind the king, weeping much.

The lord d'Ollehaing addressed them, saying, "My lords, behold the duke of Burgundy, who entreats of you to withdraw from your hearts whatever hatred or revenge you may harbour within them, for the act perpetrated against the person of my lord of Orleans, your father, and that henceforward ye may remain good friends." The duke of Burgundy then added, "And I beg this of you." No answer being made, the king commanded them to accede to the request of his fair cousin the duke of Burgundy. Upon which they replied, "Sire, since you are pleased to command us, we grant him his request, and shall extinguish all the hatred we bore him; for we should be sorry to disobey you in anything that may give you pleasure."

The cardinal de Bar then, by the king's orders, brought an open Bible, on which the two parties, namely, the two sons of the late duke of Orleans and the duke of Burgundy, swore on the holy evangelists, touching them with their hands, that they would mutually preserve a firm peace towards each other, without any open or secret attempts contrary to the full meaning of their oaths. When this was done, the king said, "We will that henceforth ye be good friends; and I most strictly enjoin, that neither of you attempt anything to the loss or hurt of the other, nor against any persons who are attached to you, or who may have given you advice or assistance; and that you show no hatred against any one on this occasion, under pain of offending against our royal authority,—excepting, however, those who actually committed this murder, who shall be for ever banished our kingdom." After this speech of the king, these princes again swore they would faithfully abide by their treaty. The duke of Burgundy then advanced to salute the wife of the dauphin, the duke of Acquitaine; and about an hour after this ceremony had taken place, the duke took his leave of the king, queen, and the lords present, and set out from Chartres for Gallardon, where he dined. Many who were there were very much rejoiced that matters had gone off so well; but others were displeased, and murmured, saying, that henceforward it would be no great offence to murder a prince of the blood, since those who had done so were so easily acquitted, without making any reparation, or even begging pardon.

The duke of Orleans and his brother shortly after took leave of the king, queen, dauphin, and the lords of the court, and returned, with their attendants, to Blois, whence they had come, not well satisfied, any more than their council, with the peace that had been made. The marquis du Pont, son to the duke of Bar, and cousin to the duke of Burgundy, who before this day was not beloved by him, on account of the murder of the duke of Orleans, followed him to Gallardon, where they dined publicly together in great friendship and concord. About two o'clock in the afternoon, duke William, the count de St. Pol, and other great lords, visited the duke of Burgundy at his lodgings in Gallardon, and then returned together toward Paris.

The king, the queen, the dauphin, and the other kings, princes, and cardinals, arrived at

Paris on Mid-Lent Sunday; and the dukes of Burgundy and of Holland, with the cardinal de Bordeaux, who was at that time in Paris, on his way to the council of Pisa, went out to meet them, followed by upwards of two hundred thousand Parisians of both sexes, eager to receive the king, singing carols, as he entered the gates, and conducting him with great rejoicings to his palace. They were very happy that the king was returned to Paris, and also that a peace had been concluded respecting the death of the late duke of Orleans. They attributed the whole to the great mercy of God, who had permitted that such strong symptoms of a civil war should be so readily extinguished; but they did not foresee or consider the consequences that ensued. The greater part of the Parisians were obstinately attached to the duke of Burgundy, through the hope that by his means all the most oppressive taxes would be abolished; but they did not see clearly all the mischiefs that afterward befel the kingdom and themselves,—for in a very short time, as you shall hear, a most cruel contention broke out between the families of Orleans and Burgundy.

CHAPTER L.—THE QUEEN OF SPAIN DIES DURING THE SITTING OF THE COUNCIL AT PISA.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE KING OF DENMARK, NORWAY, AND SWEDEN.

In this year died the queen of Spain*, sister to Henry king of England, and mother to the young king of Spain and queen of Portugal. The Spaniards after her death sent home all the English servants, male and female, belonging to the late queen, who returned to England in much grief and sorrow at heart.

At this same season, great numbers of prelates, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, set out from various countries of Christendom to attend the council at Pisa which was assembling to restore union to the church, which had for a long time suffered a schism, to the great displeasure of many princes and well-inclined persons.

About this same period, Henry† king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, took to wife the daughter of Henry king of England. These kingdoms were put into the hands of the king of Denmark by their queen, who divested herself of all power and profit over them in favour of king Henry.

CHAPTER LI.—THE KING OF FRANCE HAS A SEVERE RETURN OF HIS DISORDER.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE COUNT DE NEVERS WITH THE DAMSEL OF COUCY.—THE WAR OF AMÉ DE VIRY, A SAVOYARD, WITH THE DUKE OF BOURBON.

[A.D. 1409.]

At the beginning of this year, Charles king of France was much oppressed with his usual disorder. On this account, when the kings of Navarre and Sicily, and the duke of Berry, had properly provided, in conjunction with the duke of Burgundy, for the state of the king, and the government of the realm, they went to visit their own territories. In like manner, the duke of Burgundy went to the marriage of his brother Philip count of Nevers, who took to wife the damsel of Coucy, daughter to sir Enguerrand de Coucy‡, formerly lord and count of Soissons, and niece by the mother's side to the duke of Lorrain and to the count de Vaudemont; which marriage was celebrated in the town of Soissons. This ceremony was performed on Saint George's day, and the feasts and entertainments lasted for three days afterward. There were present the duchess of Lorrain§ and the countess of Vaudemont||, who had come expressly thither to do honour to the lady of Coucy and her daughter. When

* Catherine of Lancaster, wife of Henry III. and mother of John II. kings of Castile. I do not find a queen of Portugal in the catalogue of her children; but this event seems to be here strangely misplaced. Turquet says, "L'an suyvant, 1418, décéda la royne D. Catherine, agée de cinquante ans, de mort soudaine, et fût enterrée à Tolede, en la chapelle des roys derniers."

† Eric X. king of Denmark, &c., son of Wratislaus, duke of Pomerania, by Mary of Mecklenburg, niece to Margaret, the *Semiramis of the North*, married Philippa, daughter to king Henry of England, by Eleanora his second wife. His great aunt Margaret was still alive.

‡ See *ante*, p. 16.

§ Margaret of Bavaria, sister to the emperor Robert, married Charles the bold, duke of Lorrain.

|| Margaret, heiress of Vaudemont, married Frederick, brother of Charles duke of Lorrain.

these feasts were over, the duke of Burgundy, attended by his son-in-law the count de Penthievre, set out for Burgundy; and shortly after, the count de Nevers conducted his wife, and the duchess of Lorraine and the countess of Vaudemont, to his county of Rethel, where she was received with every token of joy.

During this time, the duke of Bourbon was challenged by Amé de Viry, a Savoyard, and a poor blade in comparison with the duke of Bourbon; nevertheless, he committed much damage by fire and sword in the countries of Bresse and Beaujolois. The duke was very indignant at this, and assembled a large body of men-at-arms and archers to punish and conquer him. He ordered his son, the count de Clermont, to lead on the van, and he speedily followed in person. In his company were the counts de la Marche and de Vendôme, the lord d'Albret, constable of France, Louis de Baviere, brother to the queen, Montagu, grand master of the king's household, the lord de la Heuse and many more great lords, who advanced with a numerous body of men to the county of Beaujolois.

Amé de Viry was informed of the great force which the duke of Bourbon was marching against him, and dared not wait his arrival; for he had not strength enough to garrison the forts he had taken. On his retreat, he marched to a town called Bourg-en-Bresse, which belonged to the earl of Savoy, his lord. The earl, however, would not support him against his great uncle, the duke of Bourbon, but gave him up, on condition that Amé should make every amends in his power for the mischiefs he had done, and should surrender himself to one of the prisons of the duke, until he should have completely made him satisfaction, but that no harm of any sort should be done to his person. The duke of Bourbon gladly received him, and thanked his nephew for his friendship.—This caused a quarrel of some standing to be made up; for the earl of Savoy had declared his great uncle owed him homage for his lands of Beaujolois, which he would not pay,—but now the dispute was mutually referred by them to the duke of Berry. When these matters were concluded, the duke of Bourbon returned to France, and disbanded his forces. Some time after, by means which Viry made use of with the duke, he obtained his liberty. Waleran count de St. Pol intended being of this expedition with the duke of Bourbon, and raised a large force; but on marching near Paris, he was ordered not to proceed further, and to return to the frontiers of the Boulonois, where he had been specially commissioned by the king.

CHAPTER LII.—TWO COMBATS TAKE PLACE AT PARIS IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING.—THE DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS.—THE COUNCIL AT PISA.

About Ascension-day, the king of France, who had been grievously ill, was restored to health,—and in consequence, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, with many other lords, instantly returned to Paris. Two combats were ordained to be fought in the square behind St. Martin des Champs, in the presence of the king and the aforesaid lords. One was between a Breton knight, called sir William Batailler, and an Englishman named sir John Carmien, for a breach of faith.

When they were met, and Montjoye king-at-arms had proclaimed their challenges and the causes of them, in the accustomed manner, he bade them do their duty. Sir William, who was the appellant, issued first out of his pavilion, and marched proudly toward his adversary, who was advancing to meet him. They threw their lances without effect, and then made use of their swords: but in this last combat the Englishman was slightly wounded below his armour, when the king instantly put an end to the fight. They were both very honourably led out of the lists, and conducted to their lodgings.

The other combat was between the seneschal of Hainault and sir John Cornwall, an English knight of great renown, and who had married a sister to the king of England*. This combat was undertaken by the two knights at the desire of the duke of Burgundy, when at Lille, to show their prowess in running a few courses with the lance and giving some strokes with the battle-axe: but when the duke had caused the lists to be prepared, the two champions were ordered by the king to repair to Paris, and to perform their deeds

* Q. Who was this?

of arms in his presence. According to these orders, and on the appointed day, sir John Cornwall entered the lists first, very grandly equipped, and, galloping his horse around, came before the king, whom he gallantly saluted. He was followed by six little pages mounted on as many war-horses, the two first of which were covered with furniture of ermines, and the other four with cloth of gold. When he had made his obeisances, the pages retired without the lists.

Shortly after, the seneschal arrived, attended by the duke of Brabant and his brother, the count de Nevers, each holding a rein of his horse, on his right and left. The count de Clermont bore his battle-axe, and the count de Penthievre his lance. When he had made the circuit of the lists, and had saluted the king, as sir John Cornwall had done, they prepared to tilt with their lances; but as they were on the point of so doing, the king caused it to be proclaimed that they should not proceed in this matter, which was very displeasing to both of them, and forced them to return to their hotels. It was again proclaimed, by the king's orders, that this deed of arms should not be carried further,—and that in future no one, under pain of capital punishment, should, throughout his realm, challenge another to a duel without a substantial cause. When the king had magnificently feasted these two knights, and shown them much honour at his court, they departed, as it was said, for England, with the intention of completing their deed of arms.

During this time, the cardinal de Bar, son to the duke of Bar, and Guye de Roye, archbishop of Rheims, in company with master Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, and several other prelates and churchmen, were journeying to the general council which was to be held at Pisa, and took up their lodgings one night at a town called Voltri, on the sea-coast, about four leagues from Genoa. At this place the blacksmith of the archbishop had a quarrel with a blacksmith of the town, about the price of shoeing a horse, which proceeded from words to blows, and the archbishop's blacksmith killed the other, and fled instantly for safety to the lodgings of his master. The townsmen immediately rose,—and a great number of them came to revenge the death of their countryman. The archbishop, hearing of the cause of this tumult, left his chamber, and kindly addressed them, promising to have the injury immediately repaired, according to their wishes; and, the more to appease them, he delivered up his blacksmith into the hands of the magistrate of the place, who was a lieutenant of Boucicaut, marshal of France, then governor of Genoa. But this was of no avail,—for as the archbishop was speaking to them, without the door of his house, one of the mob thrust his javelin right through his body to the heart, so that he dropped down dead without uttering another word. It was a great pity, for he was a religious prelate, and of a noble family.

This deed, however, did not satisfy them; for instantly after they murdered the magistrate and the aforesaid blacksmith, and also endeavoured to force their way into the house, whither the cardinal de Bar and the greater part of the others had retired, in order to put them likewise to death. They were, however, at length appeased by the principal inhabitants, and it was concluded that the cardinal should grant them his pardon for what they had done against him,—to which, indeed, he was induced by his attendants, from their fears of being all destroyed. They never told him of the murder of the archbishop until he was gone two leagues from the town: on the hearing of it, he was so troubled, and sick at heart, that he was near falling off his mule. His attendants, notwithstanding, made him hasten his pace as much as they could; for they were alarmed for their lives, after the instances they had seen, and from the numbers of people they perceived descending the hills, and the accustomed signs they saw when a town is under any apprehension of danger, and the ringing of bells in the manner usual on these occasions.

These signals were sounded throughout the country, and the peasants were seen running down the hills to overtake them; but when they were arrived within a league of Genoa, the marshal Boucicaut * came out with a handsome company to meet him. The cardinal made

* John le Maingre, second of the name, count of Beaufort and viscount of Turenne. He was the son of mareschal Boucicaut the elder, mentioned by Froissart, who died in 1371. He was himself made a mareschal of France in 1391, having been knighted, nine years before, at the battle of Rosebec in Flanders. He went into Hungary and was present at the battle of Nicopolis, and made prisoner with John count of Nevers. He was again appointed to the

loud complaints to him of the outrages that had been committed on his people at the town of Voltri, and demanded that he would judicially inquire into it. The marshal replied that he would make so severe an example of that town that all others should take warning from it. The cardinal was then conducted into the city of Genoa, where he was made welcome by the churchmen and other inhabitants; and this same day the body of the archbishop of Rheims was brought thither, and honourably interred,—and his obsequies were performed in the principal church of Genoa. Shortly after, the marshal Boucicaut punished most severely all whom he could apprehend that had committed these outrages, with their accomplices: they were put to death in various ways, and their houses also were razed to the ground, that these executions might serve for warnings to others never to commit such cruel murders.

Pisa.—From an old print in the King's Library.

The cardinal de Bar, with his companions, now set out from Genoa, and travelled, by easy day's journeys, to Pisa, where were assembled a prodigious number of cardinals, doctors in theology, and graduates in civil law and other sciences, ambassadors and prelates, in obedience to the two popes, from different kingdoms, and from all parts of Christendom. After many councils had been held on the schism in the church, they came at last to this conclusion: they unanimously condemned the two rival popes as heretics, schismatics, obstinate in evil, and perturbators of the peace of our holy mother the church. This sentence was passed in the presence of twenty-four cardinals, at the gates of Pisa, before all the people, the 15th day of June, in the year aforesaid.

The same cardinals, after invoking the grace and assistance of the holy Spirit, entered into conclave, where they remained until the 16th day of the same month, when they finished their election. They chose Peter of Candia, so named from being a native of that island: he was of the order of Friars Minors, created a doctor in theology at Paris, archbishop of Milan and cardinal; and, when consecrated sovereign of the true and holy catholic church, he took the name of Pope Alexander V. O, most powerful God! how great was the joy thus caused, through thy never-failing grace; for it is impossible to relate the shoutings and acclamations that resounded for more than a league round the city of Pisa. But what shall we say of the

relief of the emperor of Constantinople in 1399. In 1401, he was made governor of Genoa,—and he took the city of Famagousta, in Cyprus, for the Genoese. He was made prisoner at Agincourt, and died in England 1421. He was a poet as well as warrior, and composed many rondeaux and virelays. In his epitaph, he is called Constable to the emperor of Constantinople.

city of Paris? Why, when this joyful news was brought thither, on the 8th of July, they incessantly shouted, night and day, "Long live Alexander V. our pope!" in all the squares and streets, and entertained all passengers with meat and drink, from their heartfelt happiness. When the ceremony of consecrating the pope was over, letters were sent to different persons, the more fully to explain the proceedings of the council. I shall insert the one written by the abbot of Saint Maixence to the bishop of Poitiers, the tenor of which was as follows.

"Reverend father, and my redoubted lord, after my humble respects being accepted, I know that your reverence would gladly be informed of the proceedings of the council, which has been held in the city of Pisa, and any intelligence concerning it; and it is for this reason I have indited the following lines to your reverence. First, then, on the 25th day of March, all the cardinals, who had been created by both popes, and all the prelates then in Pisa, assembled in the church of St. Martin, which is situated beyond the river, on the road leading to Florence, and thence, being dressed in their robes with mitres on their heads, they made a grand procession to the cathedral church, which is as distant from that of Saint Martin as our church of Nôtre Dame at Paris is from that of St. Martin des Champs. There the council always afterwards assembled; and on this first day, mass was celebrated with great solemnity: the sermon was preached by my lord cardinal of Milan, of the order of Friars Minors, a great theologian. When the service was over, the morrow was fixed on to open the council, and the two popes were summoned to attend on that day at the gates of the church, by two cardinals; but neither of them appeared, nor any one for them.

"The council continued to sit till the latter end of March, when the popes were again summoned to appear, but neither of them obeyed. The council therefore having required the two rival popes to come before them, on account of the schism that has reigned in the church, and neither of them appearing, or sending any one to make satisfactory answers for them, and the term allotted for their appearing being elapsed, declared them both guilty of the schism that distresses the church, and of contumacy, by their conduct, toward the council. The council ordered prosecutions to be carried on against both of the popes, on the Monday after Quasimodo-Sunday, the 15th of April, when my lords cardinals celebrated together the service of the holy week. On Good Friday, my lord cardinal d'Orsini celebrated divine service in Saint Martin's church; and a secular doctor of divinity, from Bologna la Grassa, preached an excellent sermon. My lords cardinals were all present at the ceremonies of Easter Sunday. During the ensuing week they assembled in council, sometimes alone, at others they called in the prelates, to deliberate on the state of affairs, and what line of conduct should be pursued; and everything was carried on with mutual good will on all sides. This week the ambassadors from the king of the Romans arrived at Pisa.

"On the Sunday of Quasimodo, an Italian bishop said mass before the cardinals; and a Cordelier from Languedoc, a doctor in divinity, preached the sermon, in which he greatly praised my lords cardinals from France, and such as were seeking to restore peace to the church,—but very harshly treated the two contending popes, calling them schismatics, heretics, and traitorous enemies to God and to his church. He chose for his text, 'Jesus dixit, Pax vobis,' which he handled extraordinarily well. The following Monday, the cardinals, prelates, ambassadors, and procurators then present, made oath to obey the decisions of the council. Mass was then chaunted, and succeeded by many prayers; then the litany was sung, at which all the cardinals and prelates, dressed in their robes and mitres, attended, and so continued as long as the sittings of the council lasted, which made it a handsome sight to see. This same day, the council gave audience to the ambassadors from Robert king of the Romans; and the bishop of Verdun, on the part of Robert, who favoured pope Gregory as much as he could, began his harangue, taking for his theme, 'Pax vobis.' He made many mischievous propositions, to divide and distract the council, in obedience to his master, and to serve the false pope Gregory. There were with this bishop an archbishop of a foreign order, and a numerous body of attendants. When the bishop had made his propositions, the ambassadors were required to deliver the same in writing, and to show their procurations from their lord. A day was then fixed to hear the answer of the council to their propositions; but before this day arrived, the ambassadors went away without taking leave of their host.

" This week of Quasimodo, the lord Malatesta came to Pisa in great state: he had given to pope Gregory one of his castles called Rimini*, and made the following request to the cardinals assembled, as well on the part of pope Gregory as on his own,—namely, that it would please the members of the council to adjourn its sittings, and change the place of its meeting; that if they would so do, pope Gregory would attend personally, provided the situation were in a place of safety, and that he might have security for his coming to and going from it. In consequence of this request, the cardinals summoned the prelates to notify it to them; but they unanimously declared, they would neither consent that the place of holding the council should be changed nor that the meetings of it should be adjourned. This answer was very agreeable to the cardinals. The lord Malatesta, therefore, returned without having succeeded in his object; but his anger was appeased by some of the cardinals, his friends and acquaintance.

" From the 15th of April, the council continued sitting to the 23d of the said month,—when, after the solemnity of the mass, the advocate-fiscal demanded, that the council should declare, that the conjunction of the two colleges of cardinals of the holy church of Rome had been, and was, lawful and canonical at the time it was formed.—Item, that it should declare, that this holy council is duly canonical, by the cardinals of both colleges assembling for so excellent a purpose.—Item, that this holy council has been called together by the cardinals of both colleges with a good intent.—Item, that it has been assembled at a convenient opportunity.—Item, that it should declare, that this holy council, as representing the universal church of God, has a right to take cognizance of the merits of the two competitors for the papacy.—Item, that a narrative should this day be read of the introduction and commencement of the schism that took place from the time of the death of pope Gregory X. until the convention of this holy general council.—In this narrative were displayed all the tricks and deceits that had been made use of, either individually or conjunctively by the two rival popes.

" After it had been read, the advocate-fiscal drew several conclusions against the said rivals and their pretensions to the papacy, and ended his harangue by demanding that they should be deposed and punished corporally, and that the council should proceed to the election of a true and holy pope. The sittings were prolonged to Saturday the 27th day of the same month, when the ambassadors from the king of England entered the council with a most magnificent state.—The bishop of Salisbury†, in the diocese of Canterbury, made a handsome speech, urging the necessity of peace and union in the church. When he had finished, the advocate-fiscal made an interesting oration, and concluded by demanding, through the procurator of the holy council, that it would please to appoint a commission of certain wise, discreet, and experienced persons to examine witnesses as to the notorious sins charged on the two competitors for the papacy, and his request was granted.

" The second Sunday after Easter, mass was celebrated before the cardinals, and the sermon was preached by the bishop of Digne in Provence: he was of the order of Friars Minors, a learned doctor in divinity, and had ever been a great friend to Pietro della Luna, and was well acquainted with the tricks and cavils of both popes. This bishop delivered a good sermon from his text of ' Mercenarius fugit,' in which he discovered many deceptions of the two rivals, in descanting on the words of his text. The sittings were continued from this Sunday to the 2d day of May, when mass was said before the cardinals; and the sermon was preached by the cardinal Prenestin, more commonly called the cardinal of Poitiers.—He delivered a good discourse, and chose for his text, ' Libera Deus Israel ex omnibus tribulationibus suis.' He urged in his sermon eleven conclusive arguments against the two popes, for refusing to give peace to the church; and ended by requiring the council, in consideration of their obstinate contumacy, to proceed against them and provide a pastor for the flock of God.

" On the 2d day of May, there was a general meeting of the council, when, after the usual solemnities, a very renowned doctor of Bologna made a reply to the insidious propositions of the bishop of Verdun, on the part of the emperor Robert. He condemned, by arguments

* See Shepherd's Life of Poggio, p. 42.

† Robert Hallam, cardinal, and chancellor of the university of Oxford.

drawn from divine, canon, and civil law, all that had been advanced by the bishop; and his reasoning was so just and clear that the council were much satisfied and comforted. The ensuing Sunday, mass was said before the cardinals, and the sermon was preached by the general of the order of Augustins. He was a great doctor in divinity, and a native of Italy. He chose for his text, 'Cum venerit ille arguet mundum de peccato, et de justitia, et de judicio.' He discussed this subject very well, and with a good intent. The sittings were prolonged from this 2d of May to the 10th.—The patriarch of Alexandria celebrated mass before the cardinals on the feast of the revelation of St. Michael, the 8th of May; and he likewise preached a sermon, taking for his text. 'Congregata est ecclesia ex filiis Israel et omnes qui fugiebant a malis additi sunt, et facti sunt illis ad firmamentum.' These words are written in the 2d and 5th chapters of the first book of Maccabees. In the course of this sermon, he pressed six arguments against the two rival popes.

"On Friday, the 10th of May, the council, after the usual solemnities, resumed its sittings, when the advocate-fiscal made the following requisitions: that the holy council would be pleased to confirm and approve the demands he had before made, namely, that it should declare that the union of the two colleges of cardinals has been and is legal; and that the council should pronounce definitively on the other demands he had made. The procurator-fiscal made a request to the council, that eight days should be allowed for the production of witnesses; and the council was adjourned to the 16th of May. On the Sunday preceding that day, mass was said before the cardinals by the bishop of Faenza; and the sermon preached by a native of Arragon, a learned doctor in divinity, who had always been of the party of Pietro della Luna. He chose his text from one of St. Paul's epistles, 'Expurgate vetus fermentum ut sitis nova conspersio.' He expatiated on this with such ability that all the doctors wondered. Drawing from it certain conclusions, he said that the two rivals were as much popes as his old shoes, calling them worse than Annas and Caiaphas, and comparing them to the devils in hell.

"Such things passed in the council to the 23d day of this present month, as I have briefly related, on which day the ambassadors from the king of Spain were to come to Pisa. The number of prelates that were present cannot be estimated, for they were daily increased by new ones, who came from all parts of Christendom. I should suppose that at the last sitting of the council there were present of cardinals, bishops, archbishops, and abbots, wearing mitres, one hundred and forty, without counting the non-mitred members. There were also ambassadors from the kings of France, England, Jerusalem, Sicily, Cyprus, and Poland; from the dukes of Brabant, Austria, Stephen of Bavaria, William of Bavaria; from the counts of Cleves and of Brandac*; from the marquis of Brandenbourg and de Moraine†; from the archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, and Saltzbourg, and from the bishop of Maestricht; from the grand master of the Teutonic order; from the patriarch of Aquileia, and from many princes in Italy. Numbers of doctors in divinity, and in the canon and civil law, were present, as well from France as from other countries, and very many procurators from divers parts of the world, who, by the grace of God, have held instructive and charitable conversations together from the commencement of the council until this moment.

"In the city of Pisa are abundance of all sorts of provisions, which are sold at reasonable prices; but they would be much cheaper, were it not for the gabelles and taxes that are levied in these countries. In my mind, Pisa is one of the handsomest cities existing; it has a navigable river, within a league distant, running into the sea,—and which river brings large vessels, laden with different merchandise, to the town. Around the city are vineyards of white grapes and many fine meadows. We are very well lodged, considering the great number of men-at-arms quartered in it for its guard. The town has been conquered by the Florentines, who have banished many of the Pisans to prevent any treasons, and sent them to Florence, to the amount of two thousand; and they are obliged to show themselves twice every day to the governor at an appointed place, under pain of death. Four or five thousand of the Pisans went to ask succour from king Lancelot‡, who, in compliance with

* Brandac. Q. Brunswic?

† Marquis of Brandenbourg and Moravia. See *ante*, p. 18.

‡ Ladislaus, or Lancelot, son of Charles of Durazzo, and brother to Joan II. who succeeded to the crown of Naples on his death in 1412. He took up arms on behalf

their request, advanced within five leagues of Pisa, with a force of twenty-three thousand combatants, as well horse as foot; but the Florentines, through the grace of God, are well able to resist all his power, and guard us. True it is, that this king Lancelot ran a risk of losing his kingdom by the union of the holy church, for he had tyrannically seized on a large part of the patrimony of St. Peter.

"It was said that there were certain ambassadors from Pietro della Luna at the council, not with the intent of forwarding the union, but of throwing every obstacle in its way. There were nineteen cardinals of both colleges, at this council at Pisa, including the cardinal de Challan, whose attendants were arrived,—and the cardinal was to follow with the ambassadors from Savoy. My lords the cardinals are much displeased with those bishops, abbots, and chapters of cathedral churches, who have neglected to send procurators to this general council. I have nothing more to send to you at present.—Written at Pisa the 15th day of May, by your humble monk and servant, the abbot of St. Maxence."

The direction was, "To the reverend father in JESUS CHRIST, and by the grace of God, lord bishop of Poitiers, and chancellor to my lord the duke of Berry."

CHAPTER LIII.—THE AMBASSADORS TO THE COUNCIL FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS WRITE LETTERS, TO INFORM THOSE WHO HAD SENT THEM OF WHAT HAD PASSED AT THIS COUNCIL.—PIETRO DELLA LUNA AND GREGORY ARE DEPRIVED OF THE PAPACY, AND ALL PERSONS FORBIDDEN BY THE HOLY COUNCIL FROM OBEYING EITHER IN ANY MANNER.—PETER OF CANDIA, A CORDELIER, IS ELECTED BISHOP OF ROME BY THE CARDINALS.—REGULATIONS FOR THE APPROBATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

I SHALL now transcribe the letters written by the ambassadors from the university of Paris to the council at Pisa, the contents of which are as follows:

"Reverend fathers, lords, and masters, after offering you our humble recommendation, may it please you to know, that we write to inform you of the conclusions entered into by the council-general, which has held thirteen sittings. The two rival popes, having for some time been waited for in vain, notwithstanding the summons sent them, have been declared contumacious in respect to schism and the faith. Many decrees were passed against them for their contumacy, and commissioners were appointed to examine witnesses against them.

"Item, the council-general approved of the union of the colleges of cardinals, the citations served on the contending popes, and the place of meeting of the council, as being perfectly convenient and secure. The council declared, that it was supreme on earth to take cognizance and judge of the charges brought against the contenders for the papacy. It was also declared by the council, that it had been lawful for any one to quit his obedience to either of the popes, from the moment they had promised to abdicate the papacy; and that all suits and processes, carried on against such as had quitted their obedience to either, were annulled and of no weight. Public charges were then made against them, and an interlocutory sentence passed on the notorious sins of the two competitors. This day, doctor Peter Paoul declared, in full council, your opinions, and took for his text, 'Congregabuntur filii Judæ et filii Israel et facient sibimet caput unum.' That is to say, Those who are come to this council, and such as shall hereafter come, will choose from among themselves a head to the church. A little before this, doctor Dominic le Petit had made a solemn harangue before all the cardinals, taking for his text, 'Principes populorum congregati sunt cum Deo Abraham.' The cardinals and prelates of the holy church are styled princes of the people. On this day also, the theologians, to the number of six score and three, delivered their opinions, and eighty of them are your friends and supporters.

"Item, this day it has been ordered that the two rival popes be summoned to appear at the doors of the church on Wednesday the 5th of July, to hear their definitive sentence.

of Gregory, and invaded the Florentine territories in the year 1409, at the head of a large body of forces. The proceedings of the council were in fact detrimental to him, as by its decree he was deposed, and the Neapolitan crown vested in his competitor, the duke of Anjou. He had also seized many towns in the patrimony of St. Peter, and among the rest on Rome itself.—See *Poggio Hist. Florent.* p. 178, *et seq.*

Gregory has sent a bull to the English to entreat they would be of his party, with Robert king of the Romans, to change the place of holding the council, and that they would please to be of his council; but he labours in vain, for the English, Germans, Bohemians, Polanders, French, those from Cyprus, Rhodes, and Italy, are all unanimous, excepting Robert, whose ambassadors have gone away. Few prelates have come to this council from the kingdom of Hungary. King Ladislaus wrote that he intended being here in person, but he is fully occupied in his war against the infidels.

"Pietro Mastin, called della Luna, has issued a most thundering bull, in which he admonishes the cardinals to return to their duty towards him; and should they refuse, he prohibits them from attempting to make another election, menacing them, in case of disobedience, with excommunication and other penalties against them and their supporters. Reverend fathers, and redoubted masters, we have nothing more for the present to write to you, except that all nations seem inclined to a reformation in the church, which the new pope, whom it shall please God to elect, will be forced to comply with. Should you have any orders to send us, we are ready to obey them to the utmost of our power. Beseeching you humbly to keep all our concerns in your consideration, may the Sovereign Lord have you under his guard!

"Written at Pisa the 29th day of May." Underneath were signed the names of Dominic le Petit, Pierre Paoul de Quesnoy, Jean Pere Ponce, Vincent, Eustace de Faquemberge, Arnoul Vibrant, Jean Bourlet, dit François.—Master Pierre de Poingny and master Guillaume le Charpentier did not sign the above, because they were absent.

Here follows the sentence on the two contending popes.

"This present holy council, assembled in the name of Jesus Christ, withdraws itself from the obedience to Pietro della Luna, called Pope Benedict XIII., and from Angelo Corrario, called Pope Gregory XII.; and the holy council decrees and declares, that all true Catholics ought to do the same.—Item, the same holy synod, as representative and judge of the universal church, after mature consideration and examination of witnesses concerning the horrible sins of the two contending popes, pronounces, in the church of Pisa, this its definitive sentence, that both popes be deprived of every honour and dignity, especially that of the papacy. It also pronounces, that they be separated from the holy church, in conformity to the sacred canons, and by the above sentence, forbidding all persons to have the boldness ever to defend or obey either of them as pope.

"The council forbids any Christians from obeying or showing favour to either, notwithstanding any oath or promise they may have made or entered into, under pain of excommunication,—and decrees, that whoever shall disobey this sentence shall be delivered into the hands of secular justice, and condemned as one who favours heretics, and that he shall be punished according to the divine commandments, and the decrees of the holy canons. The council also declares and pronounces, that all promotions of cardinals made by the two rival popes, namely, those made by Angelo Corrario since the third day of May, and by Pietro della Luna since the 15th day of June, of the year 1408, have been and are of no effect, and are annulled by this definitive sentence. It also declares, that every judgment given by the aforesaid competitors for the papacy, to the prejudice of the holy church, against any kings, princes, lords, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, prelates of the church, or other private persons, are of no effect; and the holy synod has ordained that proceedings to the contrary, and to the welfare of the holy church, shall commence on the ensuing Monday, the 10th day of June."

The above sentences and declarations were passed in the general council of Pisa, the 5th day of June, in the year 1409.

The 26th day of June, in the year 1409, Peter of Candia, a Cordelier, and native of Greece, doctor of divinity, and usually called the cardinal of Milan, was unanimously chosen pope by the cardinals at Pisa, with the approbation of the general council, and called Alexander V., who, immediately after his election, published the following bull.

"Alexander, bishop and servant to the servants of God, to the bishop of Paris, health and apostolical benediction. Praise and glory be to the God of heaven for having instilled into the minds of men a desire of peace on earth, and who, through his benign grace and mercy,

has brought about an union of his Christian people, hitherto long disturbed by a dangerous schism. Who is there among mankind that will not most heartily rejoice at this happy event, on considering the perils souls must run when such divisions take place in the holy church, and which have for so long a time been encouraged by sacrilegious schismatics? Our blessed God, taking pity on his people, who had long suffered from this division, opened and illuminated the minds of the holy general council, who have justly condemned the two popes, according to the sacred canons, as enemies to God and his holy church, by their enormous, horrible, and notorious sins. When our brethren, the venerable cardinals of the holy Roman church, of whom we were one, were desirous of finding a proper pastor for the Christian flock, after the usual ceremonies and solemnities, with the consent of the council-general, they entered into conclave, where, after long discussions, they unanimously selected our humble self, then cardinal-priest of the church of the Twelve Apostles, and chose us bishop of Rome. Although we knew our unworthiness of so great a charge, considering our weakness, yet, always confiding in the aid of God, we have accepted of it.

"Venerable brother, these things we notify to thee, as one loving and desirous of the peace of the church, as we have been well informed; and we exhort thee and thy flock to render thanks to the all-powerful God for this most gracious gift which he has granted to us. We have so great an affection for thy worthy person, that we inform thee, that we are ready to serve thee and thine to the utmost of our power.—This present letter we have intrusted to be delivered to thee by our well-beloved son, that notable man Paulin d'Arcé, esquire of honour, chamberlain, and our loyal servant.—Given at Pisa the 8th day of July, in the first year of our papacy."

It is the good pleasure of our very sacred lord Alexander V., by divine Providence, pope, that all promotions, translations, confirmations, and collations whatever, and all consecrations of bishops and others, that have been granted or performed by the two competitors for the papacy, shall be considered as strictly legal, provided they were effected prior to passing of the definitive sentence, and done according to the regulations of the canon law.—Item, it is also the pleasure of the general council, that our aforesaid lord shall give his orders concerning the archbishop of Genoa.—Item, the benefices in the church, that had been given by ordinary judges, have the approbation of the holy council to continue to them to whom they have been given.—Item, the holy council approves of proceedings being instituted against all who shall obstinately obey or favour either of the late competitors for the papacy, Pietro della Luna or Angelo Corrario,—and the council condemns such, as guilty of schism and notorious heresy, and ordains that they be punished according to the regulations of the sacred canons.—Item, it is ordered, that should the cardinal de Flisque* be willing to return to his duty, and appear personally within two months, he shall be kindly received, and enjoy all his honours and benefices, which he obtained in the year 1408.—Item, all dispensations given by bishops of dioceses in those parts not obedient to the two competitors, in the cases of persons not being of sufficient age to obtain dignities in the church or benefices,—and all absolutions, and acts of penitence, ordained by the competitors during the schism, shall be reserved to the determination of the holy apostolic see. All of which has been approved or and certified by the holy council.

CHAPTER LIV.—THE DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF PARIS.—THE MARRIAGES OF THE DUKE OF BRABANT WITH THE NIECE OF THE KING OF BOHEMIA,—OF THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE'S DAUGHTER WITH THE SON OF MONTAGU, GRAND MASTER OF THE HOUSEHOLD,—OF THE KING OF CYPRUS WITH CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON.

In these days, the lord John d'Orgemont, bishop of Paris, departed this life, in his episcopal palace, about the end of June. He was succeeded in his bishopric by the lord Gerard de Montagu, bishop of Poitiers, chancellor to the duke of Berry, and brother to the grand master of the king's household and to the archbishop of Sens. He was honourably received in the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame, in Paris, the 22d day of September follow-

* Flisque. Q. Fiesco?

ing. The king of France, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the king of Navarre, and several other princes, with prelates and churchmen without number, were present at his consecration. With the aid of the grand master, his brother, the feast he gave on the occasion was the most magnificent ever seen, in regard to the quantity of gold and silver plate, and the diversity and abundance of meats and liquors. From this grand display, the princes observed that the grand master governed the king as he pleased; and they began to form suspicions as to the uprightness of his conduct.

On the 16th day of July following, duke Anthony of Brabant married, at Brussels, the niece of the king of Bohemia*, heiress to the duchy of Luxembourg in right of her father. This marriage had been concluded by the mediation of the bishop of Châlons and sir Regnier Pot. Several knights, esquires, ladies, and damsels of high rank, had accompanied the lady to Brussels, according to the orders of the king of Bohemia, her uncle. There were present at these nuptials the two brothers of the duke of Brabant, the duke of Burgundy, and the count de Nevers, with their sister, wife to duke William, count de Hainault; the count de Charolois and the countess of Cleves, children to the duke of Burgundy; the marquis du Pont, his brother John†, and their sister, the countess de St. Pol‡, all three children to the duke de Bar; the counts de Namur and de Conversant, with their ladies; with many more of the great nobility of both sexes. The count de Clermont, son to the duke de Bourbon, was also there,—and when he tilted, was attended by the duke of Burgundy and count de Nevers. The duke bore his shield, and the count his lance, to the surprise of many present, on account of the great hatred that had so lately subsisted between them for the murder of the duke of Orleans: however, they seemed then to be in perfect concord. This feast was abundantly served with all sorts of provisions and wines; and when it was ended, the different guests retired to their respective countries.

On the last day but one of the same month of July, the marriage of the daughter of the lord d'Albret, constable of France, with the eldest son of Montagu§, grand master of the king's household, was solemnly celebrated. The queen of France and numbers of the great nobles were present; and the whole of the expense was paid by the king, which created much anger and envy in several of the princes of the blood against Montagu.

At this time, the truces were broken between the kings of France and of England, but only at sea; and a bitter naval war ensued, to the great loss of many merchants in each country.

On the 2d day of August, John de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, espoused by proxy Charlotte de Bourbon, sister-german to the count de la Marche. The ceremony was performed in the castle of Melun, in the presence of the queen of France, the duke of Aquitaine, and her other children, the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, the counts de la Marche and de Clermont, the lord Louis de Baviere, brother to the queen, and many ladies and damsels, who greatly amused themselves in tournaments, dances, in feastings, and other pastimes. The lady Charlotte, queen of Cyprus, was very handsome, and well endowed with noble and gracious manners. On the conclusion of these feasts, she departed for Cyprus, most honourably accompanied by the nobles so ordered by her brother, and also by those who had been sent to her from the king of Cyprus. She landed at the port of Chermes, whither the king came to meet her, much rejoiced at her safe arrival, and conducted her, attended by the greater part of the nobility of the island, to Nicosia, where were made many feasts, according to the custom of the country. They reigned for a long time with much honour; and had two children, of whom more shall be spoken hereafter.

* Elizabeth, daughter of John duke of Luxembourg, brother of Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, and *ci-devant* emperor. See *ante*, p. 18.

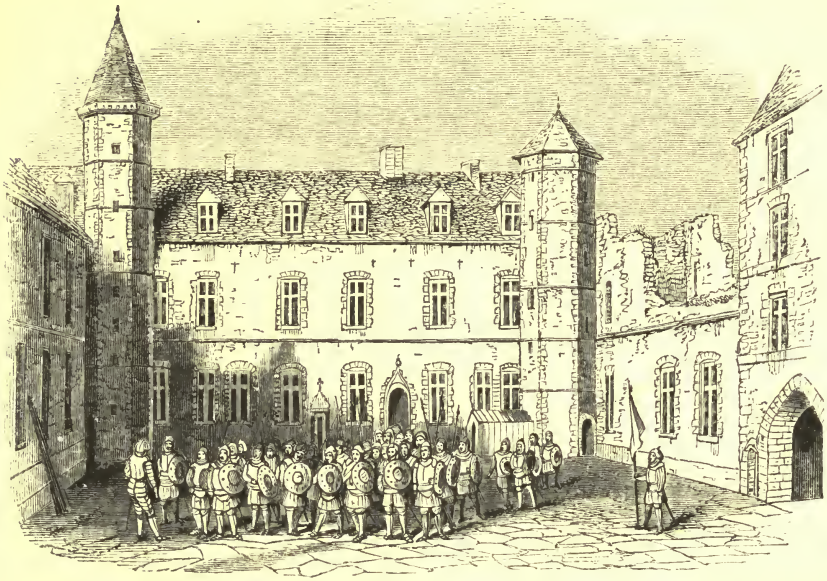
† John lord of Puisaye, fifth son to the duke of Bar.

‡ Bona, third daughter of the duke of Bar, married to Waleran count of St. Pol.

§ Charles de Montagu, to whom the confiscated honours of the vidame du Laonnois and lord of Marcoussy were restored after the death of his father. There was no issue of this marriage with Catherine d'Albret.

CHAPTER LV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HOLDS A GREAT COUNCIL AT LILLE ON HIS AFFAIRS.—THE DEATH OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

On the 5th of August, and the eight succeeding days, duke John of Burgundy held a grand council in his town of Lille, on his own affairs, and on the means of reconciling his brother



Lille :—Ancient Palace of the Dukes of Burgundy.—From Millin's Antiquities of France.

and brother-in-law, the duke of Brabant, and duke William of Holland, who had quarrelled for a cause before mentioned. With these two dukes, there were also present the duke of Burgundy's sister, the wife of duke William, the bishop of Liege, and the count de Namur. At length the duke of Burgundy made peace between them, on condition that duke William should pay to the duke of Brabant, for all his demand of debt, the sum of seventy thousand golden florins of the coin of France, by different instalments.

When this had been settled, the duke of Burgundy went, about the middle of August, to Paris, by orders from the king and royal council: he was accompanied by many men-at-arms, whom he quartered in the villages round Paris. The reason why he was attended by such a force was, because the duke of Brittany had lately brought from England great numbers of English, and, in conjunction with his Bretons, was carrying on a sharp war against the old countess of Penthievre* and her lands. The queen of France and the king's ministers were much displeased at this conduct of the duke of Brittany, because it was to the prejudice of the realm. The duke had increased this displeasure against him by having beaten and ill treated his duchess, daughter to the king of France, for blaming him on account of his undertaking this war. It was therefore intended, that the duke of Burgundy should march the forces he had brought, attended by other princes and captains, against the duke of Brittany, to conquer his country, and oblige him to submit to the king. The duke of Burgundy was very desirous of succouring the countess and her fair son, the count de Penthievre; but while the preparations were making, the duke of Brittany, informed by some of his friends that he was in the ill graces of his mother-in-law, the queen of France, and of those who governed the king, sent, by advice of his council, certain ambassadors to

* Margaret de Clisson, widow of John de Blois and mother of Oliver, counts of Penthievre.

Paris, to offer to submit his differences with the countess de Penthievre to the king and council, which was at length accepted, through the interference of the king of Navarre. The countess de Penthievre and her son were summoned to Paris, whither also came the duke of Brittany; when, after some discussions, peace was made between them.

In this same month, Isabella, the king of France's eldest daughter, and dowager queen of England, but wife to Charles duke of Orleans, died in childbed. The duke bitterly lamented her loss, but received some consolation out of regard to the daughter she had brought him.—The patriarch of Alexandria, bishop of Carcassonne, succeeded Guy de Roye (whose murder has been noticed) in the archbishopric of Rheims, and the archbishop of Bourges succeeded to the patriarchate.—Doctor William Bouratier, secretary to the king, was nominated archbishop of Bourges; and nearly about this time died doctor Peter Paoul, and was succeeded in his dignities by doctor Gilles des Champs, almoner to the king. Louis de Harcourt, brother to the count de Harcourt, was appointed archbishop of Rouen.

CHAPTER LVI.—THE TOWN OF GENOA REBELS AGAINST BOUCICAUT, MARSHAL OF FRANCE, THE GOVERNOR, WHILE OBEYING A SUMMONS FROM THE DUKE OF MILAN.

Boucicaut, marshal of France, was at this time governor of Genoa, and resided there. He was called upon by the duke of Milan and his brother, the count of Pavia*, to settle a dispute which had arisen between them, respecting part of their dominions. He accepted the invitation, thinking he should do an agreeable service to the duke of Milan, and not suspecting any trick in the matter. But during his absence, the inhabitants of Genoa rebelled against his government, and sent for some of their allies and accomplices to come to them. They cruelly murdered the marshal's lieutenant, the chevalier de Colletrie, named Chollette, a native of Auvergne, which the other Frenchmen hearing of, fled into the forts, for fear of suffering a similar fate. These were instantly besieged by the Genoese, who sent for the marquis of Montferrat†: he lost no time in hastening to their aid with four thousand combatants, as they had promised to pay him ten thousand florins yearly,—and they immediately elected him doge of Genoa. They also chose twelve knights, as a council to manage public affairs.

A few days after, Fassincault‡, a very renowned captain in Italy, and a great friend of the marquis of Montferrat, came to Genoa with the intent of assisting the marquis; but the Genoese refused to admit him, or accept of his offers. On his return, his force, amounting to eight thousand men, took a town called Noefville §; but the French retreated within the castle, which was instantly besieged. When Boucicaut heard of the rebellion of the Genoese, he set out accompanied by his men, and the duke of Milan and the count of Pavia, and arrived with speed at the castle of Gaing ||, situated between the town of Noefville and Genoa, and fought with Fassincault and his forces. In this battle, eight hundred men were slain, the greater part belonging to Fassincault, and night alone separated the combatants.

Boucicaut, by the advice of Enguerrand de Bournouville and Gaiffier de la Salle, both men-at-arms of acknowledged prowess, advanced that night to the castle of Gaing, which he won, and amply provided it with provision and all necessary stores. Fassincault remained in the town; but seeing he could not gain the castle, he departed with his men to his own fortresses.

The marshal Boucicaut carried on a severe warfare against the Genoese and those who had assisted them. He also sent messengers to inform the king of France of his situation, and to require that he would immediately send him reinforcements of men-at-arms.—The king and his great council, on receiving this intelligence and considering the fickleness of the Genoese, determined to proceed cautiously against them. The king sent, at his expense, the

* John Maria and Philip Maria, sons of John Galeas, and successively dukes of Milan.

† Theodore Palæologus, second marquis of Montferrat. He married, first, a daughter of the duke of Bar, and, secondly, a princess of the house of Savoy. His daughter Sophia was married to Philip Maria Visconti, then count of Pavia, afterwards duke of Milan.

‡ Facino Cane, a captain of great reputation, and partisan of John Maria Visconti, duke of Milan.

§ Noefville. Q. Novara, or Novi?

|| Gaing. Q. Gavi?

lords de Torsy, de Rambures, and de Viefville, with a certain number of men-at-arms, to the city of Asti, belonging to the duke of Orleans, and near to the territory of Genoa, with the hope of affording assistance to Boucicaut. On their arrival at Asti, they found that the whole country was in rebellion, excepting some forts, which held out for the French; but as they were without the town, and could not contain many men, from dread of wanting provision, they were not of consequence, nor could they do much mischief. The above knights, therefore, perceiving they could not perform any essential services, resolved to return to France.

All merchants, and others who came from or had any connexions with Genoa, were now sought after in Paris, arrested and imprisoned, and their goods confiscated to the king's use. Now these Genoese had for a long time been under obedience to the king, and had diligently served him in many of his wars.

CHAPTER LVII.—THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ASSEMBLE, AND RESOLVE TO REFORM THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ROYAL FINANCES.—THE DEATH OF MONTAGU.

At this period, the following princes of the blood,—Louis king of Navarre*, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and many other great lords, were at Paris; and having learnt that the king's treasury was impoverished by his officers and those who governed him, insomuch that his plate and the greater part of his jewels were in pawn, they one day personally explained to the king, in the presence of the queen, the duke of Aquitaine and others of his council, the miserable state of his finances, and the unworthy government of the officers of his household. They at the same time requested, that he would be pleased to permit that some of them should have power to reform in general the abuses that had commenced with his reign, and to call to an account, dismiss, and punish all who should have mismanaged the finances, according as the cases might require, without any exception whatever. This request the king granted; and for the better carrying on their object, the greater part of the lords before-mentioned left their own hotels, and resided in the king's palace of St. Pol, where, with the advice of the members of the parliament and the university, they continued their reformations for many days.

They soon discovered that those who had managed the finances for the last sixteen or twenty years had very dishonestly acquitted themselves, and had acquired for themselves and their friends immense fortunes, to the prejudice of the state. Montagu, who had been the principal minister of finance, was particularly the object they aimed at,—and they ordered him, with several others, to be arrested and confined in the prison of the Châtelet. Sir Peter des Essars, provost of Paris, was directed to put this order into execution, with his sergeants; and by the command of the duke of Burgundy, the lords de Heylly, de Robais, and sir Roland de Vequerque, were appointed to assist the provost in this duty. Having assembled together, they, on a certain day, met Montagu, and with him the doctor, Martin Gouge, bishop of Chartres, both going to hear mass at the monastery of St. Victor.

The provost, attended by the above lords, on meeting them, laid his hands on both, saying, "I lay hands on you by virtue of the royal authority vested in me for this purpose."—Montagu, hearing these words, was much astonished, and trembled greatly; but his courage soon returned, and he replied to the provost, "What! rascal, art thou daring enough to lay hands on me?" But the provost answered, "Matters will not turn out as you think,—for you must make reparation for the many and great mischiefs you have done." Montagu, unable to resist, was tightly bound by the provost, and carried by him straight to the Little Châtelet. The bishop of Chartres was arrested with him, as he had been president of one of the financial departments. Montagu was several times put to the torture, insomuch that, suspecting his end was approaching, he asked his confessor what he had best do: the confessor replied, "I see no other remedy than your appealing from the jurisdiction of the provost of Paris." This he did; and the provost waited on the lords who had commanded him to arrest Montagu, to inform them, that he had appealed against his jurisdiction. The

* Q. Louis king of Sicily? or Charles king of Navarre? Probably the latter.

parliament was consequently convoked to examine into the matter; and the members of it declared the appeal of no effect. The lords, therefore, seeing the cause had been judged, said to the provost, "Go, without delay, accompanied by some of the populace well armed, take thy prisoner, and finish the matter by cutting off his head with an axe, and fix it on a lance in the market-place."

After these words, the populace armed themselves, and, on the 17th of October, assembled in bodies in the Place Maubert, and in other parts of the town. They carried Montagu to a scaffold erected in the market-place, where, having made him strip to his shirt, they cut off his head, and fixed it to the end of a pike, and hung his body by the shoulders to the highest gibbet at Montfaucon. This execution was chiefly owing, as it was said, to the duke of Burgundy's hatred to him, who even sent for a very great number of the nobles of his countries of Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois, to be spectators of it. A little before this execution took place, the duke of Bourbon, and his son the count de Clermont, left Paris, indignant at the arrest of Montagu. The duke of Orleans, his brothers, and all of their party, were also very much displeased that he was put to death,—but they could not help it, for at that time they were not listened to by the king's council.

On the morrow of this event, duke William count of Hainault arrived at Paris, having been sent for by the duke of Burgundy. A large company of the nobles went out of the town to meet him; and he was most graciously received by the king, the duke of Aquitaine, and the other princes. On his arrival, the hotel that had belonged to Montagu was given to him, with all its furniture, for it had been confiscated to the king's use; and duke William took instant possession. The castle of Marcoussi, which had been built by Montagu, was seized by the king: it is situated seven leagues from Paris, on the road to Chartres. Montagu was born in Paris, and had first been secretary to the king: he was the son of Gerard de Montagu, who had also been secretary to Charles V. He was of noble birth by his mother's side, and had three daughters, two of whom were married; the elder to John * count de Roussy, the second to Peter de Craon, lord of Montbason; and the third was betrothed to John de Melun, son to the lord d'Antoing †, but the match was broken off: his son was married to the daughter of the lord d'Albret, constable of France and cousin to the king, as has been related.

After this, the provost of Paris arrested many of the king's officers, particularly those who had been concerned in the finances and in matters of revenue. All the principals in the department of the generalities, the presidents and others of the chamber of accounts, Perrin Pillot, a merchant, with several others, were imprisoned in the Louvre and in other places of confinement. When the borgne de Foucal, equerry to the king, and keeper of that department of the treasury called the Epargne, heard that the grand master of the household was arrested, he was greatly astonished and troubled, and instantly changing his dress, mounted a fleet horse, and secretly left Paris. This caused him to be much suspected of improper conduct by the princes who were examining into these matters.

At this period, the archbishop of Sens, brother to the grand master, Guichart Daulphin, William de Tignonville, knights, and master Goutier Col, secretary to the king, were sent, by orders from the king, to meet the English ambassadors at Amiens. The archbishop, hearing of the arrest and imprisonment of his brother, took leave of his companions, and set out from Amiens: but as he was journeying towards Paris, he was met by one of the king's ushers, who made him his prisoner; for he had orders so to do from the king, and confine him at Amiens, should he chance to find him there. The archbishop very prudently replied, that he was ready to follow him to prison or to death; but when they came to the river Oise, near the priory of St. Leu de Cherens, he played the usher a trick. On leaving the ferry-boat with a few of his people, he mounted the fleetest of his horses, and galloped off, leaving the usher on the other side waiting for the return of the ferry-boat; but, thunderstruck at his being so cheated, he returned to Paris without his prisoner. The lord de Tignonville,

* John VI. count of Roucy and Braine, son of Hugh count de Roucy and Blanche of Coucy. He married Isabel de Montagu, and was killed at Azincourt.

† The lords of Antoing and princes of Espinoy were a younger branch of the house of Melun, counts of Tancarville. John I. viscount of Melun, was grandfather both to the count of Tancarville and the lord d'Antoing, mentioned in this volume.

having been a member of the chamber of accounts, was, by command of the princes, arrested by the bailiff of Amiens, and confined in his prison. But, after a short time, he, the bishop of Chartres, and the other prisoners at Paris, were suspended from their offices, and, having given bail, were permitted to go about Paris, or wherever they pleased.

The princes, not being able to attend sufficiently to these matters of reform from their other occupations of greater weight, appointed a commission to examine carefully into them, which commission was composed of the counts de la Marche, de Vendôme and de St. Pol, with some members of the parliament. The men-at-arms that had been called together round Paris by the duke of Burgundy and others, were disbanded; and each, as they returned to the places whence they had come, devoured the substance of the poor people, according to the custom of that time. Sir Guichart Daulphin *, before mentioned, was, by the princes, appointed grand master of the king's household, in the room of the murdered Montagu; for the king was then troubled with his usual disorder.

The bishop of Paris now requested of the princes, that they would, in their mercy, permit him to have the body of his brother taken down from the gibbet, and, with many tears and supplications, petitioned for leave to bury him. But neither of these requests was granted him by the princes; on which the bishop, ashamed of the disgraceful death of one brother and the flight of another, the archbishop of Sens, soon after quitted his see, and taking with him his sister-in-law, the widow of Montagu, and some of their children, for the duke of Berry had already appointed another chancellor, went to the estate of his sister-in-law in Savoy: she was the daughter of sir Stephen de la Grange, formerly president of the parliament, and brother to the cardinal d'Amiens. The borgne de Foucal, not answering to the proclamations that were made for his appearance, was banished the realm of France, by sound of trumpet in the four quarters of Paris. In like manner were the archbishop of Sens, and many other fugitives, banished the kingdom.

The king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Holland, with the counts de Vendôme and de la Marche, and several great lords, waited on the queen of France and the duke of Aquitaine, to make them acquainted with the reasons for the executing of Montagu, and what progress they had made in the reformation of abuses, and the measures they had pursued against such as were criminal. The queen testified her satisfaction, and was contented that they should proceed as they had begun. She was, however, far from being pleased with the duke of Burgundy, whom she dreaded, from the great power he was now possessed of, more than any of the other princes, although he treated her respectfully in his speech. The marriage of the lord Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, was again talked of with the daughter of the king of Navarre; and he was presented with the castle of Marcoussi, with all its furniture and appurtenances, which had lately been confiscated to the king, by the death of Montagu, which was very agreeable to the queen. After these lords had for some days transacted business at Melun, where the court was, they all returned to Paris, carrying with them master Peter Bosthet, president of the parliament, and some members of the chamber of accounts, and assembled daily to inquire after those persons who had been in the receipt and expenditure of the public revenues.

During this time, the king, who had been very ill, was restored to health, insomuch that on the 2d day of December, he rode from his palace of St. Pol, dressed in a hauberk under his robes, to the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame, where he made his prayers, a page carrying behind him a very handsome steel helmet and a Moorish lance. Having finished his prayers, he returned to his palace of Saint Pol. On the morrow, he held a royal council in person, at which were present the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and of Bourbon, which last was lately returned to Paris. It was there resolved, that the king should summon the following lords to attend him personally at the ensuing feast of Christmas, namely, the dukes of Orleans, of Brittany, of Brabant, of Bar, and of Lorrain: the counts of Savoy †, of Alençon, of Penthievre, of Namur, of Harcourt, of Armagnac ‡, and in general all the great

* Guichard Dauphin, descended from the old counts de Clermont, dauphins of Auvergne, grand-master from 1409, to 1413. He was son to Guichard Dauphin I. grand-master of the cross-bows.

† Amadeus VIII. the first duke of Savoy, son of Amadeus VII. and Bona, daughter to the duke of Berry.

‡ Bernard VII. brother of John III., count of Armagnac, killed at Alexandria della Paglia, as related by

lords within his realm of France and Dauphiny, with many prelates and other noblemen. After this summons of the king, the duke of Burgundy gave orders for a large body of men-at-arms to be collected in his countries of Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy, for the safety of his person.

Shortly after this council, duke William count of Hainault went to Melun, the residence of the queen of France, who was his near relation; and so managed that she, who could not bear the duke of Burgundy, and had strongly supported the party adverse to him, namely, that of my lord the duke of Orleans, was reconciled to him.

CHAPTER LVIII.—DUKE LOUIS OF BAVARIA ESPOUSES THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF NAVARRE.—THE NAMES OF THE LORDS WHO CAME TO PARIS IN OBEDIENCE TO THE KING'S ORDERS.

About this time, duke Louis of Bavaria was married at Melun to the daughter of the king of Navarre, according to what has been before mentioned. She had previously married the eldest son of the king of Arragon*, who had lately been slain in a battle between him and the viscount de Narbonne and the Sardinians, which took place in Sardinia. There was much feasting at this wedding, which was attended by many lords, ladies, and damsels. About Christmas the greater part of those lords whom the king had summoned, arrived at Paris: the duke of Orleans and his brothers, however, did not come. On the eve of Christmas-day, the king went to the palace to hold his state, and remained there until St. Thomas's day, where he celebrated most solemnly the feast of the nativity of our Lord.

On this day the following persons were seated at the king's table at dinner: on his right, doctor William Bouratier, archbishop of Bourges, who had said the mass; next to him was the cardinal de Bar. The king was seated at the middle of the table, very magnificently dressed in his royal robes. On his left were the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. A great variety of ornamental plate was produced in gold and silver, which were wont to be served before the king on high feasts, but which had not for some time been seen, because they had been pawned to Montagu, and had been found after his death in his castle of Marcoussi, and in other places where he had hidden them. By orders from the princes of the blood they had been replaced, as usual, in the king's palace, which was a very agreeable sight to the nobles and people of Paris, from their regard to the honour of the king's person, and his royal state.

A great many princes and others had obeyed the king's summons, and were at this feast, —namely, the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, Brabant, duke William count of Hainault, the duke of Lorrain, duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, —and nineteen counts, namely, the count de Mortain, brother to the king of Navarre, the count de Nevers, the count de Clermont, the marquis du Pont, son to the duke of Bar, the count de Vaudemont, the count d'Alençon, the count de Vendôme, the count de Penthievre, the count de St. Pol, the count de Cleves, the count de Tancarville, the count d'Angy†, the count de Namur, and several others, to the aforesaid amount. The number of knights who accompanied these princes was so great that, from the report of the heralds, they were more than eighteen hundred knights without including esquires. Nevertheless, there were not in this noble company the duke of Orleans nor his brothers, nor the duke of Brittany, nor the lord d'Albret, constable of France, nor the counts de Foix, d'Armagnac, and many other

Froissart. This count was a man of the most unbounded ambition, and had already, in the forcible seizure of the county of Fesenzaguet, (the appanage of a younger branch of Armagnac,) and the murder of its count, Geraud III., and his two sons, discovered an unprincipled cruelty of disposition, remarkable even at this calamitous period of history. He married Bona of Berry, the widow of Amadeus VII., and mother of Amadeus VIII. abovementioned.

* Martin, king of Sicily, by whose death without issue the king of Arragon was deprived of male heirs. The island of Sardinia was at this time divided between the Genoese and Arragonian factions. The chief of the former was Brancaleon d'Oria, whose sister was married to William count of Narbonne. Turquet calls him Aimery,—and says that the king of Sicily was not killed, but died a natural death at Cagliari, after obtaining a victory over the confederates.

† Q. Angennes? John d'Angennes, lord de la Louppe, was governor of Dauphiné and afterwards of the Louvre, and enjoyed great credit at court.

potent lords, although they had been summoned by the king in like manner as the others.

On St. Thomas's day, after the king had feasted his nobles in royal state, the queen, by orders from the king, came from the castle of Vincennes to Paris. All the princes, prelates, and great crowds of people, went out to meet her and her son, the duke of Aquitaine, and

Charles Duke of Aquitaine, Fourth Dauphin of France, and Second Son of Charles VI.
From a print in Vol. II. of Mezeray's Histoire de la France.

conducted her to the palace, where they presented her to the king, in the presence of all the before-mentioned lords. Her son had visited his government, to be properly instructed in arms, and other necessary matters, that he might be the better qualified to rule his kingdom when it should fall to him.

CHAPTER LIX.—THE KING OF FRANCE KEEPS ROYAL STATE IN HIS PALACE, WHEREIN SEVERAL OF THE GREAT LORDS BEFORE-MENTIONED HOLD MANY COUNCILS ON THE STATE OF THE NATION.

In consequence of several meetings having been held in the presence of the king, queen, and duke of Aquitaine, the king ordered the great hall of the palace to be magnificently prepared for a royal sessions. Thither were summoned all the principal noblemen, prelates, and others, when the king appeared seated in his regal robes. On one side of him were the king of Navarre and the cardinal de Bar, and on the other the duke of Aquitaine, the duke of Berry, and all the other princes and nobles, each seated according to his rank: in like manner were the prelates, knights, and clergy, and a multitude of others, seated according to their respective situations in life. Then, by the king's commands the count de Tancarville, an able and eloquent man, harangued, with a loud and clear voice, how Richard, late king of England, and son-in-law to the king, had been basely and treacherously put to death, during the time of a truce, by Henry of Lancaster, calling himself king of England, but then earl of Derby, in conjunction with his partisans, as might be fully proved by several of

the English, near relations of the deceased king Richard: and also how the young prince of Scotland, an ally to the king, when on his voyage to France, was taken by this same Henry, and detained his prisoner for a long time; as were likewise many Scots, who were in the company of the prince of Wales. Yvain Graindos*, with several of his Welchmen, allies also to the king, notwithstanding the aforesaid truce, were by the English harassed with war. The eldest son likewise to the prince of Wales was made captive†, carried to England, and imprisoned by Henry for a considerable time. "In consequence of the facts stated, the king thinks he may, without further consideration, lawfully wage war against the said Henry and his English subjects, without giving them any respite. Notwithstanding this," continued the orator, "the king is desirous that whatever he may please to order should be for the common welfare of the state; and for this purpose a royal sessions has been held, for every one to consider these matters and what ought to be the line of conduct for him to pursue,—and, having an opinion thereon, if they will inform the king or his council thereof, the king will thank them and follow that advice which shall seem to him the most advantageous for the general good."

John Duke of Berry.—From an original in Crayons, engraved in Montfaucon, Vol. II.

Upon this, the eldest of the princes of the blood, namely, the king's uncle the duke of Berry, arose from his seat, and, advancing in front of the king's throne, fell on his knees, and, speaking for himself and the other princes of the blood, declared they would relinquish, to the use of the state, all taxes and impositions which they annually levied on their lands,—and in like manner would they relinquish all the fees and perquisites of office which they were in the habit of receiving from their places under the king, and as the members of his council. The king kindly listened to the duke's speech, and accepted his offers, and then commanded him to be reseated. The lord Tancarville continued his harangue, saying, that the king, then present, revoked all pensions and grants which he had given, and thus publicly

* This Yvain Graindos is a strange corruption, if any corruption in the French nomenclature can be strange to a practised ear, of Owen Glendower, who, as Rapin says, "upon the Welch unanimously renouncing their allegiance to the crown of England, and acknowledging him for sovereign, from thenceforward always styled himself Prince of Wales, as appears from several acts."

† In a battle fought May 14, 1405. See Rapin's History of England *in loco*.

annulled them. In regard to the reformation and future management of the finances, the king declared his intention that such regulations as should be ordered by himself, and by the advice of the count de la Marche (who had now lost his wife, the daughter of the king of Navarre), his brother the count de Vendôme, the count de Saint Pol, and the other commissioners from the parliament, should be fully executed without excepting any person whatever; and that the reformations by them proposed should take place, as well in the chambers of accounts as in the generalities and in the household of the king,—and that all receivers, comptrollers, and all persons any way interested in the management of the finances of the realm, whether bishops or archbishops, and of what rank soever, should be subjected to them." The orator continued,—"That the king willed and ordered, that during his absence, the queen should call to her assistance some of the princes of the royal blood, and should govern the affairs of this kingdom according as she might judge most conducive to its welfare; and in case of the absence of the queen, the duke of Aquitaine, his son, then present, should govern the kingdom, with the assistance of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy."

When the lord de Tancarville had more fully enlarged on the above matters, and concluded his speech, the king descended from his royal throne, and, with a small company, entered his apartment to dinner; and the whole assembly broke up, and departed to their hôtels. After the dinner, the queen set out with her attendants for the castle of Vincennes, as it was the eve of the feast of the Circumcision, but left her son with the king. On the morrow, the feast-day, the duke of Burgundy (who had alone more princes, knights, and gentlemen attached to him than all the other princes together,) gave presents of jewels and rich gifts, of greater magnificence than any one, according to the custom of that day. He made presents to all the knights and nobles of his household, to the amount, as was estimated, of fifteen thousand golden florins, of medals formed like to a mason's level, of gold and silver gilt; and at the pointed ends of these levels was fastened a small gilt chain, with a plummet of gold, so that it might be used as a rule.—Item, on Twelfth-day following, Louis king of Sicily, having been sent for by the king, entered Paris. He came from the city of Pisa, whither he had gone to visit pope Alexander V. and made his entry, attended by numbers of the nobility and clergy, who had gone out to meet him. Shortly after, the cardinal de Thurey came to Paris, as ambassador from the pope to the king, who most honourably received him, as he likewise did Philibert de Lignac, grand master of Rhodes, and chief of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had come from England. The king now disbanded all the troops he had collected, as did the duke of Burgundy, excepting about one hundred or six score gentlemen, whom he retained, with those of his household, to guard his person: the others returned to their homes.

Before the duke of Burgundy left Paris, the duke of Aquitaine, with the consent of the king and queen, was intrusted to his care and guardianship, that he might be properly instructed in the arts of war and government. He had been very anxious to obtain this, and had caused several of the princes of the blood to press the matter: even his uncle, the duke of Berry, had, on this account, more than once refused the queen to accept of the guardianship of the duke of Aquitaine; but had so urged the business that the lord de Dolhaing*, knight, his principal esquire, counsellor, and advocate, had, by the earnest desire of the queen, been made chancellor to the duke of Aquitaine, and the lord de Saint George his first chamberlain. The government of the castles of Crotoy and Beaurain-sur-Cance were granted to the duke of Berry for his life, on giving the preceding governors the usual pension, in whose room he appointed two of his own knights; the lord de Croy to Crotoy, and the lord de Humbercourt to Beaurain; and sir Reginald Pot was, at his request, appointed governor of Dauphiny for the dauphin. Soon after this, the king relapsed into his usual disorder, and was put under good guard. Those who were intrusted with the reform of abuses continued daily at work, and with such success that large sums were recovered from the late directors of the finances. At this period, the princes and council of state went often to the castle of Vincennes, where the queen resided,—for without her knowledge no business of any importance was carried on. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, however, were much discontented that they were not so often summoned to the council as

* De Dolhaing. Q. D'Olhaing?

before, and that their authority was greatly lessened. Seeing themselves, as it were, banished from the government, they took leave of the king, queen, and princes, and each retired to his own domains.

The cardinal de Thurey had come to Paris to solicit the university and council of state to consent that pope Alexander might levy two-tenths on the Gallican church, to defray the great expenses he was bound to pay. This request was not granted, because the university opposed it, in the name of the whole church. The better to effect this, the university required and obtained a royal mandate, to command all officers under the crown forcibly to send out of their jurisdictions all persons who should come thither making similar demands. The solicitors of this levy had brought to Paris with them a bull containing many novelties, which were not usually advanced, namely, that the tythes, and other things, such as oblations to the church, belonged to them in preference to the parochial clergy, for that in fact they were in the same capacity, inasmuch as whoever should confess themselves to them were not under the necessity of so doing to their own clergyman. This doctrine they publicly preached throughout Paris, and the members of the university preached in opposition to it, so that during Lent the whole town was in confusion and discord by these quarrels of the university and the mendicants, until they were driven out of it by the university. The Jacobins, however, as the most prudent, renounced the bull, and made oath that they would never claim any advantages from it, nor from other privileges that had been granted to them. By this means, they were reconciled to the university. The pope, at this period, held his court with great state in Bologna la Grassa.

CHAPTER LX.—A GREAT DISSENTION TAKES PLACE THIS YEAR BETWEEN THE KING OF POLAND, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE GRAND MASTER OF PRUSSIA AND HIS KNIGHTS ON THE OTHER.

This year, a great quarrel arose between the king of Poland and the grand master of the Teutonic order in Prussia; and the king assembled a large force from different nations, which he marched into Prussia, with the intent to destroy it. The grand master and his brethren soon made themselves ready to meet him with a great army, and showed every inclination to give him battle; but when the two armies were in sight of each other, through the will of God, the king of Poland retreated with his forces, among which were twenty thousand Tartars at least, without counting his Polanders and others his Christian allies, who were very numerous, and returned to his own country. Afterward, the king of Lithuania, by the exhortations of the king of Poland, invaded Prussia with an immense army, and destroyed the greater part which lay on the sea-shores. The Prussians made a thousand of them prisoners, and slew many. The king of Poland was formerly an infidel, and son to the king of Lithuania, but having a great ambition to reign, murdered his father, and was for this crime banished the country. He took refuge with the then king of Poland, who received him kindly, and admitted him into his friendship and confidence. He also gained the affections of the princes and nobles, insomuch that, on the death of their king, they unanimously elected this parricide to succeed him, had him baptised, and married him to the widow of the late king; and, since that time, he has happily enough governed that kingdom.*

At this period, Sigismond king of Hungary, brother to the king of Bohemia, took to wife the sister of the above queen of Poland: they were daughters to a German count, called the count de Cilly, of the royal branch of Hungary †. The king of Poland laid claim to Hungary in right of his wife, and thence took occasion to harass that country as well as

* I suppose Monstrelet must mean Jagellon, grand duke of Lithuania, who was called to the throne of Poland in 1386, on condition that he would become a Christian, marry the daughter of the late king, and annex Lithuania to Poland. This last condition, however, was not completely fulfilled until the reign of Sigismond Augustus in 1569.—Baudran.

Jagellon took the name of Uladislaus V. on his baptism; but Hedwige, daughter to the king of Poland, reigned two years before she married Uladislaus.—Anderson.

† Sigismond was king of Hungary in 1387,—Roman emperor, 1411,—king of Bohemia, 1419,—died, 1437, aged 70. He married for his second wife Barbara, daughter to Hermannus II., count of Cilly in Crain.—Anderson.

Prussia. He sent secret messengers to the king of Lithuania, his cousin-german and ally, to press him to invade Prussia on the quarter nearest the sea, when he would march his Polanders to form a junction and destroy the whole of it. His intentions were discovered by the messenger being arrested by orders of the king of Hungary, and information sent of them to Prussia, whenceforward the king of Hungary and grand master took such wise precautions that his future attempts were fruitless.

CHAPTER LXI.—THE DUKE OF BERRY, BY THE KING'S COMMANDS, RETURNS TO PARIS.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE SON OF THE KING OF SICILY.—THE ASSEMBLY THAT IS HOLDEN AT MEUN LE CHASTEL.

[A. D. 1410.]

This year, the duke of Berry was, by the king's orders, remanded to Paris, and on his arrival, was sent, with the king of Navarre, to Giens sur Loire, to put an end to the quarrels between the duke of Brittany and the count and countess of Penthievre. Although both parties had promised to meet them, they did not personally attend, but sent commissioners. The king of Navarre and the duke of Berry took great pains, and proposed various means, to bring about a reconciliation. Finding all their attempts fruitless, they referred the whole matter, with the consent of the commissioners, to the king's decision on All-saints-day next coming, and then they returned to Paris. In this year was concluded the marriage between the eldest son of Louis king of Sicily, and Catherine, daughter to the duke of Burgundy. The lady was conducted by sir John de Châlons, lord de Darlay, the lord de St. George, sir William de Champdivers, and sir James de Courtjambe, to Angers, and there delivered to the queen of Sicily, who received her most affectionately and honourably,—and she magnificently entertained the knights who had brought her. After a short stay at Angers, they returned to their lord, the duke of Burgundy, at Paris.

At this time, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts de Clermont, d'Alençon, d'Armagnac, the lord Charles d'Albreth, constable, and many other lords of great power and authority, held a meeting in the town of Meun le Châtel,—where they had several long consultations with each other on the state of public affairs, and particularly as to the murder of the late duke of Orleans, principally to consider how they should proceed to take vengeance on the person who had committed it. Many different opinions were urged: one was, that the duke of Orleans should declare a deadly war against him, and carry it on by every possible means, with the assistance of his relations, friends, and the well-wishers to his cause. Others said, it would be better to follow another course, and remonstrate strongly to the king, their sovereign lord, on the necessity he was under to do strict justice on the duke of Burgundy, to which he was the more particularly bound, as the murder was committed on his own brother. But, as they could not all agree in the same opinion, they broke up the meeting, and appointed another day to assemble again. Before they separated, a treaty of marriage was entered upon between Charles duke of Orleans and the daughter of the count d'Armagnac. She was niece to the duke of Berry, by her mother's side, and sister * to the count de Savoye. This done, the lords departed for their own domains.

The duke of Burgundy resided in Paris, and ruled there more despotically than any other of the princes: affairs were solely carried on by him and his partisans, which, no doubt, made very many jealous of him.

* Of the half blood. See pp. 149, 150.

CHAPTER LXII.—THE KING OF SICILY GOES TO PROVENCE AND TO BOLOGNA, TO MEET HIS RIVAL KING LADISLAUS.—THE DEATH OF POPE ALEXANDER, AND THE ELECTION OF POPE JOHN.

About this period, Louis king of Sicily set out from Paris with a numerous body of men-at-arms, and went for Provence, and thence to Bologna, to meet king Ladislaus, his opponent, and to defend his kingdom of Naples, where his rival was committing great devastation. King Louis had for this raised so considerable a force, that he might be enabled to offer him combat; and he had also the hope that pope Alexander would assist him, to the utmost of his ability, in money and in men. An end was soon put to his expectations in this respect; for, on the morrow of the feast of the discovery of the holy cross, pope Alexander was poisoned in the town of Bologna, as was currently reported, and died most pitifully *. His bowels were interred, and his obsequies were performed in the church of the Cordeliers. Mass was celebrated by the cardinal de Vimers: the deacon and under deacon were the cardinals d'Espaigne and de Thurey. The whole court was dressed in deep mourning.

The 6th of May, the corpse of the pope, having been embalmed with fine spices, was placed in the hall of audience, dressed in his papal robes, his face uncovered, gloves on his hands, but his feet naked, so that whoever pleased might kiss them,—and nine funeral services were there performed. There were present twenty cardinals, two patriarchs, four archbishops, twenty-four bishops, with many prelates, abbots, and other churchmen. His escutcheon of arms were placed at the four corners of his coffin; and for nine days, masses were celebrated in the same manner as on the morrow of his death. The masses were said by the cardinals in rotation; and the ninth day, the body was carried to the Cordeliers for interment. The two first bearers were the cardinals de Vimers and de Challant, and the two last the cardinals d'Espaigne and de Thurey. The cardinal Milles preceded the body bearing a cross. The chorists were the cardinals de Bar, (not the son of the duke of Bar, but the cardinal of Bar † in Calabria), and d'Orsini. The cardinal de Vimers performed the service, as he had done at the interment of the bowels.

When this ceremony was over, the cardinals returned home dressed in black; and after dinner, they assembled at the palace, and entered into conclave, where they remained shut up from the Wednesday to the Saturday following. Some of the cardinals, having consulted together, proposed Balthazar, cardinal of Bologna, as sovereign pontiff of the universal church; and the others, who were not of this opinion, seeing their numbers were very small, consented to it; and the new pope was conducted by them to the church of St. Peter, where they placed the tiara on his head, and took the oaths of fidelity to him. They then led him to the palace of his predecessor, where every piece of furniture had been carried off, and there did not remain even a door or window-frame‡. On the morrow, he took the name of pope John XXIII. and great were the rejoicings and feasts that ensued. In the procession were twenty-three cardinals, two patriarchs, three archbishops, twenty-seven abbots, mitred and non-mitred, without reckoning other churchmen, who were almost numberless. The pope wore on that day a silver-gilt tiara bound with white. The following Saturday, the 23d of May, the pope received, in the chapel of his predecessors, the holy order of priesthood, when the cardinal de Vimers said the mass, and the cardinal de Challant was deacon: at this service, all the before-named prelates attended.

On the following day, Sunday, the pope celebrated mass in the church of St. Peter, having the cardinal de Vimers near him to show him the service. The marquis of Ferrara and the lord of Malatesta were present, and held the bason wherein the pope washed his hands. The marquis of Ferrara had brought with him fifty-four knights, all clothed in scarlet and blue, having five trumpets and four companies of minstrels, each playing on a different instrument. When mass was finished, pope John was carried out of the church to

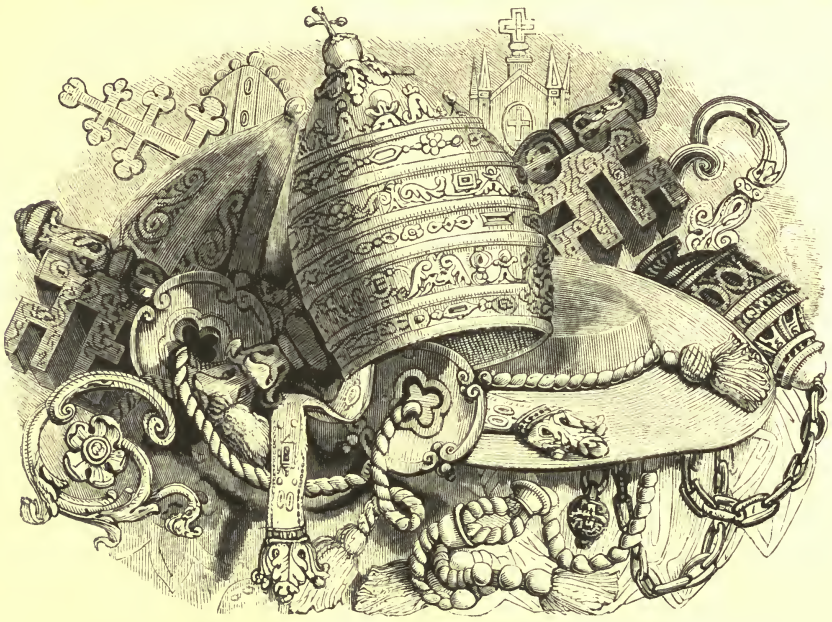
* His successor, Balthazar Cozza, was accused of having administered poison to him, but the fact was never established; and, in those days, it was but too common to raise such suspicions without foundation. The following account of the funeral of the pope, and the installation of his successor, is very curious.—Ed.

† *i. e.* Bari.

‡ We have attempted in vain to ascertain the meaning and origin of this very peculiar ceremony, if it may be so termed.—Ed.

a very handsome platform erected without the porch, and there solemnly crowned in the presence of all those whom I have mentioned, and a great multitude of doctors and clergy.

When seated on his throne, which was covered all over with cloth of gold, he was surrounded by the cardinals de Vimers, de Challant, de Milles, d'Espaigne, de Thurey, and de Bar, having tufts of tow in their hands. The cardinals lighted their tufts; and as the flame was suddenly extinguished, they addressed the pope, saying, "Thus, holy father, passes the glory of this world!" This was done three times. The cardinal de Vimers having said some prayers over him and on the crown, placed it upon his head. This crown was a triple one: the first of gold, which encircled the forehead within the mitre; the second of gold and silver, about the middle of the mitre; and the third, of very fine gold, surmounted it. He



Tiara and Official Badges of the Popedom.—Selected from old Italian pictures.

was then led down from the platform, and placed on a horse covered over with scarlet furniture. The horses of the cardinals and bishops, &c. were caparisoned in white; and in this state he was conducted from street to street, making everywhere the sign of the cross, until he came to where the Jews resided, who presented him a manuscript of the Old Testament. He took it with his own hand, and having examined it a little, threw it behind him, saying, "Your religion is good, but this of ours is better." As he departed, the Jews followed him, intending to touch him,—in the attempt of which, the caparison of his horse was all torn.—Wherever he passed, the pope distributed money,—that is to say, quadrini and mailles of Florence, with other coins. There were before and behind him two hundred men-at-arms, each having in his hand a leathern mallet, with which they struck the Jews in such wise as it was a pleasure to see.

On the morrow, he returned to his palace, accompanied by the cardinals dressed in crimson,—the patriarchs in like manner,—the archbishops and bishops in similar dresses, having white mitres on their heads, and numbers of mitred and non-mitred abbots. In this procession were, the marquis of Ferrara*, the lord Malatesta†, the lord of Gaucourt‡, and

* Probably Nicholas d'Este, connected by marriage with the house of Malatesta.

† Probably Pandulph Malatesta, lord of Rimini, a captain of great reputation and adherent of king Ladislaus.

‡ Sir Raoul de Gaucourt, successively promoted to the posts of chamberlain, governor of Dauphiné, and grand-master of the household, became a distinguished actor in the wars with the English, from 1427 to 1437 particularly.

There was also a sir Eustace de Gaucourt, lord of Vicy, who was grand falconer in 1406 and 1412.

others, to the amount of forty-four, as well dukes as counts and knights of Italy, all dressed out in their liveries. In each street, two and two by turns led the pope's horse by the bridle,—the one on the right hand, and another on the left. There were thirty-six bagpipes and trumpets, and ten bands of minstrels playing on musical instruments, each band consisting of three performers. There were also singers, especially those of the chapel of his predecessor, as well as those belonging to the cardinals and from different parts of Italy, who rode before the pope loudly chaunting various airs, sacred and profane.

When he arrived at the palace, he gave his peace to all the cardinals, who, according to their rank in the college, kissed his foot, hand, or mouth. The cardinal de Vimers first performed the ceremony, and was followed by the other cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots and clergy. He then gave his benediction to the four elements, and to all persons in a state of grace, as well to those absent as present, and bestowed his dispensations for four months to come, provided that, during this time, three Pater-nosters should be said by each in praying for his predecessor, pope Alexander. Pope John then went to dinner, as it was now about twelve o'clock, and this ceremony had commenced between five and six in the morning. In honour of him, feasts were continued at Bologna for the space of eight days; and on each of them very handsome processions were made round St. Peter's church, when the prelates were all dressed in vermilion robes, with copes of the same. In like manner did the Carthusians of St. Michael's Mount, without the walls of Bologna.

Public Inauguration of the Pope. The Pope is crowned with the Tiara, and seated on a richly-caparisoned Mule led by two Cardinals.—Original design.

The next day, the 25th of May, pope John held a consistory, in the presence of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and presented to the marquis of Ferrara and the Italian heralds many and various rich gifts. This was followed by a great feast, with dancing and music. The ensuing day, the pope revoked all that his predecessor had done, excepting what he had confirmed, or what had been taken corporal or spiritual possession of. King Louis of Sicily arrived at Bologna the Friday after the coronation of the pope, and twenty-two cardinals, two patriarchs, six archbishops, twenty bishops, and eighteen abbots, handsomely equipped, went out of the city to meet him: on his entrance, he went directly

to the pope. He was clothed in scarlet, and his horse's furniture was ornamented with small gilt bells: he was attended by about fifty knights dressed in his uniform. It was the last day of May that the king arrived,—and he was most graciously received by the pope. The ensuing day, the Florentines came to pay their duty and reverence to the holy father. They were about three hundred horse, among whom were eighteen knights dressed in scarlet, with feathers bespangled with gold. They were attended by six trumpets, two heralds, and ten musicians playing on different instruments. When they had made their reverence to the pope, they returned to their hotels, and the next day went to court. By reason of their alliance with king Louis, they supplicated the pope to give him assistance against his adversary king Ladislaus, adding, that they intended affording him every aid in their power of men and money. These Florentines were very indignant at the late conduct of the Genoese in regard to the king of Sicily; for when the king of Sicily was sailing with five galleys from Marseilles, near to the port of Genoa, the Genoese, being in the interest of king Ladislaus, hastily armed fifteen galleys with cross-bows and men-at-arms, and sent them to attack the remainder of king Louis's fleet that was following him, which they conquered, all but one, that escaped back to Marseilles by superior sailing, and carried the crews and all their baggage prisoners to Genoa.

The pope, having heard their request, asked some time to consider of it before he gave an answer. He could not well consent to it, because the Genoese had been long connected with him, and he had also entered into some engagements with king Ladislaus. The matter was, therefore, deferred. King Louis was, notwithstanding this, magnificently feasted by the pope and cardinals; after which, he left his court well pleased, and returned to Provence. On the first day of June, the pope held an open court, and signed many graces and benefices, and all such things as with honour and justice he could sign. He continued from that time to hold public audiences, and to do whatever business appertained to the papacy.

CHAPTER LXIII.—THE GRAND MASTER OF PRUSSIA MARCHES A POWERFUL ARMY OF CHRISTIANS INTO LITHUANIA.

This year, 1410, the grand master of the Teutonic order, accompanied by his brother knights and a numerous army of three hundred thousand Christians, invaded the kingdom of Lithuania, to destroy the whole of it. The king of Lithuania was soon ready to meet him; and, aided by the king of Sarmatia, he assembled an army of four hundred thousand infidels, and offered battle. The Christians gained a complete victory,—for there remained dead on the field full thirty-six thousand infidels, the principals of whom were the grand general of Lithuania and the constable of Sarmatia. The remnant, with the other officers, escaped by flight. Of the Christians, only two hundred were slain, but a great many were wounded. Shortly after, the king of Poland, who was a determined enemy to the grand master of Prussia, (and who had but faintly accepted of Christianity in order to obtain his kingdom) marched his Polanders to the assistance of the infidels, whom he strongly pressed to renew the war against Prussia, insomuch that, eight days after this defeat, the king of Poland, in conjunction with the aforesaid two kings, assembled an army of six hundred thousand men, and marched against the grand master of Prussia, and other Christian lords. A battle ensued, which was lost by the Christians, who had more than sixty thousand killed and wounded. In the number of dead were the grand master of Prussia, with a noble knight from Normandy, called sir John de Ferriere, son to the lord de Ferriere, and another from Picardy, son to the lord du Bos d'Ancquin.

It was currently reported that the day had been lost through the fault of the constable of Hungary, who commanded the second squadron of the Christians, by running away with all his Hungarians. The infidels, however, did not gain the glory without loss,—for without counting the Polanders, who had ten thousand men slain, they lost upward of six-score thousand men, according to the reports of the heralds, and the bastard of Scotland, called the count de Hembe*. The lord de Kyeuraing and John de Grez, Hainaulters,

* Count de Hembe. Q.

were there, and with them full twenty-four gentlemen, their countrymen, who were unhurt at this battle, and returned home as speedily as they could. After the engagement, the infidels entered Prussia, and despoiled many parts of it, and took twelve inclosed towns in a short time and destroyed them. They would have persevered in their wickedness, and have done further mischief, had not a valiant knight of the Teutonic order, named Charles de Mouroufle*, rallied a great number of the Christians who had fled, and by his prudence and vigour regained the greater part of these towns, and finally drove the infidels out of the country†.

CHAPTER LXIV.—THE DUKE OF BERRY QUITS PARIS, AND RETIRES TO HIS OWN ESTATES. —HE GOES AFTERWARD TO ANGERS, AND UNITES WITH THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND THE OTHER PRINCES OF HIS PARTY.

THE duke of Berry, finding that he had not that government of the king and the duke of Aquitaine to which he had been accustomed, became very discontented, and retired to his estates, indignant at the ministers, and particularly at his nephew and godson, the duke of Burgundy. Shortly after, he went to Angers, where the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, and all the principal lords of that party, were assembled. They went in a body to the cathedral church, and there made oath, in the most solemn manner, to support each other. and mutually to defend their honour against all who should attempt anything against it, excepting the king, and ever to remain in strict friendship united, without acting to the contrary in any kind of measure. Many great lords in France were not pleased with this confederation; and when, shortly after, news of it was brought to the king and his council, he was much astonished and dissatisfied therewith.

The king, in consequence of the advice of the duke of Burgundy and his friends, marched out of Paris, accompanied by him, the duke of Brabant, the count de Montagu, and a large body of chivalry, and went to Senlis: thence to the town of Creil, to regain the castle of that place, which the duke of Bourbon held, and had given the government of it to some of his people. The governor made so many delays before he surrendered it that the king became much displeased; and because they had not obeyed his first summons, the garrison were made prisoners, and carried bound to the prisons of the Châtelet in Paris. The countess of Clermont, cousin-german to the king, soon after made application for their deliverance, and obtained it; and on the morrow the king appointed another garrison, and returned to Paris. This expedition was not very agreeable to the Orleans-faction,—and they continued to collect daily, and inlist in their party as many as they could.

The duke of Burgundy became very uneasy at their proceedings; for he suspected the duke of Orleans and his party would infringe the peace which had so lately been patched up between them at Chartres, or that they would march a large force to Paris, to seize the government, together with the persons of the king and duke of Aquitaine. To obviate this, he caused several royal summons to be proclaimed in various parts of the realm, for the

* Charles de Mouroufle. Q.

† The author of "An Account of Livonia, with a Relation of the Rise, Progress, and Decay of the Marian Teutonic Order," London, 1701, relates these transactions in the manner following:

"The order was now on the highest pinnacle of prosperity and honour, exceeding great kings and potentates of Europe in extent of dominions, power and riches, when Ulricus à Jungingen was chosen great master; but he being of a boisterous, fiery temper, soon broke the peace concluded between Poland with his brother Conradus à Jungingen, whereupon king Uladislaus Jagellon joining forces with his father Witoldas of Lithuania, formed an army of 150,000 fighting men and marched into Prussia. To stop the progress of this formidable army, the great master drew up as many forces as he could, and, after the Livonians had joined him, found his army consisted, in a general muster, of 83,000 well-armed stout combatants; and thus, with an undaunted spirit, he marched forth to meet his enemy. Such a battle as this was never heard of before in these parts, and was given the 15th day of July, 1410, in Prussia, near the town Gilgenbourg, between the two villages Tannenberg and Grunwald, on a large plain, with such obstinacy, that, according to an exact computation, there were actually killed, on both sides, 100,000 on the spot. The Poles got the victory, but lost 60,000 men. The order lost 40,000,—but among them almost all their generals and commanders. The great master himself, and the chief of the order, with 600 noble German Marian knights, were there slain. There is still kept every year a day of devotion upon that plain, in a chapel built to the remembrance of this battle, marked with the date of the year it happened, and this inscription, *Centum mille occisi.* The king of Poland was so weakened by this dear-bought victory, that he very readily agreed to a peace. This memorable battle is called the battle of Tannenberg."

assembling of men-at-arms and quartering them in the villages round Paris, to be ready to defend the king and his government against the ill-intentioned. By the advice of his brothers and the king of Navarre, he resolved to defend himself by force against his adversaries, and caused it to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom, in the king's name, that no one should dare to assemble armed in company of the dukes of Berry and Orleans, and their allies, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods.

The Orleans faction, however, continued their meetings in spite of this proclamation, and even forced their vassals to serve under and accompany them: I mean, such of them as were dilatory in obeying their summons. There were, therefore, at this time, great and frequent assemblies of armed men in different parts of France, to the prejudice of the poor people. Those lords that were well inclined to the king came to Paris, and their men were quartered in the flat country of the island of France. The Orleans party fixed their quarters at Chartres and the adjacent parts; and their forces might amount, according to the estimate of well-informed persons, to full six thousand men in armour, four thousand cross-bows, and sixteen hundred archers, without counting the unarmed infantry, of which there were great numbers. In regard to the army which the duke of Bungundy had assembled by orders from the king, it was estimated to consist of upward of sixteen thousand combatants, all men of tried courage. During this time, the king of Navarre and his brother, the count de Mortain, at the request of the duke of Burgundy, negotiated a peace between the duke of Brittany, their nephew, and the count de Penthievre, son-in-law to the duke of Burgundy.

This was done in the hope that the duke of Brittany would be induced to assist the king with his Bretons, and give up the Orleans party, to whom he had engaged himself. On the conclusion of this peace between the two parties, twenty thousand golden crowns were sent the duke, to defray the expenses he had been at in raising men-at-arms. Large sums of money were also sent to the lord d'Albreth, constable of France, that he might collect a numerous body of men-at-arms, and march them to Paris, to serve the king. He had not any great desire to perform this, for he was wholly inclined to the duke of Orleans and his allies, as was perfectly notorious shortly afterward.

CHAPTER LXV.—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON.—THE PROCLAMATION OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS ALLIES SEND LETTERS TO THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN FRANCE.

During this troublesome time, Louis duke of Bourbon, uncle to the king of France by the mother's side, being full sixty years of age, feeling himself oppressed with years and sickness, caused himself to be conveyed to his residence at Moulins * in the Bourbonnois, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of the Canons, which he had founded. He was succeeded by his only son, the count de Clermont, who, after some days of lamentation, had the funeral obsequies of his father performed, and, having arranged his affairs, returned to the duke of Orleans and the other lords at Chartres, and firmly united himself with them, treading in the steps of his late father. The duke of Bourbon had long held the office of great chamberlain of France, from the friendship of the king, and was in possession of it even at the time of his death; but at the entreaty of the king of Navarre and the duke of Burgundy, the king now gave it to the count de Nevers, to exercise the duties of it in the usual manner.

At this time, the duchess of Brittany, daughter to the king of France, was brought to bed of a son; and she sent to request the duke of Aquitaine, her brother, to stand godfather. He sent, as his proxy, sir David de Brimeu knight, lord of Humbercourt, with a handsome present of jewels, which sir David gave her on the part of the duke of Aquitaine. The king again issued his summons to the different bailiwicks and seneschalships in the realm, for all

* Moreri says, that the good duke Louis died at Monbucan, on the 19th of August, 1410. By his wife Anne, dauphiness of Auvergne and countess of Forez, he left John count of Clermont, his son and successor: his other children, Louis and two daughters, died without issue and unmarried. He left also a natural son, named Hector, who was killed at the siege of Soissons in 1414.

persons to arm without delay, who were bounden so to do from the tenure of their fiefs or arriere-fiefs, and to march instantly to Paris to serve the king against the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Bourbon, the counts d'Armagnac, d'Alençon, and others their allies, who, notwithstanding the king's positive orders to the contrary, continued daily to assemble large bodies of men-at-arms, to the destruction of his country and subjects. The above dukes wrote letters to the king, to the university of Paris, and to many of the principal towns, to explain the causes why they had thus confederated and collected men-at-arms; one of which, signed with their signs-manual, they sent to the town of Amiens, and the contents were as follows:

"To our well-beloved and very dear citizens, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town of Amiens, health and affection. We have written to our most redoubted and sovereign lord the king of France, in manner following:—We dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and of Bourbon, counts of Alençon and of Armagnac, your humble uncles, relations and subjects, for ourselves and all others our adherents, wellwishers to your person,—as the rights of your domination, your crown and royal majesty, have been so nobly instituted, and founded on justice, power, and the true obedience of your subjects,—and as your glory and authority are resplendent through all parts of the world, you having been worthily consecrated and anointed by the holy roman see, and considered by all Christendom as sovereign monarch and equal distributor of justice, as well to the poor as to the rich, without owing obedience to any other lord, but God and his Divine Majesty, who has been pleased most worthily to have gifted you,—may all those who are connected with you by blood, by their frank and loyal affections, guard and defend your sacred person as your relations and subjects. And may we, in particular, as your near relations, and for that cause more obliged to it, set an example of due obedience to your other subjects, and exert ourselves in preserving to you free liberty of action in every part of your government, insomuch that you may have power to reward the good and punish the wicked, and to preserve every one in his just rights, and likewise that you may execute justice in such wise that your kingdom may remain in peace, first to the honour of God, and then to your own honour, and to the example of your good friends and subjects, by following the paths of your predecessors, the kings of France, who, by this noble way of governing their great kingdom, have ever preserved tranquillity and peace, insomuch that all Christian nations, far and near, and even infidels, have had recourse to them in their disputes, and have been perfectly contented with their decisions on the cases referred to them, as the fountains of justice and loyalty. And, most sovereign lord, that your power, justice, and the state of your government may not suffer at present any wound or diminution, and that public affairs may be managed according to the principles of reason, in such wise as may be apparent to all men of sound understanding;—

"For this effect, most redoubted sovereign, we, the above-written, have confederated and assembled, that we may most humbly lay before you the real state of your situation, in regard to your royal person, and also that of my lord of Aquitaine, your eldest son. We have likewise to lay before you the manner in which you are enthralled, and the government carried on, that justice may be restored, and the public weal no longer suffer, as we can more fully explain. Should any persons deny this, let your majesty, by the advice of your council, appoint some of the princes of your blood, and other impartial and unprejudiced persons, to inquire into it, in whatever number you in your wisdom may select. But we advise that you speedily and effectually provide for the safety of your own person, and for that of my lord of Aquitaine, your eldest son, so that your state may enjoy justice and a good government, to the advancement of the public welfare, and that the power and authority may be exercised by you alone, freely and uncontrolled by any other person whatever; and that such a desirable object may be obtained, we, the above-named, offer our earnest prayers, and, at the same time, our lives and fortunes, whatever they may be, which God has graciously granted us in this world, for the just defence of your rights, and in opposing all who may attempt to infringe on them, if any such there be.

"Most redoubted lord, we also inform you, that we shall not break up our confederation until you shall have listened to us, and until we shall see that you have properly provided against the inconveniences we have mentioned, and until you be fully and

wholly reinstated in that power which is your right. To this, most redoubted lord, are we bound, as well in regard to what we have already said, as from fear, honour, and reverence to our Creator, from whom originates your royal authority, and also to satisfy justice, and then yourself, who are sovereign king on earth, and our sole lord. To your support we are urged by our kindred and by our love to your person; for in truth, most redoubted sovereign, there is nothing we dread so much as having offended God, yourself, and wounded our own honour, by leaving for so long time unnoticed the aforesaid grievances, which are notorious to every one. In like manner as we signify the above to you, we shall do the same to all prelates, lords, universities, cities, and principal towns of your realm, and in general to all your wellwishers. Most redoubted lord, we humbly supplicate that you will deign to hear us, and consider of what we have written,—for the sole object we aim at personally affects yourself and your government; and we earnestly beg that you will speedily adopt the most effectual measures for the enjoyment of your own freedom of action, and that your government may be carried on to the praise of God first, and your own glory, and to the advantage of all your good subjects who are anxious for your welfare.

"We have written this, that you may know our intentions, and the cause of our assembling, which is solely for the preservation of the personal liberty of our lord and king, and the affranchisement of his government from any hands but his own. For this object we have sought the advice of the most prudent men, and shall follow their counsels, with all the means God has put in our power, to obtain so desirable an end, for the general welfare of the realm; and we intend so to act toward our lord the king that God and the world shall be satisfied with us. And we most earnestly entreat, that for so praiseworthy an object you will join us, and exert yourselves in the same cause; for it is not properly us but the king your lord that you will serve, whom by your oaths you are bounden to assist,—and know that for so doing you will be commended by all men of understanding and prudence. Given at Chartres, the 2d day of December, 1410."

This letter, when received by the council of the town of Amiens, produced very little sensation,—for all, or the greater part of the inhabitants, were inclined to the duke of Burgundy. When a similar one was read in the council of state, it did not make any impression on the king, nor did it seem advisable that the dukes should have an audience; but, on the contrary, orders were sent to them to disband their forces without delay, on pain of incurring the royal indignation. They refused to obey this order, and bade the messenger tell the king, that they would not cease assembling until he should grant them an audience, and hear their complaints. At this period, the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy paid a visit to the queen of France at her residence in the castle of Melun, and left there a garrison, having brought back with them the queen and her children to the castle of Vincennes. The duke of Brabant at this time left Paris, to go to his country, and assemble his Brabanters to serve the king. Many able ambassadors were sent, in the king's name, to the lords assembled at Chartres; and among them was the grand-master of Rhodes, to signify to them that they must disband their army, and that, if they pleased to wait on the king in their private capacity, he would see them. This they refused; and as they continued disobedient, the king took possession of the counties of Boulogne*, Estampes, Valois, Beaumont, Clermont, and other lands belonging to the said dukes, counts, and their adherents, of whatever rank they might be. The king's officers appointed governors to the castles and fortresses within these countries, whom they ordered to govern them at the expense of the aforesaid lords. So very numerous were the forces that assembled near Paris, in obedience to the summons from the king and the duke of Burgundy, that the oldest persons had not for a long time seen so many men-at-arms together.

Among the number was the duke of Brabant, with a great force. He was quartered in the town of St. Denis, where he lived at the expense of the greater part of the inhabitants, as if he had been in the open country. The count de Penthievre, son-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, was there with him, accompanied by a large body of Bretons. Two thousand

* Boulogne, the property of the duke of Berry, by marriage with Jane, heiress of Auvergne and Boulogne. The county of Estampes belonged to the duke of Berry; Valois, I believe, to the count d'Alençon; Beaumont to the duke of Orleans;—and Clermont to the duke of Bourbon.

men belonging to the count Waleran de St. Pol were quartered at Menil-Aubry, and the adjacent villages.—Because the count himself resided in Paris, he one day ordered his troops to be assembled under the lord de Chin, for him to march them to Paris to be mustered and enrolled for pay; but it happened, as they were marching through St. Denis to obey the order, that a dispute arose between them and the Brabanters, on account of some enterprise which the last had made against the lord de Carlian, a native of the Boulonois, so that the two parties armed and drew up in battle array to decide matters by combat. The duke of Brabant was soon informed of this tumult, and hastened from Paris to check his own men, and acted so prudently with both parties that an end was put to it; but he was very wroth with the first promoters of it, for he was married to the daughter and heiress of the count de St. Pol.

When they had marched through Saint Denis, they came before their lord, the count de St. Pol, in Paris, who having reviewed them, and paid many compliments to their captains, dismissed them to the quarters whence they had come. In order to pay these troops which had been levied, as has been said, by orders from the king and the duke of Burgundy, and which amounted, by the muster-rolls, to fifteen thousand men with helmets, seventeen thousand cross-bows and archers, very heavy taxes were levied throughout the realm, and particularly on the city of Paris. It will be impossible to relate one half of the mischiefs the armies of both parties committed: suffice it to say, that churches, churchmen, and the poor people were very great sufferers.

The Orleans party, shortly after this, marched from Chartres to Montlehery, seven leagues from Paris, and there, and in the neighbouring villages, quartered their army, ruining the whole country on their line of march. The lords and adherents of this faction, as well clergy as seculars, wore, as their badge, a narrow band of white linen on their shoulders, hanging over their left arm, like to a deacon when celebrating divine service. When the king of France and his council learnt that they had approached so near the capital, they hastily despatched to the leaders the count de la Marche, the archbishop of Rheims, the bishop of Beauvais, and the grand master of Rhodes, with some others, to persuade them to disband their army, and come before him at Paris, in consequence of his former orders, without arms, in the manner in which vassals should wait on their lords, and that he would do them justice in regard to their demands; but that, should they refuse, he would instantly march his forces against them.—The princes made answer, that they would not act otherwise than they had said in their letter to the king; and the ambassadors, seeing they could not gain anything, returned to Paris. In like manner, the university sent to them an embassy of learned men, headed by Noeétz, abbot of Povegny and doctor in divinity, who harangued them very ably and gravely. They were very handsomely received by the princes, especially by the duke of Berry, who, among other grievances, complained much that his nephew, the king, should be counselled by such fellows as the provost of Paris, and others of the same sort, who now ruled the realm, which was most miserably governed, as he was ready to explain, article by article, when they should be admitted to an audience. They could obtain no other reply than that, with God's pleasure, they would accomplish, to the utmost of their power, the matters contained in their circular letters to the university and principal towns.

On this repeated ill success, the king, by the advice of his council, sent another embassy, composed of the queen, the cardinal de Bar, the count de St. Pol, and others. The count de St. Pol had lately accepted, with the king's approbation, the office of grand butler of France which the provost of Paris had held, through the interest of the count de Tancarville, by a gift from the king. Notwithstanding the queen and her companions were received with every honour, she did not remain with their army, but went to the castle of Marcoussi, which is not far distant from Montlehery, with her attendants, and remained there some time negotiating with them, and some of the princes daily visited her. Although she acted with much perseverance, she failed in her object,—for the princes were firm in their resolution of marching with their army to the king, and requiring that he would execute justice and attend to the affairs of government, and choose another set of ministers than those now in power. Finding she was labouring in vain, she returned with her companions to Paris, and

related to the king all that had passed. He was very indignant, and much troubled thereat; and on the morrow, the 23d September, he ordered all the men-at-arms that were come to serve him to be drawn out, and the baggage and artillery waggons to be made ready instantly to march against the Orleans party, to give them battle.

When all were ready, and he was going to attend mass and afterward to mount his horse, he was met by the rector of the university, magnificently accompanied by all the members and supporters of it, who remonstrated with him, that his daughter, the university of Paris, was preparing to leave that city, from the great want of provisions, which the men-at-arms of the two parties prevented coming to Paris,—for no one could venture on the high roads without being robbed and insulted; and, likewise that all the low countries round Paris were despoiled by these men-at-arms. They most humbly requested, that he would provide a remedy, and give them such answer as might seem to him good. The chancellor, namely, master Arnauld de Corbie, instantly replied, "The king will assemble his council after dinner, and you shall have an answer." The king of Navarre, being present, entreated the king that he would fix an hour for hearing them again after dinner; and the king, complying with his request, appointed an hour for the rector to return. When the king had dined, he entered the *chambre verte*, attended by the following princes: the dukes of Aquitaine, Burgundy, and Brabant, the Marquis du Pont, the duke of Lorrain, the counts de Mortain, de Nevers, and de Vaudemont, with many other great lords, as well ecclesiastical as secular. The king of Navarre made four requests to the king: first, that all the princes of the blood, as well on the one side as on the other, should retire to their principalities, and never more interfere in the king's government; and likewise that henceforth they should not receive any profits or pensions, as well from the subsidies arising from their lands as from other exactions, but live on their own proper revenues until the public treasury should be in a better state than it was at that moment: however, should the king be inclined to make them presents of anything, or call them near his person, they should be always ready to obey him. His second request was, that some diminution should take place in those taxes that most aggrieved the people. The third, that as some of the citizens of Paris had lent different sums of money to the king, of which repayment had been promised, but not made, sufficient assignments on the treasury should be given to them. The fourth, that the affairs of the king and realm should be governed by prudent men, taken from the three estates of the kingdom. When the king of Navarre had ended, the king himself replied, and said he would take advice on what he had proposed, and then give him such answers as ought to satisfy him and every one else.

When this was over, the king showed the same determination as before to march, on the morrow morning, against the rebellious lords; but he was overruled, and the queen, with the former ambassadors, were again sent to negotiate a peace. On their arrival at the army of the princes, she exerted herself, as it was said, very much and loyally; for it was commonly reported that she was in her heart inclined to the Orleans faction. During the time of this embassy, the count Amé de Savoye, who had been sent for by the king, arrived at Paris with five hundred men-at-arms. His brothers-in-law the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant, and the count de Nevers, attended by many other lords, went out to meet him beyond the gate of St. Anthony, and thence conducted him to the palace to the king, who very kindly received him. Some days after, the queen, not having more success than before, returned to the king, and told him that she could not any way bring them to terms, for they were obstinate in their original intentions. She then hastened to the castle of Vincennes as speedily as she could.

On the ensuing morning, the aforesaid lords quitted Montlehery; and the duke of Berry came to his hotel of Vinchestre*, which he had rebuilt, and was there lodged. The duke of Orleans fixed his quarters at Gentilly, in the palace of the bishop, and the count d'Armagnac at Vitry; the rest as near to each other as they could; and at vespers, they had advanced as far as the suburb of St. Marcel and the gate de Bordelles. The king, the duke of Burgundy, and the other princes, were greatly surprised at this boldness; and the

* Vinchestre, or rather Winchester,—now called Bicêtre, was a palace built by a bishop of Winchester, 1290. For further particulars, see "Sauval, Antiquités de Paris," vol. ii. book vii.

Parisians, at their own expense, collected a body of a thousand men armed with helmets to serve as a guard during the night, and they also made great fires in very many of the streets. To prevent them from crossing the Seine at Charenton, they sent two hundred men-at-arms to defend that pass.

The third day, Arthur count de Richemont, brother to the duke of Brittany, joined the dukes of Berry and Orleans, with six thousand Breton horse, to the great displeasure of the king, and especially of the duke of Burgundy; for the duke of Brittany had lately been summoned by the king to attend him with his Bretons, and had, for this purpose, received a very large sum of money. The duke, in consequence, having other business in hand, sent his brother to serve the king in his room. It was also said, that the lord d'Albreth, constable of France, had disposed of the money sent him in the same manner, and had employed it in the service of the duke of Berry. The army of the princes marched to Saint Cloud, and to the adjoining towns, which they plundered, taking by force whatever they were in need of. Some of the worst of them ravished and robbed many women, who fled to Paris, and made clamorous outcries against their ravishers, requiring vengeance from the king, and restitution, were it possible, of what they had been plundered of. The king, moved with pity, and by the importunity of his ministers, ordered a decree to be drawn out, which condemned the whole of the Orleans party to death and confiscation of goods. While this was doing, the duke of Berry, uncle to the king, hastily sent ambassadors to Paris to prevent it from taking effect, and in the name of their lord requested that the decree might be a little delayed, when other means of accommodation, through God's grace, would be found.

This request was granted, and the proclamation of the decree put off: a negotiation was entered into warmly by both parties, although the king was very much displeased that the princes of his blood were thus quarrelling with each other, so that he should be forced to proceed with rigour against them. To prevent the effusion of blood, the king desired his chancellor and others of his privy council to exert themselves diligently that peace might be established; and he likewise spoke to the same purpose to the duke of Burgundy, the count de St. Pol, and other princes, who promised faithfully that an accommodation should take place. While these matters were going on, the lord de Dampierre, the bishop of Noyon, the lord de Tignonville, master Gautier de Col, and others, ambassadors from the king of France, were sent from Paris to Boulogne, to meet an embassy from the king of England, consisting of the lord Beaumont, the bishop of St. David's, and others, who had arrived at Calais to treat of a truce. It was prolonged from All-saints-day, when the former one expired, to the feast of Easter ensuing.

CHAPTER LXVI.—IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES OF BURGUNDY AND OF ORLEANS, PEACE IS MADE BETWEEN THEM, AND CALLED "THE PEACE OF WINCHESTER," WHICH WAS THE SECOND PEACE.

After the ambassadors from both parties, namely those of the king and duke of Burgundy on the one hand, and those of the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and of Bourbon, on the other, had held several conferences, the following treaty was at length concluded, on the 2d of November. The princes of the blood on each side, with the exception of the count de Mortain, were to retire to their principalities, and lead back their forces, committing as little damage as possible to the countries they should pass through, without fraud or deception. The duke of Berry had liberty, if he pleased, to reside at Giens-sur-Loire, and the count d'Armagnac might stay there with him for fifteen days. The king of Navarre was to depart for his duchy of Nemours. The duke of Brabant might, if he so pleased, visit his sister, the duchess of Burgundy, in that country. The aforesaid princes were to conduct their men-at-arms so that all trespassing might be mutually avoided on each other's lands,—nor should they suffer any of their adherents to commit waste or damage, so that all inconvenience or source of quarrel might be avoided.

Item, in whatever garrisons there shall be more men than are usually kept, the same shall

be reduced to the accustomed number of men retained therein for its defence, without any fraud or deception. And that these terms may be faithfully observed, the aforesaid lords shall promise, on their oaths, made before such princes as the king may nominate, that they will punctually and loyally keep every article.—Item, the captains of their troops shall make oath also to the due observance of this treaty; and if it be the good pleasure of the king he may appoint some of his knights as conductors to the men-at-arms, and superintendants on their leaders, to prevent them and their men from delaying their march, and also from committing waste in the countries through which they shall pass.—Item, the aforesaid lords will not return near the person of the king, unless they be sent for by him, by letters patent under the great seal, confirmed by his council, or on urgent business,—nor shall any of the aforesaid lords intrigue to obtain orders for their return; and this they shall especially swear to before commissioners nominated for the purpose. The king shall make the terms of this treaty public, and all the articles they shall swear to observe.

Should the king think it necessary to send for the duke of Berry, he shall, at the same time, summon the duke of Burgundy, and *vice versa*; and this he will observe, in order that they may both meet at the same time on the appointed day, which will hold good until the ensuing Easter in the year 1411; and from that day until the following Easter in 1412, no one of the aforesaid shall proceed against another by acts of violence or by words.—Every article of this treaty to be properly drawn out and signed by the king and his council, with certain penalties to be incurred on the infringement of any of them.—Item, the king shall select certain able and discreet persons, of unblemished characters, and no way pensioners, but such as have solely given their oaths of allegiance to the king, to form the royal council; and when such persons have been chosen, a list of their names shall be shown to the princes on each side.—Item, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, having the wardship of the duke of Aquitaine, shall agree together as to the person who shall be their substitute in that office during their absence; and powers for so doing shall be sent to the duke of Berry, as he is at present without them.—Item, the provost of Paris shall be dismissed from all offices which he holds under the king, and another shall be appointed according to the king's pleasure, and as he may judge expedient.—Item, it was ordained, that no knight, or his heirs, should in future suffer any molestation because he had not obeyed the summons sent him by either of the parties; and should they be any way molested, the king would punish the offender by confiscation of his property. Letters, confirming this last article, shall be given by the king and the aforesaid lords to whoever may require them.

This treaty was concluded on All-saints day, and on the ensuing Monday confirmed; and four days after, the greater part of the articles were fulfilled. Sir John de Neele, chancellor to the duke of Aquitaine, was, by the king's command, appointed to receive the oaths of the lords on each side.

The king dismissed his provost of Paris, sir Peter des Essars, knight, from all his offices, and nominated sir Brunelet de Sainct-Cler, one of his masters of the household, to the provostship. He also sent letters, sealed with his geat seal, to the duke of Berry, appointing him to the guardianship of his son, the duke of Aquitaine. In consequence of one of the articles above recited, twelve knights, four bishops, and four lords of the parliament, were appointed to govern the kingdom,—namely, the archbishop of Rheims, the bishops of Noyon and St. Flour, master John de Torcy, lately one of the parliament, but now bishop of Tournay, the grand-master of the king's household sir Guichart Daulphin, the grand-master of Rhodes, the lords de Montenay, de Toursy, de Rambures, d'Offemont, de Rouvroy, de Rumacourt, Saquet de Toursy, le vidame d'Amiens, sir John de Toursy, knight to the duke of Berry, and grand-master of his household, and the lord de St. George. The two last were nominated, by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, guardians to the duke of Aquitaine during their absence.

The two parties now left Paris and the adjoining fortresses and castles; but on the following Saturday, the king was again strongly seized with his usual malady, and confined in his hôtel of St. Pol. The queen and her attendants, then at Vincennes, returned to Paris with her son, the duke of Aquitaine, and fixed their residence, with her lord, in the hôtel de St. Pol. The duke of Burgundy went to Meaux, where he was met by the king of

Navarre;—and thence the duke went to Arras and Flanders, accompanied by sir Peter des Essars, late provost of Paris, and his most confidential adviser; and he always gave him the title of provost of Paris, as though he had still retained the office.

Conformably to the treaty, all the men-at-arms on each side returned to the places whence they had come, but plundering the poor people on their march. A number of Lombards and Gascons had formed part of the army of the duke of Orleans, who were mounted on terrible horses, that were taught to wheel round when on full gallop, which seemed very astonishing to the French, Flemings, Picards, and Brabanters, who had not been accustomed to such movements. Because the count d'Armagnac had joined the duke of Orleans with a large body, his men were called *Armagnacs;* and in consequence, the whole of that faction were called *Armagnacs.* Although there were many princes of much higher rank in either party than the count d'Armagnac, they were not pleased if they were not called by this name, which lasted a very considerable time.

As the treaty before mentioned had been concluded at the hôtel de Winchester, where the dukes of Berry and Orleans, with others of their party were amusing themselves, it was called "The Peace of Winchester." All who had come to these meetings at Paris, now departed, and those to whom the government had been intrusted, remained near the person of the king and the duke of Aquitaine. The people expected, that by this means they should enjoy more peaceable times; but it happened just the contrary, as you shall shortly hear.

CHAPTER LXVII.—A MEETING OF THE UNIVERSITY AND CLERGY IS HELD ON THE XXIII. OF NOVEMBER, IN THE CHURCH OF ST. BERNARD AT PARIS, ON THE STATE OF THE CHURCH.

When peace had been established, a large congregation was held, by order of the university, on the 23d of November, in the church of the Bernardins in Paris,—to which were called, the bishop of Puy in Auvergne, many other prelates, and in general all bachelors and licentiates in canon and civil law, although in former times doctors only had been summoned. This assembly was holden at the request of the archbishop of Pisa, and other legates from the pope, on the subject of tithes, the vacant benefices, and the effects of the dead. But it was opened by the adoption of a solemn ordinance, which had been ordained during the papacy of Pietro della Luna, respecting the liberties of the French church, in the year 1406, and since confirmed by the king, his great council, the parliament, namely, that the said church shall be maintained in all its ancient privileges. It was thus freed from all tithes, procurations, and subsidies, or taxes whatever. And as the object of these legates was to establish the above impositions, it was resolved that the aforesaid ordinance should be strictly conformed to; and the more effectually to have it observed, they sent deputations to the king, to his council, and to the parliament, to whom the guard of this ordinance belonged, to obviate the inconveniences that might follow should any article of it be infringed.

It was also concluded, that should the legates attempt, by menaces of ecclesiastical censures or otherwise, to compel payment of any tribute, an appeal should be made from them to a general council of the church. Item, should any collectors or sub-collectors exact subsidies to the church, they shall be arrested, and punished by confiscation of property, and when they have no property, by imprisonment. It was also concluded, that to settle this matter, the king's attorney, and other lords, should be requested to join the university. But it was at last resolved, that should the pope plead an evident want of means to support the church, a council should be called, and a charitable subsidy granted, the which should be collected by certain discreet persons selected by the council, and the amount distributed according to the directions of the said council.

On the ensuing Monday was held a royal sessions, at which the duke of Aquitaine, the archbishop of Pisa, and the other legates from the pope, the rector and the members of the university, were present. In this meeting, the archbishop declared, that what he demanded was due to the apostolic chamber, by every right, divine, canon, civil and natural, and that it was sacred and simple justice,—adding, that whoever should deny this right was scarcely a

Christian. The university was greatly displeased, and said, that such expressions were derogatory to the king's honour, to that of the university, and consequently of the whole kingdom. From what had passed, another general assembly was holden on Sunday the 30th of November, in the place where it had been held on the preceding Sunday; and it was then determined that the university should send a deputation to the king, to lay before him the words uttered by the legates, and to demand that they should be publicly recanted by them. It was proposed, that in case they should refuse so to do, the faculty of theologians should bring accusations against them, on the articles of faith, and they should be punished according to the exigence of the case. It was also resolved, that the university of Paris should write letters to all the other universities in the realm, and to the prelates and clergy, to invite them to unite in their opposition to such tenets. Many other things were agitated in this meeting, which I pass over for the sake of brevity. It was, however, finally concluded to send an answer to the pope, that he could not have any subsidy granted him in the way which had been proposed. The meeting came to the resolution, that the university of Paris should require from the archbishop of Rheims, and those of the members of the king's government who, as members, had given their oaths to the university, to join in the measures they had adopted, otherwise they should be expelled the university.

It should be known, that while these things were passing, the legates, fearful of the consequences, hastily left Paris, without taking leave, as is usually done. The holy father, however, sent ambassadors to the king, to demand payment of the tenth imposed on the French church. When they declared the object of their mission to the council of state, and in the presence of the duke of Aquitaine, they said, that not only was the French church bound to pay this subsidy to the pope, but all other churches which were under his obedience, —first, from the divine law in Leviticus, which declares that all deacons shall pay to the high priest a tenth of their possessions,—and, 2dly, by natural and positive law. Whilst these things were passing, the university came to the council, and on the morrow a congregation was held in the monastery of the Bernardins. It was then resolved that the manner of demanding this subsidy should be reprobated, for that it was iniquitous, and contrary to the decree of the king and his council in the year 1406, for the preservation of the franchises of the French church. The university insisted on this decree being preserved inviolate, and declared, that if the pope or his legates attempted to constrain any person to pay this subsidy by censures of the church, it would appeal to a general council on this subject. Should any of the new ministers attempt anything against this decree, the university would appeal to the king and the whole council of state; and should any members of the university urge the payment of this tenth, they should be expelled; and if any persons, guilty of the above offence, should have any property of their own, the university would require that the said property should be confiscated to the king's use; otherwise they should be imprisoned. Should the holy father adopt the manner of raising this subsidy by way of charity, it would be agreeable to the university that the king should call together the prelates of his realm,—first, to consider what subjects should be discussed in the general council of the church to be holden on this occasion; secondly, to deliberate on the demands made by the ambassadors respecting the tenth. Should it be determined for the pope to receive this subsidy, the university expressed its wish that some sufficient person should be deputed from this kingdom to receive the amount of the same, for the peace and union of the Greek and Latin churches, and from England for aid of the holy land, and the preaching the gospel to all the world; for such were the purposes for which the legates declared the holy father raised this subsidy. The university solicited the members of the parliament to unite themselves with them, for it was in support of their decree, made on the demand of the king's attorney-general.

Juvenal des Ursins * was deputed by the university to reply to what the pope's ambassadors had advanced before the council; but at length the archbishop of Pisa, perceiving he could not otherwise gain his object, humbled himself much before the university, and spoke

* I hardly know whether this can be the celebrated archbishop of Rheims, and historian of the reign of Charles VI., who was one of the most learned men of his time, and died at an advanced age, in 1474. He had two brothers older than himself, William des Ursins, baron of Treynel, chancellor of France in 1445, and again in 1464, —and James Juvenal des Ursins, who was archbishop of Rheims before him. The history written by Juvenal des Ursins occupies the space from 1380 to 1422, and throws great light, by comparison, on Froissart and Monstrelet.

privately to some of the principal members to prevail on them to assist him. However, on the 28th day of January, it was declared, that no subsidy whatever should be granted to the pope, without the previous consent of the French church; and the deliberation on this matter was deferred to the 10th of February, when many prelates were summoned to give their opinions thereon. Through the active diligence of the university, the legates could not obtain consent that a subsidy in any shape should be granted to the pope, although the greater part of the lords, and in particular the princes, were very agreeable to it.

While these matters were transacting at Paris, the holy father sent letters to the king of France and to the university, to say that the Florentines refused any longer to obey him, from fear of king Ladislaus; that this king Ladislaus was assembling an immense army, as the pope wrote word, to conquer Rome and the adjacent country, that he might place in the chair of St. Peter a pope according to his pleasure. Should this happen, a more ruinous schism might befal the church than the former one,—to obviate which, he requested from the king, the princes, and university, aid and support. This was, through the intercession of the archbishop of Pisa, complied with, and in the manner that shall be hereafter related.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE LORD DE CROY IS MADE PRISONER WHEN GOING ON AN EMBASSY FROM THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO THE DUKE OF BERRY, TO THE GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE LATTER.

The duke of Burgundy, shortly after he had left Paris, sent three of his counsellors, namely, the lords de Croy and de Dours, knights, and master Raoul, head canon of Tournay and of Amiens, licentiate of law, as ambassadors to the king at Paris, and to his uncle and godfather, the duke of Berry, at Bourges. But when they were travelling between Orleans and Bourges, the lord de Croy was arrested by the officers of the duke of Orleans on the last day but one of January, without any molestation being given to the other two ambassadors or their attendants. He was carried to a castle within three leagues of Blois; and, on the morrow, strictly interrogated respecting the murder of the late duke of Orleans, and put to the torture to confess if he had been any way consenting to it, or an accomplice in it; but they could not discover anything to his prejudice. On the following Sunday, he was carried to Blois, and confined in the dungeons of a prison.

The other ambassadors continued their route to Bourges, where, having explained to the duke of Berry the object of their mission, they humbly entreated that he would exert himself with the duke of Orleans that the lord de Croy might obtain his liberty. When they related to him the manner of the lord de Croy being arrested, the duke was filled with indignation, and instantly sent letters signed with his hand to the duke of Orleans, to say that he must immediately give up his prisoner, whom he had illegally arrested when coming to him; and that if he did not do it, he would have him for his enemy. The duke of Orleans, on the receipt of this letter, considered it well, and replied at length most courteously to the duke of Berry, excusing himself for what he had done, but putting off the setting the lord de Croy at liberty. The king and the duke of Aquitaine were soon made acquainted with this arrest; and they sent letters to the duke of Orleans, commanding him instantly to deliver the lord de Croy from his imprisonment, on pain of incurring their indignation. Notwithstanding these letters, the duke of Orleans would not give him his liberty, but kept him in close confinement, where he was very often most rigorously treated, and at times examined and put to the torture.

In the mean time, the other ambassadors sent messengers to the duke of Burgundy, to notify to him this conduct, and the means they had taken in vain for the deliverance of the lord de Croy. The duke was much surprised and vexed at this news, for he greatly loved the lord de Croy. Having considered this insult, and others that had been offered to his friends, he thought it time to take effectual measures for his security, and in consequence amassed as large a sum as he could: to this end, he sold his right to all confiscations within the town of Ghent to the townsmen, and yielded for money several other privileges to the Flemings. He likewise carried his son, the count de Charolois, to show him to many of the

principal towns as their future lord, who, on this occasion, made him considerable presents. He afterward held a grand council on his affairs, in the town of Tournay, which was attended by his brothers-in-law, duke William and the bishop of Liege. The count de Namur was also present, and several great lords from the borders of the empire. The duke of Burgundy solicited their aid against his enemies, should need be; and in particular against the duke of Orleans, his brothers, and allies. This service they offered him liberally, to the utmost of their power. Having obtained their promises, he went to Lille, whither the marshal Boucicaut, late governor of Genoa, came to meet him. He received him very kindly, and carried him with him to his town of Arras, whither he had convoked all the lords and nobles of the county of Artois and its dependencies.

When they were assembled in the great hall of his residence, he addressed them himself, and caused them to be harangued by master William Bouvier, knight, licentiate of law, to explain how his enemies were plotting daily to arrest and imprison his friends, and had actually arrested and imprisoned the lord de Croy; for which cause he had now assembled them, to request that they would remain loyal; and that, should there be a necessity, they would enter into his pay, and serve him,—for they might be assured it would be solely in his own defence, and for that of the king and the duke of Aquitaine, that he would ever take up arms. He declared, that it was merely for the preservation of the crown to his present majesty, and to his heirs, that he had slain the duke of Orleans, father to the present duke. This death had been lately pardoned, and peace established by the king in the town of Chartres, and proclaimed by letters-patent. He added, that should any of the conditions of that treaty of Chartres be unaccomplished by him, he was ready to fulfil them, and willing to do anything else that would afford satisfaction. When he had concluded his speech, the nobles and knights present unanimously replied, that they would serve him to the utmost of their power. The meeting then broke up, and each man returned to his own country and home.

The marshal Boucicaut went to Paris, and in full council, presided by the duke of Aquitaine in the place of his father, he accused the Genoese of various crimes, and exculpated himself for having lost that town; and ended by entreating that he might be sufficiently supplied with men and money to offer them battle and regain it. The council deferred giving an answer at the moment, but appointed a day for him to receive it. In the mean time, Boucicaut waited on all the principal lords, to interest them in his cause, and to beg that they would press the king and council to hasten a compliance with his request. It was ordered by the council, conjunctively with the three estates, that the Genoese should be summoned to appear before them at Paris, at the feast of Easter, when many of the nobles would be there assembled on other weighty affairs; particularly to have their consent that the duke of Aquitaine should be appointed regent of the kingdom, for the Parisians were extremely pressing that this should be done.

The duke of Berry, however, was much displeased when he heard of it; and, to prevent it, wrote urgent letters to the duke of Aquitaine, to the queen, and to the great council, giving substantial reasons why this could not and ought not to be done, considering how very young the duke of Aquitaine was; adding, that he and his brother Philip, duke of Burgundy, of good memory, had sworn on the holy sacrament that they would support and defend, to their last drop of blood, their nephew, the king now on the throne, against all who should attempt anything to his dishonour or disadvantage. While these things were in agitation, the king recovered his health; and of course the duke of Aquitaine was not regent, to the great satisfaction of the duke of Berry, who was much rejoiced thereat.

In consequence of the quarrel that had now again broken out between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, the king issued a proclamation to all the bailiwicks, provostships, seneschalships, and governments in his realm, to forbid all nobles, of whatever rank they might be, and every other person, to obey the summons or join in arms either of the above dukes, under pain of their property being confiscated. On the Wednesday of the holy week, the duke of Bourbon and the count de Vertus, brother to the duke of Orleans, marched five hundred men-at-arms to Clermont, in Beauvoisis, and thence invaded Normandy. The count de Vertus did not remain long there, but, taking a part of the men-at-arms, left the duke of

Bourbon, and hastened to the countries of the Soissonnois and Valois, to the territory of Coucy, which belonged to his brother, and there placed a good garrison. True it is, that when the duke of Burgundy heard this, he was much troubled, and, as speedily as he could, ordered his men-at-arms to meet him at Château-Cambresis the last day but one of April. But when these transactions came to the knowledge of the king and council, he sent able ambassadors to each of these dukes, to forbid them, under pain of having all their lands confiscated, and being declared enemies to their king and country, to attempt any expeditions against each other; and commanded them instantly to disband their forces. For this time, they very humbly obeyed his orders, and deferred proceeding further for a considerable space.

CHAPTER LXIX.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE KING OF FRANCE, WITH LETTERS OF ACCUSATION AGAINST THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THOSE OF HIS PARTY.

[A. D. 1411.]

At the commencement of this year, the duke of Orleans was displeased that those ministers who had been nominated by the duke of Burgundy had greater influence than any of the others, and that they daily deprived such as had been attached to the late duke of Orleans, and were now his friends, of their offices. In consequence, he sent ambassadors to the king to complain of this conduct, and to require that the murderers of his father should be punished conformably to the articles of the treaty, but who were now residents within the kingdom. To these ambassadors promises were made, on the part of the king, that proper remedies should be applied to give them satisfaction. On their departure, the king sent to his uncle, the duke of Berry, at Bourges, to require that he would interfere between his two nephews of Orleans and Burgundy, and make peace between them, which he engaged to do; and in consequence he sent his chancellor, the archbishop of Bourges, to Paris, well instructed by the duke how he was to act.

Shortly after, this chancellor, the marshal Boucicaut, with others, were despatched to the duke of Burgundy, then at St. Omer, who, having heard all they had to say, replied, that it was no fault of his, nor should it ever be so, that any articles of the late treaties were infringed; for that in this, and in everything else, he was very desirous of obeying the king. And this his answer they laid before the king and council. But as the proceedings against the murderers of the late duke of Orleans did not seem to his son, and his advisers, to be carried on with sufficient vigour, he wrote letters, signed with his own hand, to complain of this and other matters to the king, the contents of which were as follows:

"Most redoubted lord, after offering my humble recommendation,—lately, very redoubted lord, two of your counsellors came to me, namely, sir Collart de Charleville, knight, and sir Simon de Nanterre, president of your parliament, whom you had been pleased to send me to signify and explain your good will and pleasure touching certain points, which they have clearly and distinctly declared, according to the terms of their commission.—First, they require and entreat of me, in your name, who may command me as your loyal subject and humble servant, that I should submit the quarrel that subsists between me and the duke of Burgundy, for the inhuman and cruel murder of my very redoubted lord and father, and your own brother, on whose soul may God have mercy! to my lady the queen, and to my lord and uncle the duke of Berry, who has been in like manner solicited by your ambassadors to labour diligently to establish a firm peace, for the general good of the kingdom. They have informed me, that you have also made a similar proposal to the duke of Burgundy, —and that, to effectuate so desirable an object as peace, I should send four of my friends to my said uncle of Berry, who will there meet the same number from the duke of Burgundy. —The second point mentioned by them is, that you entreat I would desist from assembling men-at-arms.—Thirdly, that I would accept of letters from you similar to those which had been formerly sent me at my request, respecting the murderers, and their accomplices, of my late father and your brother.

"Having very maturely weighed and considered the above points, I reply, that I most

humbly thank you, very redoubted lord, for your grace and kindness in thus sending to me; and I can assure you, that I have no greater pleasure than in hearing often from you, and of your noble state; that I was, and am always ready to serve and obey you in body and fortune, to the utmost extent of my own and my subjects' abilities. But as the matters which they have mentioned to me in your name are of very high consideration and importance, concerning yourself and your noble state, and as I shall ever be most anxious to show my ready obedience to your will, I am unable at the moment to make them any reply, excepting that I would send you an answer as speedily as I could. This I have hitherto deferred, for I know you have near your person, and in your council, several of my bitter enemies, whom you ought to regard as yours also, and to whom I am unwilling that my answer, or my future intentions, should be made known: neither is it right they should be made acquainted with what concerns me, or have the opportunity of giving their opinions in council, or elsewhere, relative thereto.

"I therefore assure you, most redoubted lord, in the fullest manner, that I am your humble son and nephew, ready at all times to obey you as my sovereign lord, and most heartily anxious to honour and exalt to the utmost of my power your crown and dignity, as well as that of the queen, the duke of Aquitaine, and all your other children and kingdom, and to advise you most loyally and faithfully, without ever concealing anything from you that may tend to the glory of your crown, or to the welfare of your realm. I have some time hesitated to denounce to you such of my enemies, and yours also, as are in your council and service, namely, the bishop of Tournay, the vidame d'Amiens, John de Neelles*, the lord de Heilly, Charles de Savoisy, Anthony des Essars, John de Courcelles, Peter de Fontenay and Maurice de Railly, who, by force or underhand means, are capable of doing me great mischief, insomuch that they have dismissed certain very able men from their offices, who were your trusty servants, and have done them very great and irreparable damages: they are guilty also of insinuating very many falsehoods, to keep myself and others, your relations and faithful servants, at a distance from you, by which, and other means equally dishonourable and iniquitous, long followed by them and their adherents, have they troubled the peace of the kingdom: nor is it very probable that so long as such persons shall remain in power, and in your service, any firm or lasting peace can be established; for they will always prevent you from doing justice to myself or to others, which ought indifferently to be done to all,—to the poor as well as to the rich. This conduct they pursue, because they know themselves guilty of many crimes, and especially John de Neelles and the lord de Heilly, who were accomplices in the murder of my late honoured father, and your only brother, under the protection of the duke of Burgundy, the principal in this crime. They are his sworn servants and pensioners, or allies to the said duke, whence they may be reputed actors and accomplices in this base and cowardly assassination. These accomplices, most redoubted lord, appear daily in your presence, and you ought to consider their crimes in the same light as if done personally against you, for indeed your authority was set at nought.

"That I may now say all that I know, I am satisfied, that had not the course of your justice been checked by the aforesaid persons and their accomplices, ample justice would have been done for the death of my lord and father, and your brother, with the aid of your officers and loyal subjects, as I know for certain that they were well inclined to it. For this I am very thankful; and I most earnestly pray you, for your own honour, for that of the queen and of the duke of Aquitaine, as well as for the honour of your kingdom, that you would do good and fair justice, by causing these guilty persons to be arrested and punished, since they are equally your enemies as mine,—and that you would not longer admit to your presence and councils the partisans of the duke of Burgundy, but select in their places good, loyal, and able men, such as may be found in abundance in your kingdom.

"When these things shall be done, I will then, under God's pleasure, send you such answer, that you may clearly know my inmost thoughts, and which shall prove satisfactory to God, to yourself, and to the world. For the love of God, I pray you, my most redoubted

* Q. De Nesle?

Guy III. de Nesle, lord of Offemont and Mello, was grand-master of the household to queen Isabella, and was killed at Azincourt. His two sons, *John* III. and Guy IV., followed him in succession. He had a third son, who died with him at Azincourt.

lord, do not neglect doing this; otherwise I see plainly, that whatever supplications or requests I make to you will never be attended to, although they be conformable to reason and justice, and that you will be prevented from acting in the manner you have proposed, through your ambassadors to me, nor shall I be able to do what they have required from me on your part. Therefore, my most redoubted lord, I beg you will not disappoint me; for what I have required is but just and reasonable, as will be apparent to any one. My very dear lord, may it please you to order me according to your good pleasure, and, with the will of God, I will obey you faithfully in all things."

When the duke of Orleans had sent this letter to the king, he wrote others of the like tenor to the chancellor of France, and to such of the ministers as he knew were favourable to him, to entreat that they would earnestly exert themselves in pressing the king, queen, and duke of Aquitaine, to dismiss those of the council who governed under the name of the duke of Burgundy, and whose names have been already noticed,—and that he might obtain justice on the murderers of his late father. Notwithstanding the many attempts he made by repeated letters to the king and to others, he could not at that time, through the interposition before mentioned, obtain any answer which was satisfactory.

CHAPTER LXX.—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BAR.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

In this year died that valiant and wise man Henry duke of Bar, and was succeeded by his eldest son Edward, marquis du Pont, in the duchy of Bar and castlewick of Cassel, excepting a part which he had bequeathed as an inheritance, after his decease, to Robert de Bar, son to the deceased Henry de Bar, his eldest son, and to the lady de Coucy, namely, Varneston, Bourbourg, Dunkirk, and Rhodes *. In consequence of his death, Edward was styled duke of Bar, and began his reign prosperously.

At this period, the king of France sent ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, who, beside what they delivered to him in speech, gave him the letters which the duke of Orleans had written to the king, containing his charges against him and his accomplices. He was much displeased at this conduct, and made reply by these ambassadors, that the charges brought against him by the duke of Orleans were untrue. When he had received the ambassadors with every honour, he took leave of them, and went to his county of Flanders; and they returned to Paris without any satisfactory answer to the matters concerning which they had been sent. It was not long before the duke of Burgundy raised a large body of men-at-arms, whom he sent into the Cambresis, and toward St. Quentin; but immediately after, by orders from the king and council, he dismissed them to the places whence they had come.

On the 15th day of July, master John Petit, doctor of divinity, whom the duke of Orleans had intended to prosecute, before the university of Paris, for heresy, died in the town of Hesdin, in the hôtel of the hospital which the duke of Burgundy had given him, beside large pensions, and was buried in the church of the Friars Minors in the town of Hesdin. At this time, a tax was laid on the clergy of France and of Dauphiny, of half a tenth, by the pope, with the consent of the king, the princes, and the university of Paris, and the greater part of the prelates and cities, to be paid by two instalments; the first on Magdalen

* Monstrelet apparently mistakes. According to Moreri, *Robert* duke of Bar died this year, leaving issue by his wife Mary (daughter to John king of France),

1. Henry lord d'Ossy, who died in Hungary, 1396, leaving by his wife Mary de Coucy, countess of Soissons, one son, Robert count of Marle and Soissons, killed at Azincourt.
2. Philip, died in Hungary, 1396.
3. Edward III. marquis du Pont, and duke of Bar after his father's death.
4. Louis cardinal of Bar.
5. Charles lord of Nogent.
6. John lord of Puisaye. (Both Edward and John were killed at Azincourt.)
7. Yoland, queen of Arragon.
8. Mary, countess of Namur.
9. Bona, countess of St. Pol.

One striking peculiarity is discernible in this table, viz. the preference shown in the succession to Edward the third son, over Robert, son of the eldest son of the deceased duke: but this was according to the law of many feudal tenures, which took no notice of our universally-established doctrine of *representation* in descents. The same law prevailed in Artois, and was the ground of that famous decision by which Robert d'Artois was ejected in the middle of the fourteenth century, and in consequence of which he retired in disgust to the court of our Edward III., who asserted the justice of his pretensions.

day, and the second at Whitsuntide following. It was so rigorously collected that the poorer clergy complained bitterly.

During this transaction, and while the duke of Burgundy was resident in his town of Bruges, on Saturday the 10th of July, sir Amé de Sarrebrusse, sir Clugnet de Brabant, and other captains of the duke of Orleans, came, with a numerous body of men-at-arms, before Coucy, in the Vermandois, and Ham-sur-Somme. News of this was soon carried to the duke of Burgundy, who, suspecting they intended to invade and make war on his territories, gave commissions to several of his captains, namely, the lord de Heilly, Enguerrand de Bournouville, the lord de Ront, and some others, to march a body of men-at-arms towards Bapaume and Ham, to oppose the Armagnacs, should they attempt to penetrate further into the country.

During this time, the duke of Orleans and his brothers continued their solicitations for justice, and again sent letters to the king, princes, cities, and prelates, to engage them to unite with them in obtaining the object of their petitions. The tenor of the letter they wrote to the king is as follows :

CHAPTER LXXI.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS BROTHERS SEND LETTERS TO THE KING OF FRANCE, TO OTHER LORDS, AND TO SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN FRANCE, TO COMPLAIN OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

"Most redoubted and sovereign lord,—we, Charles duke of Orleans, Philip count de Vertus, and John count of Angoulême, brothers, your very humble children and nephews, have, with all due humiliation and submission, considered it right to lay before you, jointly and separately, what follows.

"Although the barbarous and cruel murder of our redoubted lord and very dear father, your brother, must for certain be most strongly impressed on your royal memory, and engraven on your heart,—nevertheless, most redoubted lord, our grief and the sense of what is due to us from all laws, human and divine, force us to renew in your memory all the minute transactions of that inhuman event. It is a fact, most dear lord, that John, who styles himself duke of Burgundy, through a hatred he had long nourished in his breast, and from an insatiate ambition and a desire of governing your realm, and that he might have the office of regent, as he has clearly shown and daily continues to show, did, on the 14th day of November in the year 1407, most treacherously murder your brother, our most renowned lord and father, in the streets of Paris, and during the night, by causing him to be waylaid by a set of infamous wretches, hired for this purpose, without having previously testified any displeasure towards him. This is well known to all the world; for it has been publicly avowed by the traitorous murderer himself, who is more disloyal, cruel, and inhuman than you can imagine; and we do not believe you can find in any writings one of a more perverse or faithless character.

"In the first place, they were so nearly connected by blood, being cousins-german, the children of two brothers, that it adds to his crime of murder that of parricide; and the laws cannot too severely punish so detestable an action. They were also brothers in arms, having twice or thrice renewed this confederation under their own hands and seals, and solemnly sworn on the holy sacrament, in the presence of very many prelates and nobles, that they would be true and loyal friends,—that they would not do anything to the prejudice of each other, either openly or secretly, nor suffer any such like thing to be done by others. They, besides, entered into various protestations of love and friendship, making the most solemn promises to continue true brothers in arms, as is usual in such cases, to demonstrate that they felt a perfect friendship for each other; and as a confirmation of their affection, they mutually wore each other's colours and badges.

"Secondly, he proved the perverseness of his heart by the manner in which this murder was committed. Under cover of his pretended affection for your aforesaid brother, he conversed frequently with him; and once when he was ill, a short time before his death, he visited him at his house of Beauté-sur-Marne, and in Paris, showing him every sign of love and friendship that brother, cousin, or friend could testify,—when, at the same time, he had

plotted his death, had sent for the murderers to Paris, and had even hired the house to hide them in, which clearly demonstrates the wickedness and disloyalty of his heart. In addition to what I have just stated, and the very day before the murder took place, after the council which you had held at the hôtel de St. Pol was broken up, they both, in your presence and before the other princes of the blood who were there, drank wine and ate together; and your brother invited him to dine with him the Sunday following. The duke of Burgundy accepted the invitation, although he knew what a diabolical attempt he harboured in his heart, and that it would be put into effect the very first favourable opportunity. This is an abomination disgraceful even to relate. On the morrow, therefore, notwithstanding all his fair promises and oaths, being obstinately bent upon his wicked purpose, he caused him to be put to death with more cruelty than ever man of any rank suffered, by those whom he had hired to waylay and murder him, and who had, for a long time, been watching their opportunity. They first cut off his right hand, which was found the next day in the dirt: they then cut his left arm so that it held only by the skin, and, beside, fractured and laid open his skull in several places that his brains were scattered in the street; and they then dragged his body through the mud, until it was quite lifeless.

"It would be pitiful to hear of such barbarous conduct towards the meanest subject: how much the more horror must the recital cause, when it was practised on the first prince of the blood of France! Never was any branch of your noble race so cruelly and infamously treated,—and you and all of your blood, and such of your subjects as wish you well, ought not to suffer such a lamentable deed to be perpetrated without any punishment or reparation whatever, as is the case till this present time, which is the most shameful thing that ever happened, or ever could happen, to so noble a house; and additional disgrace will fall upon it, if you any longer delay justice.

"Thirdly, he shows his perverseness and obstinacy by false and damnable hypocrisy; for after the horrid deed had been done, he came with the other princes dressed in black, to attend the body, pretending the utmost grief at the funeral for the loss of his brother in arms, thinking by this means to cover the wickedness of his sin. It would be tiresome to relate all the damnable and hypocritical arts he employed to hide the treacherous and murderous part he had acted, until he perceived that his crime must be brought to light by the diligence of your officers of justice. He then, and then only, confessed to the king of Sicily, and to the duke of Berry, that he had perpetrated this murder, or at least had caused it to be committed; and that the devil had tempted him to do it, for that in truth he could not assign any other cause for having done so. But he was not contented with murdering his body: he wanted again, so great is his iniquity, to murder his fame and fair reputation by false and wicked accusations, when he was no more able to defend himself against them. The falsehood of these charges, through the grace of God, is notorious to you and to the whole world. My late most redoubted lady-mother, whose soul may God receive! suffered the utmost tribulation, not only for the death of her much-beloved lord and husband, but also for the inhuman and cruel manner of it; and like one in despair, attended by me, John of Angoulême, she waited on you, as her king and sovereign lord, and her sole refuge in this her distress, and most humbly supplicated that you would, out of your benign goodness, have compassion on her and her children, and would order such prompt and just judgment to be executed on the perpetrators of this murder as the blackness of the case required; and as you are bound in your quality of king to administer strict justice to all your subjects without delay, as well to the poor as to the rich, so rather the more promptly ought you to exercise it in favour of the poor and deserted than for the rich and powerful; for this upright administration of justice is a great virtue, and on this account were kings chiefly appointed, and power intrusted to their hands. The case that was then and is now again brought before you requires the most speedy justice; for it not only concerns you as a king, but affects you more sensibly and personally,—for her husband, our much-regretted lord, who was so treacherously slain, was your only brother, and, consequently, strict justice ought to have been granted to her, and done on the murderers. You did indeed appoint a day for doing her this justice; on which account, she constantly employed her agents near your person, to remind you thereof: she waited long after the appointed day had elapsed, for the judg-

ment which you had promised her,—and, notwithstanding all her diligence and exertions, she met with nothing but delays, caused by the means of the aforesaid traitor, his friends, and adherents, as shall be more fully explained hereafter.

" However, most redoubted lord, I know for certain, that your inclinations were very willing to do us justice, and that they still remain the same. Our most afflicted mother, attended by me Charles of Orleans, again returned; and we renewed our request to have judgment executed on the assassins of our late lord and father. We also caused to be most fully detailed before my lord of Aquitaine, your eldest son, and by you commissioned as your lieutenant on this occasion, and before the queen, every circumstance relative to the murder, and the infamous charges urged by way of exculpation by the murderer, and the causes why he had committed this atrocious crime. We, at the same time, fully replied to what had been argued in his defence; and after this, our lady-mother caused conclusions to be drawn against the aforesaid traitor, according to the usual customs of your reign, and required that your attorney should join with her in the further prosecution of the criminals, so that they might be brought to justice. When this was done, our very redoubted lord the duke of Aquitaine, by the advice of the princes of your blood and divers others of your council, then present at the Louvre, made answer to our lady-mother, that, as your lieutenant, he and the princes of the blood, and the members of your council, were satisfied, and pleased with the justifications offered by our lady-mother in behalf of your brother, our much redoubted father, whose soul may God pardon! and that they considered him as fully innocent of the charges brought against him; and added, that substantial justice should be done to her satisfaction.

" Notwithstanding all these promises, there was much delay in their execution, insomuch that she frequently renewed her solicitations to you, the princes of your blood, and to your council, and used various other means to obtain justice, the recital of which would tire you: nevertheless, she could never gain the assistance of your attorney-general in prosecuting the aforesaid criminals to judgment, which circumstance is lamentable to think on. For the aforesaid traitor, well knowing your inclination to execute justice, knowing also that his crime could by no means be justified, in order to prevent matters being pushed to extremity, (notwithstanding your positive orders to him, to forbid his appearing at Paris, with any body of men-at-arms) came thither with a powerful force, composed of foreigners, and several who had been banished your realm, who did great mischief to the countries through which they passed, as is notorious to every one.

" You and our lady the queen, with the duke of Aquitaine, your son and heir, and the princes of the blood, were forced to quit your capital before he arrived there. He remained, therefore, in your town of Paris lord paramount, and conducted himself in a tyrannical manner, subversive of your dominion, and contrary to the interests of the people. To avoid greater inconveniences and oppressions on your subjects from him and his men-at-arms, it was judged expedient that you, the royal family and council of state should, according to his good pleasure, come to Chartres, and there grant him whatever he should ask. Thus he thought he should be acquitted of all the traitorous acts and murders which he had committed, by trampling your justice under his feet. Consequently he refuses to suffer any of your officers to take cognizance of his crimes, and has not condescended to humiliate himself before you, whom he has troubled and offended more than can be told. He is not, therefore, capable of receiving any grace by law or reason, nor worthy of being admitted to your presence, and having any favours shown to him or to his dependants and friends. He should have presented himself before you in all humility and contrition for his offences; whereas he has done precisely the contrary, and has so obstinately persisted in his wickedness that he has had the boldness to avow to yourself publicly, and before so great an assembly as met at Chartres, that he put your only brother to death for your welfare and that of the state. He wishes also to maintain, that you told him you were not displeased that it had been done. This has shocked every loyal ear that has heard it, and will shock still more the generations to come, who shall read and learn that a king of France (the greatest monarch in Christendom) should not have been displeased at the most inhuman and traitorous murder of his only brother.

" This is so manifestly treason of the deepest dye against your own honour, and that of your crown and kingdom, that scarcely any punishments ordered by law and justice are capable of making reparation for it. It is also greatly prejudicial to the far-famed justice of your courts of law. Notwithstanding the excuses which he made to you, that the murder of your brother had been committed for your personal security, and the good of your kingdom, it is notorious, that it had been plotted a very long time, through his immeasurable ambition of obtaining the government of your realm, as I have before stated. He has declared to several of his dependants and officers, that there never before was committed in this country so base a murder; and yet, in his defence, he says it was done for the public good, and for your personal safety. It is therefore very clear, according to law and equity, that everything done at Chartres on that day is null and void; and what perhaps is as deserving of punishment as the commission of the crime itself is, that he never deigned to pay you any honour, respect, or condolence for such a loss as that of your brother, nor ever once solicited pardon, or any remission for his offence whatever. And he wishes to maintain, that without confessing his guilt, and without demanding pardon, you have remitted all further proceedings against him, which is contrary to all equity and written laws,—a mere illusion, or rather a derision of justice, namely, thus to leave a murderer, without taking any cognizance of his crime, without penitence or contrition, and to prosecute no inquiry into his conduct, and, what is worse, when such a criminal obstinately perseveres in his wickedness, even in the presence of his sovereign lord. On that same day, however, he fell into a manifest and apparent contradiction; for he says that he has done well, and consequently he assumes to himself merit, and requires remuneration,—and, nevertheless, he pretends to say that you have given him pardon and remission, which circumstance implies not good deeds and merit, but a crime and offence. He has never offered any prayers for the salvation of the soul of the deceased, nor any remuneration to those who have suffered from the loss caused by him; and this you ought not, and cannot in any manner pardon.

" Thus it clearly appears, that what was done at Chartres was contrary to every principle of law, equity, reason and justice; whence it again follows, that from this, and other causes too long to be detailed, all the proceedings at Chartres are null and of no effect. Should any one maintain, that the treaty made at Chartres is good and binding, it may very easily be shown, that this aforesaid traitor has infringed the articles of it in various ways, and has been the first to violate it. Although you had ordered, that henceforth he should in no way act to our prejudice, and although he had sworn to observe it,—nevertheless he did directly the contrary; for, thinking to damn the good fame of our very redoubted lord and father, he caused your grand-master of the household, whose soul may God receive! to be arrested, thrown into close imprisonment, and inhumanly tortured, so that his limbs were broken, and made him suffer other martyrdom that he might, through the severity of torture, force him to confess that our ever-to-be-regretted lord and father, and your only brother, whose soul may God pardon! was guilty of some of the charges which he had falsely brought against him, so that his crimes might be excused, and that he might for ever destroy the honour of our family. He had the grand-master carried to the place of execution, who there, when death was before his eyes, declared, on the damnation of his soul if he told a falsehood, that he had never in his life seen anything treasonable in the conduct of the late duke of Orleans, or anything that tended to the hurt of any individual,—but that he had always most loyally served you: and should he have said anything to the contrary when under torture, it must have been his sufferings that forced him to utter what he thought would please his tormentors. What he now said was the real truth, and he uttered it on the peril of damnation; and this he persevered in to the moment of his execution, in the hearing of many knights and other respectable persons. This plainly demonstrates, that the duke of Burgundy's conduct was precisely the reverse to what he had sworn to observe when at Chartres.

" He has received into his hotel and supported, and continues daily so to do, the murderers who slew your brother, although they were especially excepted out of the treaty concluded at Chartres. He likewise, as is notorious, troubles the officers and servants of our late lord and father, who now appertain to us, and dismisses them from all the employments which

they held under your government, without any other cause whatever but his hatred to us and to our house, and to those servants who are attached to us. He even attempted not only to ruin them in their fortunes, but to take away their lives by means too tedious to relate; but the facts are notorious. The traitor, therefore, sensible of the horror of his criminal cruelty, and that he could not by any means palliate it, has usurped the government of your kingdom (for the sole cause of his murdering your brother was his unbounded ambition),—and, by so doing, effectually prevents your officers of justice from taking cognizance of his crimes, and likewise creates infinite grief to all your loyal subjects and well-wishers.

"He detains your royal person, as well as that of my lord the duke of Aquitaine, in such subjection that no one, however high his rank, can have access to you, whatever may be his business, without first having obtained permission from those whom he has placed around you, and has thus driven from you and your family several faithful and valiant servants long attached to you, and filled their places with his own creatures, and in great part with foreigners and persons unknown to you. In like manner, he has acted toward my lord of Aquitaine. He has also displaced your officers,—in particular, such as held the principal posts in your realm; and as for your finances, he has lavished them here and there according to his will and pleasure, but greatly to his own advantage, and not at all for the good of yourself, or for the relief of your people, which has caused much discontent against you. The underlings in office he has sorely vexed, under feigned pretences of justice, and has robbed them of their fortunes, which he has applied to his own proper use, as is well known throughout Paris and elsewhere. In short, he has introduced such a licentiousness of manners into the kingdom that all sorts of crimes are committed, without inquiry or punishment following them; and thus, from default or neglect of justice being done on this enormous and detestable murderer, many other murders have been committed with impunity in different parts of the realm, since the melancholy death of our much-regretted lord and father, murderers and other criminals saying, 'Our crimes will be passed over, since no notice has been taken of him who slew the king's brother.'

"On this account, most redoubted lord, my lord of Berry your uncle, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the counts de Clermont and d'Armagnac, and I Charles of Orleans, wishing to testify our loyalty to you, as we are bound by parentage, and being your very humble subjects, had intended coming to you last year to lay before you the damnable government of your kingdom, and to remonstrate, that should it continue longer, it must end in the destruction of yourself, your family, and your realm. In order, therefore, that you may hear us as well as such as may maintain the contrary, let there be chosen a sufficient number of discreet men to examine into the grievances we complain of; and let a remedy be applied to them, providing first for the security of your royal person, and for that of my lord of Aquitaine. This was more fully explained in the proclamations issued previously to our coming to Paris, when, for our personal safety, we were accompanied by our friends and vassals, all of them your subjects; and our only object in thus coming was the welfare of yourself and your kingdom. We offered to wait on you with very few attendants, but we could never obtain access to you, nor have a single audience, through the obstructions of this traitor, who was always by your side; and he alone prevented the goodness of our intentions being made known to you, from his persevering ambition and his boundless desire of seizing the government of yourself and realm. We, therefore, finding all hopes of seeing you fruitless, in consequence of agreements concluded with your council, returned home; but to avoid, if possible, the destruction of your country, we must again confederate.—We faithfully observed all the articles of the agreement; but we were no sooner at a distance than our enemy violated them in the most essential part. It had been settled that your new ministry should be composed of men of unblemished characters, who were not partisans or servants, or pensioners to either side; but he has kept those that were attached to him in power, so that he has now a majority in the council, and consequently rules more despotically and more securely than when he held the reins of government in his own hand. These grievances are increasing, and will increase, unless God shall direct your mind to provide a remedy to them.

"Pierre des Essars, who had been provost of your good town of Paris, and minister of finance, was to be deprived of these offices, and of every employment he held under your name. This was done for a short time,—but he has since obtained for him, by letters sealed with your great seal, a re-appointment to the provostship, under pretence of which the said Pierre des Essars has returned to Paris, and has attempted by force to execute the duties of that office. He came, in fact, to the court of the Châtelet, seated himself on the judgment-seat, and took possession of his office with the knowledge and connivance of the duke of Burgundy,—and it was not his fault, if he failed in success. Hence it appears plainly, that the late arrangements have been by him, and those of his party, violated; and that he never had any real intentions of keeping the treaty, is clear from his having consented to the dismission of Pierre des Essars, and then secretly procuring his restitution. It was also stipulated in this treaty, that all who had been deprived of their offices for having been in the company of me, Charles d'Orleans, and the other lords, at the hotel of Winchester, should be restored to them; and that, by your orders, and those of your council, sir John de Charencières was to be replaced in his government of your town and castle of Caen,—nevertheless, the duke of Burgundy, in opposition to these your orders, had him displaced, and solicited the appointment for himself, from hatred to sir John de Charencières, and having obtained it, now holds it, which is another infringement of the treaty.

"Notwithstanding, most redoubted lord and sovereign, all the diligence and exertions of our much-loved mother, whose soul may God pardon! to obtain justice on the murderers of our late very dear father, four years have now elapsed without any judgment being passed on such enormous criminals, although she pursued every means in her power. In consequence of this failure or neglect, I, Charles of Orleans, have of late most humbly supplicated you to grant me warrants against these aforesaid murderers, addressed to all your justices, that they might, on due examination of the charges, imprison and punish, according to the exigency of the case, all or any who may have been implicated in this abominable crime. In this I made not any extraordinary request; for justice is due to all your subjects, and cannot be refused them: you cannot believe that any man, however low his rank in your kingdom, would have a similar request neglected by your courts of justice, for I know it could not be refused. However, in spite of every exertion I could make, I have never yet been able to obtain these warrants, the reason of which is, as I suppose, that some of your new ministers are implicated in the crime I am anxious to have punished, and therefore will not suffer such warrants to be issued.

"For this reason, therefore, most redoubted lord, have I of late earnestly supplicated you, that you would, from personal considerations, and for the good of your realm, dismiss from your service, the persons named in my letter,—for I therein charged them with having obstructed public justice and disturbed the peace of the country. When this should be done, I declared to your ambassadors, that I was willing, from my love to your person and attachment to your kingdom, to make publicly known my future intentions, and that my conduct should be such as would have the approbation of God and of your majesty; but notwithstanding this, I have not yet had any satisfactory answer to all my repeated solicitations for justice on the murderers of my late regretted lord and father. We, therefore, most redoubted lord, again make our petitions that the aforesaid criminals may be brought to that justice which is due to them for the enormity of their offences; the principal having made a public confession of his guilt in the presence of my lord of Aquitaine, who presided, in your absence, at the meeting held at his request in the hôtel de St. Pol, and before a numerous body of the nobility, clergy and others; and the traitor cannot deny that this his confession was made before a competent judge, and in the presence of such witnesses as the king of Sicily and my lord of Berry, your uncle. He had before privately confessed to these two persons, that he had committed the murder without any cause whatever, but through the instigation of the enemy of mankind. This confession, according to every law, ought to be to his prejudice, nor should he be suffered to offer any excuse in extenuation of a crime thus publicly and privately avowed; for he has condemned himself, and ought to have judgment passed on him accordingly. It is very apparent, that such confession requires not any further proceedings but the passing of that sentence which the enormity of the crime deserves.

Notwithstanding this, our much-regretted lady-mother and ourselves have never been able, with all our exertions, to overcome the premeditated delays to obstruct justice; for three years and a half are elapsed since we first brought the matter before you, and we are not one step more advanced to the attainment of judgment than we were then. It is painful to consider what may be the consequence of this wilful delay of justice to the welfare of your kingdom, and that the most dangerous consequences may ensue, unless a speedy and decisive remedy be applied.

"May it therefore please your grace to do your loyal duty, in executing this act of justice, in obedience to God your Creator, to whom judgment appertains, and from whom you hold your authority. Have regard also to the good government of your realm, and exert yourself to put an end to every obstacle in the way of a just punishment on the traitor. We most earnestly supplicate you to comply with this our request as soon as possible, for we are bounden to press you to it, to the utmost of our powers, under pain of not being reputed the children of our late lamented father, and of being disgraced, and unworthy of bearing his name and arms, and of succeeding to his honours and estates: such dishonour we will never endure, but would rather suffer death, as ought to be the determination of every man of noble heart, of whatever rank or estate he may be. We therefore entreat you, with all possible humility, that for this purpose, and also in order to resist and oppose his wicked intention to destroy us by any means whatsoever, it may please you, from your benignant grace, to aid, assist, and abet by your power, us to whom God hath vouchsafed so great favour as to cause us to be born your relations, even of your own kin, and your true nephews, children of your only brother,—or, to speak more properly, assist your only brother, who has fallen a martyr to the ambitious views of this traitor. Most redoubted lord, there is no man so poor, who, having had his brother murdered, will not prosecute the murderer to death, and the more earnestly as the criminal displays greater obstinacy. This is exemplified in the conduct of our traitor; for it is notorious, that he has dared to write, and to declare to many respectable persons, that he slew your brother, whom God pardon! our much-redoubted lord and father, fairly and meritoriously. In answer to which, I Charles of Orleans say, that he lies, and I at present decline to make a more ample reply,—for it is very manifest, as I have before explained, that he is a liar, and a false disloyal traitor, and that, through the grace of God, I am, and ever will be without reproach, and a teller of truth. Since, therefore, such things cannot fail of being very prejudicial to your realm and to the public welfare, we beseech you most humbly to do us that justice which you are bounden to do, and to assist us by every means in your power, that we may have full and ample reparation for the wrongs done us and our family, and that this murder may be punished in the manner it deserves. In acting thus, you will acquit yourself toward God our Creator, and execute justice, of which you are the supreme head, to whom we must have recourse after God.

"That you, our most redoubted lord, may be assured that the contents of this letter are from our free will and knowledge, we, Charles, Philip, and John, your most humble children and nephews, have each of us signed it with our own hands. Written at Gergeau, the 10th day of July, in the year 1411."

This letter was sent, by a herald of the duke of Orleans, to the king at Paris, and was laid before the whole of the council, where different opinions were held as to the contents. Some wished that the brothers should have their requests complied with, and that the duke of Burgundy should be summoned, that they might hear what he had to say in his defence to the charges which they should make against him. But at length the business was postponed, and the duke of Orleans could not obtain any favourable answer; for the greater part of those who ruled the king and the duke of Aquitaine were favourers of the duke of Burgundy, to whom they shortly after sent a copy of the above letter. The duke of Burgundy, on reading it, was convinced that the family of Orleans and their friends would very soon declare war against him; and in consequence, he immediately began to make every preparation to oppose them, by forming magazines of stores, and engaging a numerous body of men-at-arms, in various parts of his possessions.

The duke of Orleans and his brothers had not only written to the king of France, and to the princes of the blood, but also to the principal towns, making complaint against the duke

of Burgundy, and requiring their support. When they perceived that the king and his ministers did not intend to answer their letter, they again wrote to the great towns, giving them to understand, that if redress were not granted them in the legal manner, as they had demanded it, they should seek other means of obtaining it.

It was now ordered by the king, the queen, and the duke of Berry, and others of weight in the council, that measures should be adopted for appeasing the quarrels of the dukes of Orleans and of Burgundy. Ambassadors were sent to each of the parties, but without success, principally because the duke of Burgundy would not condescend to make any other reparation than what had passed at the treaty of Chartres; and his pride was increased by having the king and the duke of Aquitaine on his side. The Orleans party were much discontented, but not dismayed; for many very considerable lords were with them, and had promised them aid and support against the duke of Burgundy to the utmost of their powers. The queen, therefore, and the others employed to negotiate a peace between the two factions, finding their attempts fruitless, gave it up, and on a certain day made a report to the king of what they had done, and the answers they had received from both parties. Shortly after, the duke of Orleans and his faction resolved to make mortal war on the duke of Burgundy and his allies, and sent him their challenges by a herald.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS BROTHERS SEND A CHALLENGE TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, IN HIS TOWN OF DOUAY.

The following is the tenor of the challenge sent by the three brothers of Orleans to the duke of Burgundy, in consequence of the murder of their late father, the duke of Orleans:

"Charles, duke of Orleans and of Valois, count of Blois and of Beaumont, and lord of Coucy, Philip count of Vertus, John count of Angoulême, brothers,—to thee, John, who callest thyself duke of Burgundy. For the very horrible murder by thee committed (in treacherously waylaying by assassins) on the person of our most redoubted lord and father, Louis duke of Orleans, only brother to my lord the king, our sovereign and thine, in spite of all the divers oaths of brotherhood and fellowship thou hadst sworn to him; and for the numberless treacheries and disloyal acts that thou hast perpetrated, as well against our sovereign lord the king as against ourselves, we thus acquaint thee, that we shall make war upon and distress thee and thine by every possible means in our power. And we appeal to God and justice against thy disloyalty and treason, and call for the assistance of every worthy man in this world. In testimony whereof, and to assure thee of its truth, we have subjoined the seal of me Charles of Orleans to these presents. Given at Gergeau, the 18th day of July."

The above letter was delivered to the duke of Burgundy by a herald in his town of Douay, who, having considered its contents, wrote the following answer, which he sent by one of his heralds at arms to the aforesaid brothers.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AN ANSWER TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS BROTHERS.

"John duke of Burgundy, count of Artois, of Flanders, palatine of Burgundy, lord of Salines and of Malines,—to thee Charles, who stylest thyself duke of Orleans and Valois,—and to thee Philip, who signest thyself count of Vertus,—and to thee John, who callest thyself count of Angoulême, who have lately sent me your letters of defiance. We make known to you, and to all the world, that to put an end to the abominable treasons and mischiefs that were daily plotted in various ways, against the person of our sovereign lord and king, and against all his royal offspring, by Louis your father, and to prevent your false and disloyal father from succeeding in his abominable designs against the person of our and his most redoubted lord and sovereign, which were become so notorious that no honest man ought to have suffered him to live, more especially we who are cousin-german to our lord

the king, dean of the peerage, and twice a peer*, felt it incumbent on us not to permit such a person longer to exist on the earth, and, by putting an end to his life, have done pleasure to God, and a most loyal service to our sovereign lord, in destroying a vile and disloyal traitor. And since thou and thy brothers are following the detestable traces and felony of your said father, thinking to succeed in the aforesaid damnable attempts, we have received your challenge with great gladness of heart. But in regard to the charges therein made against us, we declare ye have falsely and wickedly lied, like disloyal traitors as ye are; and with the assistance of our sovereign, who is perfectly well acquainted and satisfied with our loyalty and honour, and for the welfare of his people, we will inflict that punishment on you as such abandoned traitors and wicked rebels are deserving of. In witness of which, we have had this letter sealed with our seal. Given at our town of Douay, the 14th day of August, in the year 1411."

This answer, as I have before said, was carried by one of the duke of Burgundy's officers-at-arms to Blois, and there delivered to the duke of Orleans and his brothers, who were very indignant at the expressions contained therein. He nevertheless entertained the bearer well, and, having maturely considered the matter, exerted himself to the utmost in collecting men-at-arms to wage war on the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY IS DISCONTENTED WITH SIR MANSART DU BOS.—HE SENDS LETTERS TO REQUIRE THE ASSISTANCE OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON.

When the duke of Burgundy was convinced that he could not avoid war with the family of Orleans and their adherents, for several of them had challenged him by letters and otherwise, he vigorously applied himself to collect forces to resist them. Among those who had sent him letters of defiance, he was more displeased with sir Mansart du Bos, a knight of Picardy, than with any of the rest; but of him, and his end, more shall be said hereafter.

He wrote a letter to the duke of Bourbon, which he sent by Flanders king-at-arms, the contents of which were as follows:

"Very dear and well-beloved cousin, duke of Bourbon and count of Clermont,—John duke of Burgundy, count of Artois, Flanders, and Burgundy, hopes he remains well in your good memory. In the year 1405, you and he formed certain alliances, which, three years ago, were, at your request, renewed and again sworn to, in the presence of many knights and of other persons well deserving credit. In consequence, you were to remain my good and true friend during your life, to promote to the utmost my welfare and honour, and to ward off any evil from me, as a sincere relation is bound to do; and likewise, whenever anything should affect my own honour, or that of my friends, you were bound to assist them or me, to the utmost of your abilities, in council or in arms, and to aid me with money and vassals against all the world, excepting only the persons of my lord the king and of my lord of Aquitaine, or whoever may succeed to the throne of France, and of my late fair cousin, the duke of Bourbon, your father. Should it have happened that a war took place between me and any enemy, whose side the late duke of Bourbon embraced, in that case you might have joined your late father, but only during the course of his life, without any way derogating from the articles of our said alliance. Now, as we both have most solemnly sworn to the observance of this alliance on the holy evangelists of God, and on sacred relics touched by us, to the damnation of our souls in case of failure, I inform you, very dear and well-beloved cousin, that Charles, who calls himself duke of Orleans, in conjunction with Philip and John, his brothers, have sent me a challenge, and intend to wage war on me to the utmost of their power; but I hope, through the will of God, and the assistance of my friends and allies, in council and in arms, and with the aid of my subjects and vassals, to make a successful defence of my honour against their attempts. And since, very dear and well-beloved cousin, you have so solemnly bound yourself to assist me on every lawful occasion, I now, therefore, in virtue of this alliance, require and summon you to come personally to my aid, attended by as many of your friends and men-at-arms as you can collect, in opposition to the

* He was a peer as duke of Burgundy, and again a peer as count-palatine of Burgundy.

aforesaid Charles, Philip, and John, and thus honourably acquit yourself of your oaths and promises,—knowing, at the same time, that on a similar occasion I would accomplish every article of my oaths, without any fraud whatever. And this I hope you will do.—Have the goodness to write to me by the return of the bearer, to inform me of your pleasure and intentions, as the necessity of the case requires it. Given at my town of Douay, and sealed with my great seal appendant to these presents, the 14th day of August, in the year 1411."

This letter was delivered by the aforesaid herald to the duke of Bourbon, who, having fully read and considered its contents, replied to the herald, that he would speedily send his answer to the duke of Burgundy. This he did; for in a few days he returned the articles of confederation, which he had formed with the duke of Burgundy, declaring them annulled, and strictly united himself to the duke of Orleans and his brothers, to the great displeasure of the duke of Burgundy, but who at that time could not redress it.

CHAPTER LXXV.—A ROYAL PROCLAMATION IS ISSUED, THAT NO PERSON WHATEVER BEAR ARMS FOR EITHER OF THE PARTIES OF THE DUKES OF ORLEANS OR OF BURGUNDY. —THE LATTER WRITES TO THE BAILIFF OF AMIENS.

THE duke of Burgundy, fearful that many of his friends would desert him, in obedience to the royal proclamation which had been made in every town and bailiwick through France, strictly commanding all persons whatever not to interfere, or in any manner to assist the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy in their quarrels with each other, wrote letters to the bailiff of Amiens, to his lieutenant, and the mayor and sheriffs of that place, and to each of them, the contents of which were as follows:

"Very dear and well-beloved,—we have heard from several of the declaration of my lord the king, by which you are forbidden, as well as all his other subjects, to arm in our defence, or in that of our adversaries. This proclamation had been issued by our lord the king, because he was very desirous of establishing peace and concord between us and our enemies; and for this purpose he had many times sent his ambassadors as well to them as to us, to which we have always replied like a true and loyal subject and servant; and, through God's mercy, all our answers have tended to a good end, and to peace and union, which has made them perfectly agreeable to our lord the king. But our adversaries having persisted in the same damnable and wicked purposes, which they have ever followed against the peace of my lord the king, his noble family, and the public welfare, by continuing to tread in the footsteps of their father, who, for a long time, persevered in his intentions of destroying my lord the king and his family, have acted quite contrariwise, and sent answers full of dissimulation and treachery, with the sole design of gaining time.

"Whilst our much-redoubted lady the queen of France, our very dear lord and uncle the duke of Berry, and our very dear brother the duke of Brittany, were endeavouring, according to the king's orders, to negotiate a peace between us and our adversaries, these false and disloyal traitors, and disobedient subjects, Charles, who calls himself duke of Orleans, and his brothers, sent to us their challenges, and, before that time, have often scandalously, and in violation of their oaths, defamed our person and character as they had before done. This, however, under God's pleasure, will fail in having any effect, for he who knows all hearts is acquainted with the steady love and attachment we bear, and shall bear so long as we live, to our lord the king and to his family, and to the welfare of his kingdom; and we shall ever support the same with all the worldly possessions and powers that God has bestowed upon us. With these views we have done and commanded such acts as have been done, without paying regard to the scandalous defamations that have been thrown out against us, or any way fearing a diminution of honour by such false, wicked, and disobedient traitors to our lord the king, and the aforesaid Charles and his brothers, the issue of that infamous traitor, their father, so notorious throughout the realm. In truth, we hold it not to have been the intention of our lord the king to prevent any of our relatives, friends, allies, subjects, and well-inclined vassals, from joining us, in the defence of our honour, against our enemies, and to defend our countries from invasion.

"We therefore entreat of you, and require most affectionately, that you will please to allow such as may be inclined to serve us, who live within your bailiwick, and all others of our friends who may travel through it, to pass freely without any molestation whatever; for you may be assured, that what we shall do will be for the welfare and security of my lord the king, his family, and the whole kingdom, to the confusion of all disloyal traitors. Should there be anything that we could do to give you pleasure, you have but to signify it to us, and we will do it with our whole heart.—Very dear and good friends, may the Holy Spirit have you under his care! Written in our town of Douay, the 13th day of August."

These letters were very agreeable to Ferry de Hangest, then bailiff of Amiens, and to the others to whom they had been addressed, for they were well inclined to favour the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE PARISIANS TAKE UP ARMS AGANST THE ARMAGNACS.—A CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT IN SEVERAL PARTS OF FRANCE.

At this time the king of France, who had for a considerable time enjoyed good health, relapsed into his former disorder; on which account, and by reason of the discontents that prevailed throughout the kingdom, (the seat of government had been transferred to Melun,) the butchers of Paris, who have greater power and privileges than any other trade, suspecting that the government of the realm, through the intrigues of the queen and the provost of merchants, named Charles Cudane, would be given to the dukes of Berry and Brittany, in preference to the duke of Aquitaine, the king's eldest son, waited upon the latter, and exhorted him, notwithstanding his youth, to assume the government for the good of the king and kingdom, promising him their most loyal aid until death. The duke of Aquitaine inclined to their request, and granted them their wishes. This done, they ordered it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet in all the squares of Paris, that the provost of merchants, and others in Paris, who were numerous, and whom they suspected of being favourable to the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Brittany, and to their parties, must quit the town before a fixed day, under pain of suffering death. In consequence of this proclamation, twelve persons, men and women, without including the domesties of the said lords, left Paris; and shortly after, the duke of Brittany, hearing of these commotions, took leave of the queen at Melun and retired into his duchy. The butchers, and those who lived near the market-places, with the greater part of the Parisians, were strong partisans of the duke of Burgundy, and very desirous that only he, or those that were of his party, should govern the kingdom; and, to say the truth, it was now become dangerous for the nobility, of whatever party they might be, to dwell in Paris, for the common people had great sway in its government.

In the mean time, the duke of Orleans and his allies were strengthening themselves, by every means in their power, with men-at-arms. The duke of Bourbon and the count d'Alençon came in these days with a numerous body before the town of Roye in the Vermandois, which belongs to the king of France, and entered it about mid-day, more through fraud than by force of arms, for the townsmen did not suspect any warfare. When they had dined, they sent for the principal inhabitants, and ordered them, whether it were pleasing to them or otherwise, to receive a garrison from them. They then rode to Nesle, in the Vermandois, belonging to the count de Dammartin, wherein they also placed a garrison. Thence they dispatched sir Clugnet de Brabant, who had joined them, sir Manessier Guieret, and other captains well attended, to the town of Ham in the Vermandois, belonging to the duke of Orleans: they returned by Chauni-sur-Oise, where they also left a garrison, and in many other places, as well belonging to themselves as to others attached to their party. The duke of Bourbon, on his arrival from this expedition at his town of Clermont, strengthened it, and all his other towns in that country, with fortifications. When the garrisons had been properly posted, the war suddenly broke out between the two parties of Armagnacs and Burgundians.

The duke of Burgundy had not been idle in fortifying his towns with garrisons, and in collecting men-at-arms to resist his adversaries: he himself was in Flanders making preparations to march an army to offer them battle. The army of the Armagnacs had already made incursions into Artois, and had done much mischief to friend and foe, by carrying off prisoners

and great plunder to the garrisons whence they had come. The Burgundians were not slow in making reprisals, and frequently invaded the county of Clermont and other parts. When by chance the two parties met, the one shouted "Orleans!" and the other "Burgundy!" and thus from this accursed war, carried on in different parts, the country suffered great tribulation. The duke of Burgundy, however, had the king on his side, and those also who governed him; he resided in his hôtel of St. Pol in Paris, and the greater part of its inhabitants were likewise attached to the duke of Burgundy.

At that time, the governors of Paris were Waleran count de St. Pol and John of Luxembourg*, his nephew, who was very young, Enguerrand de Bournouville, and other captains. They frequently made sallies, well accompanied by men-at-arms, on the Armagnacs, who at times even advanced to the gates of Paris. They were particularly careful in guarding the person of the king, to prevent him from being seduced by the Orleans party, and carried out of the town.

CHAPTER LXXVII.—SIR CLUGNET DE BRABANT IS NEAR TAKING RETHEL.—HE OVERRUNS THE COUNTRY OF BURGUNDY.—OTHER TRIBULATIONS ARE NOTICED.

Sir Clugnet de Brabant, who always styled himself admiral of France, one day assembled two thousand combatants, or thereabout, whom he marched as speedily as he could from their different garrisons, to the country of the Rethelois, having with them scaling-ladders and other warlike machines. They arrived at the ditches of the town of Rethel about sun-rise, and instantly made a very sharp assault, thinking to surprise the garrison and plunder the town. The inhabitants, however, had received timely notice of their intentions, and had prepared themselves for resistance as speedily as they could.—Nevertheless, the assault lasted a considerable time with much vigour on both sides, insomuch that many were killed and wounded of each party. Among the latter was sir Clugnet de Brabant, who, judging from the defence which was made, that he could not gain the place, ordered the retreat to be sounded; and his men marched into the plain, carrying with them the dead and wounded. He then divided them into two companies; the one of which marched through the country of the Laonnois to Coucy and Chauni, plundering what they could lay hands on, and making all prisoners whom they met on their retreat. The other company marched through part of the empire by the county of Guise, passing through the Cambresis, and driving before them, like the others, all they could find, especially great numbers of cattle, and thus returned to the town of Ham-sur-Somme and to their different garrisons.

When they had reposed themselves for eight days, they again took the field with six thousand combatants, and marched for the county of Artois. They came before the town of Bapaume, belonging to the duke of Burgundy, and, on their arrival, won the barriers, and advanced to the gates, where there was a severe skirmish. But the lord de Heilly, sir Hugh de Busse, the lord d'Ancuelles and other valiant men-at-arms, who had been stationed there by the duke of Burgundy, made a sally, and drove them beyond the barriers,—when many gallant deeds were done, and several killed and wounded on both sides; but the Burgundians were forced to retire within the town, for their enemies were too numerous for them to attempt any effectual resistance. The Orleans party now retreated, and collected much plunder in the adjacent country, which they carried with them to their town of Ham.

During this time, sir James de Chastillon†, and the other ambassadors from the king of France, negotiated a truce at Leulinghem, in the Boulonois, with the English ambassadors, to last for one year on sea and land. While these things were passing, the duke of Berry came with the queen of France from Melun to Corbeil, and thence sent Louis of Bavaria to the duke of Aquitaine in Paris, and to those who governed the king, and also to the butchers, to request that they would be pleased to allow him to attend the queen to Paris, and to reside in his hôtel of Nesle, near to the king his nephew, since he was determined no way to interfere in the war between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. But his request was

* John, called count de Ligny, third son of John count of Brienne, brother to the count de St. Pol.

† James de Châtillon was appointed admiral in 1408, in the room of Clugnet de Breban. He was lord of Dampierre, and son of Hugh de Châtillon, formerly master of the cross-bows.

refused, chiefly owing to the butchers of Paris, and others of the commonalty, who had great weight; and that he might give over all thoughts of coming, they broke every door and window of his hôtel de Nesle, and committed other great damages. They sent back the queen's brother with a message to her, to come and reside with her lord at Paris, without delay, but not to bring the duke of Berry with her.

The Parisians, fearful that the king and the duke of Aquitaine might be carried off from the hôtel of St. Pol, made them reside at the Louvre, where they kept constant guard day and night, to prevent any attempts of the Orleans party to carry them away. The queen, on receiving the message by her brother from the Parisians, and suspecting the consequences of their commotions, set out from Corbeil, and returned to Melun with him and the duke of Berry. A few days after, the Parisians took up arms, marched in a large body to Corbeil, took the town, and placed a garrison therein. They then broke down all the bridges over the Seine, between Charenton and Melun, that the Armagnacs might not pass the river and enter the island of France.

While the queen and the duke of Berry were at Melun, with the count Waleran de St. Pol, whom the marshal Boucicaut had sent thither, the master of the cross-bows and the grand-master of the household came to them with few attendants. The duke of Bourbon and the count d'Alençon, on their road from the Vermandois and Beauvoisis, to join the duke of Orleans, who was assembling his troops in the Gâtinois, called on the queen and the duke of Berry, to require their aid and support against the duke of Burgundy, which was not granted,—because the king in full council, presided by the duke of Aquitaine, had just published an edict in very strong terms, and had caused it to be sent to all the bailiwicks and seneschalships of the kingdom, ordering all nobles, and others that were accustomed to bear arms, to make themselves ready to serve the king, in company with John duke of Burgundy, and to aid him in driving out of his realm all traitorous and disobedient subjects, commanding them to obey the duke of Burgundy the same as himself, and ordering all towns and passes to be opened to him, and to supply him with every necessary provision and store, the same as if he were there in person. On this proclamation being issued, very many made preparations to serve under the duke of Burgundy with all diligence. In addition, the duke of Aquitaine wrote the duke letters in his own hand, by which he ordered all the men-at-arms dependent on the crown to serve personally against his cousin-german, the duke of Orleans, and his allies, who, as he said, were wasting the kingdom in many different parts, desiring him to advance as speedily as he could toward Senlis and the island of France.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY TO LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF HAM, AND LEADS THITHER HIS FLEMINGS.

The duke of Burguudy, being now assured that the duke of Orleans and his allies were raising a large force to invade his countries, and that they had already placed garrisons in towns and fortresses belonging to him or his allies, whence they had made frequent inroads to the despoiling of his country, was highly discontented. To oppose them, he had sent his summons to all his territories in Burgundy, Artois and Flanders, and elsewhere, for all nobles, and others accustomed to bear arms in his behalf, to prepare themselves to join him with all speed, well accoutred and armed, in obedience to the king's commands, and to oppose his and the king's enemies. He also solicited the assistance of his good towns in Flanders, and requested that they would powerfully exert themselves in his favour, to which they readily and liberally assented. They raised a body of forty or fifty thousand combatants, well armed and provided with staves according to the custom of the country. They had twelve thousand carriages, as well carts as cars, to convey their armour, baggage, and artillery, and a number of very large cross-bows, called ribaudequins, placed on two wheels, each having a horse to draw it. They had also machines for the attack of towns, behind which were long iron spits, to be used toward the close of a battle,—and on each of them was mounted one or two pieces of artillery. The duke of Burgundy had also summoned to his assistance the duke of Brabant, his brother, who attended him with a handsome company;

as did likewise a valiant English knight, named sir William Baldock, lieutenant of Calais, with about three hundred English combatants.

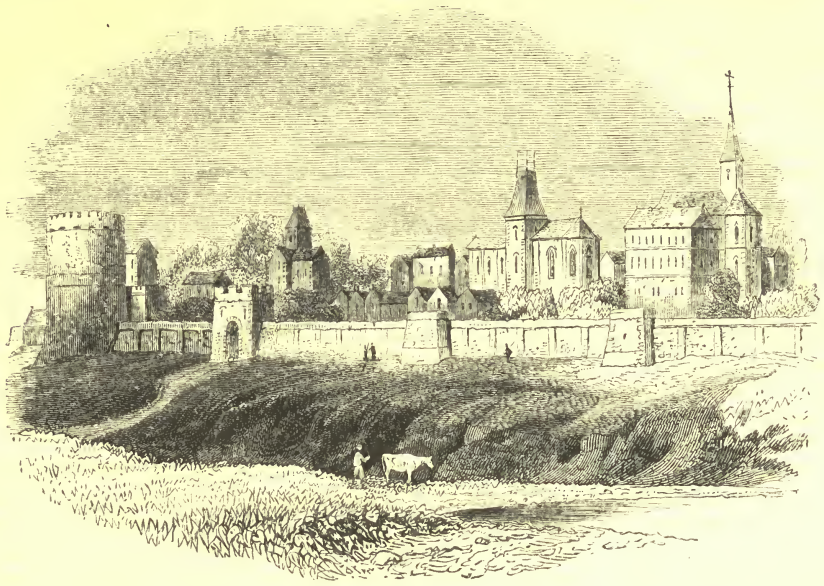
Their places of rendezvous were at the towns of Douay and Arras, and the adjacent country. The duke of Burgundy, on quitting Douay with his brother of Brabant, and great multitudes of men of rank, advanced to Sluys, belonging to the count de la Marche, where he lodged. On the morrow, the first day of September, he marched away early, and fixed his quarters on the plain near to Marcouin, where he had his tents and pavilions pitched, and waited there two days for the arrival of his whole army, and particularly for his Flemings, who came in grand parade, and drew up to their quarters in handsome array.—So numerous were their tents that their encampments looked like large towns; and in truth, when all were assembled, they amounted to sixty thousand fighting men, without including the varlets, and such like, who were numberless,—and the whole country resounded with the noises they made. With regard to the Flemings, they thought that no towns or fortresses could withstand them; and the duke of Burgundy was obliged, on their setting off, to abandon to them whatever they might conquer; and when they went from one quarter to another, they were commonly all fully armed, and in companies, according to the different towns and the custom of Flanders,—and even when they marched on foot, the greater part wore leg-armour.

As to their mode of marching through a country, whatever they could lay hands on was seized, and, if portable, thrown into their carts; and they were so proud, on account of their great numbers, that they paid not any attention to noble men, however high their rank; and when the army was to be quartered, or when they were on a foraging party, they rudely drove away other men-at-arms, especially if they were not their countrymen, taking from them whatever provision they might have collected, or anything else that pleased them. This conduct created great disturbances and quarrels, more especially among the Picards, who would not patiently endure their rudeness, insomuch that the duke of Burgundy and his captains had great difficulty in keeping any kind of peace between them. The duke, after waiting some days for the whole of his army, saw it arrive; and then he marched off triumphantly, and in handsome array, and fixed his quarters on the river Scheldt, near to the town of Marcouin.

On the morrow, he advanced to Mouchi-la-Garhe, between Peronne and Ham, and halted there. At this place, a Fleming was hanged for stealing a chalice and other valuables from a church. He thence marched toward the town of Ham-sur-Somme, where his enemies were. On his approach to the town of Athies, belonging to the count de Dammartin, one of his adversaries, the inhabitants were so terrified that they came out in a body to present him with the keys of the gates, on the condition of being secured from pillage. The duke liberally granted their request, seeing they had thus humbled themselves before him of their own free will, and gave them a sufficient force to guard their town from being any way molested.——The duke then advanced with his army near to Ham, but sent forward some of his best light troops to observe the countenance of the enemy. The Orleans party sallied out against th m, and a sharp skirmish took place; but they were compelled, by the superior number of the Burgundians, to retire within the town. The next day he marched his whole army before the place in battle-array, and had his tents pitched on an eminence in front of one of the gates, and about the distance of a cannon-shot. The Flemings were likewise encamped according to the orders of their marshals and leaders, during which the garrison made some sallies, but were repulsed, in spite of their valour, by superior numbers, and many were killed and wounded on each side. When the duke had surrounded this town on one side only, he ordered battering machines to be placed against the gate and wall, to demolish them; and the Flemings pointed their ribaudequins, and shot from them so continually, day and night, that the enemy were greatly annoyed. Breaches were made in the wall and gate within a few days; but though the garrison was much harassed, they repaired both in the best manner they could, with wood and dung.

At length, the besiegers fixed on a day for a general attack on the gate, intending to force an entry: the engagement continued very sharp for three hours, but the garrison defended themselves so valiantly, wounding and slaying so many of the assailants, that they were

forced to retreat. This happened on a Thursday; and on the Friday, the duke of Burgundy, I know not for what reason, had it proclaimed that no one should, on any account, make an assault on the town, but that all should labour in forming bridges over the Somme, that a



Ham, as it appeared in 1742.—From an original drawing in the King's Library.

passage might be obtained for the army, and that the place might be besieged on all sides, —but events turned out very far from his expectations. On the Friday morning, the besieged were expecting that the attack would be renewed; but hearing of the duke's intentions to cross the river with his army and surround the town, they packed up all their valuables and fled, leaving within the walls only poor people and peasants, who had retired thither for safety. Those persons not having ability or inclination to defend themselves, the duke's army, headed by the Picards, entered the place without any danger. The Flemings, observing this, rushed so impetuously to gain admittance that many were squeezed to death. When they had entered, they instantly began to plunder all they could lay hands on, according to the liberty which their lord the duke had granted them; for, as I have said, he had been necessitated so to do before they would march from home. Part placed themselves on one side of the street, leading to the gate which they had entered, and part on the other; and when the Picards, or others not of their country, were returning, they stopped and robbed them of all they had: they spared no man, noble or otherwise; and in this riot several were killed and wounded.

They entered a monastery of the town, and took away all they could find, and carried to their tents many of both sexes, and children; and, on the morrow, having seized all they had, they set fire to several parts of the town,—and, to conclude all, the churches and houses, with many of the inhabitants, were burnt, as well as a great quantity of cattle that had been driven thither as to a place of security. Notwithstanding this cruel conduct of the Flemings, six or seven of the monks escaped from the monastery, by the assistance of some noblemen, particularly the prior, who most reverently held in his hands a cross, and were conducted to the tents of the duke of Burgundy, where they were in safety.

Such was the conduct of the Flemings at the commencement of this war. There were many towns beyond the Somme that belonged to the duke of Orleans and his allies, who, hearing of what had passed at Ham, were, as it may be readily believed, in the utmost fear and alarm; and there were few people desirous of waiting their coming, lest they should be besieged in some fortress, and suffer a similar fate,—for sir Clugnet de Brabant and sir

Manessier Guieret, as I have said, had already abandoned Ham, which was well supplied with stores and provision, and had retreated to Chauni and to Coucy.

The inhabitants of the town of Nesle, belonging to the count de Dammartin, seeing the smoke of Ham, were greatly perplexed, for their garrison had fled; but they, following the example of the town of Athies, waited on the duke of Burgundy, and, with many lamentations, presented him with the keys of their town, offering to submit themselves to his mercy. The duke received them into favour, in the name of the king and his own, on their swearing not to admit any garrison, and to be in future true and loyal subjects to the king, their sovereign lord. This oath they willingly took; and, having thanked the duke for his mercy, they returned to their town, and by his orders demolished some of their gates and many parts of their walls. They also made their magistrates and principal inhabitants swear to the observance of the treaty which they had made, and for this time they remained in peace. In like manner, those of the town of Roye, that were but lately become subjects to the king, sent deputies to the duke, at his camp before Ham, to say, that the Orleans party had treacherously entered their town, and had done them much mischief, but that they had departed on hearing of his march, and requesting he would not be displeased with them, as they were ready to receive him, and act according to his pleasure. The duke told them, he should be satisfied if they would promise, on their oaths, never to admit again within their walls any of his adversaries of the Orleans party. Having obtained this answer, they returned joyous to their town.

The duke now passed the Somme with his army at Ham, leaving that town completely ruined, and marched toward Chauni on the Oise, belonging to the duke of Orleans; but the garrison, hearing of it, quitted the place in haste. The townsmen, greatly alarmed, sent, without delay, to offer him their keys, and humbly supplicated his mercy, saying that their lord's men-at-arms had fled on hearing of his approach, from the fear they had of him. The duke received them kindly, and took their oaths, that they would henceforth loyally obey the king their sovereign lord, and himself, and would admit a garrison of his men to defend the town. After the conclusion of this treaty, the duke advanced to Roye, in the Vermandois, and was lodged in the town, having quartered his army in the country round it. He dispatched thence sir Peter des Essars, knight, and his confidential adviser, to the king of France, to his son-in-law the duke of Aquitaine, and to the citizens of Paris, to make them acquainted with the strength of his army, and with his successes. Sir Peter des Essars was honourably received by the duke of Aquitaine and the Parisians; and in compliment to the duke of Burgundy, he was reinstated in his office of provost, in the room of sir Brunelet de Sainct Cler, who, by the royal authority, was appointed bailiff of Senlis, on the dismission of sir Gastelius du Bost, who was suspected of being a favourer of the Orleans-party.

When sir Peter des Essars had finished the business he had been sent on to Paris, he set out for Rethel to announce to the count de Nevers, who had assembled a considerable force, the march of the duke, and to desire him to advance to the town of Mondidier, where he would have more certain intelligence of his brother. The count de Nevers, on hearing this, used all diligence to assemble his men, and set off to join the duke. During these transactions, the duke of Orleans, the count d'Armagnac, the constable of France, the master of the cross-bows, with a large body of men-at-arms and others, came to the town of Melun, where the queen of France and the duke of Berry resided. Having held a conference with the queen and duke, they advanced to La Ferté on the Marne, which belonged to sir Robert de Bar*, in right of his wife the viscountess de Meaux. They crossed the Marne, and came to Arsy-en-Mussien, in the county of Valois, dependent on the duke of Orleans, where his brother, the count de Vertus, met him. The count was accompanied by a numerous body of combatants, among whom were the duke of Bourbon, John son to the duke of Bar, sir William de Coucy, Amé de Sallebruche, sir Hugh de Hufalize, with others from the Ardennes, Lorrain and Germany, who, in the whole, amounted to full six thousand knights and esquires, not including armed infantry and bowmen; and this party was henceforward popularly called *Armagnacs*, as I have before observed. Each bore on his armour badges similar to those which they had formerly worn when they lay before Paris. The duke of

* Nephew of duke Edward. See p. 174.

Orleans marched this army from the Valois, passing by Senlis, toward his county of Beaumont; but Enguerrand de Bournouville, who had been posted in Senlis with a large force of men-at-arms to guard it, sallied out on their rear, and made a good booty of their baggage as well as prisoners. In doing this, however, he lost some of his men, who were slain or taken, and he then returned to Senlis. The duke of Orleans, with the other princes, were lodged in the castle of Beaumont, and his army in the country surrounding it. The count de Nevers was prevented from joining his brothers as he intended,—for the Armagnacs, being the strongest, constrained him to conduct his army to Paris.

The duke of Burgundy was already arrived at Mondidier with his whole army, and was making preparations to combat his enemies, should they be so inclined, or to attack any town to which they should retire, according to his pleasure. But the Flemings were now desirous to return home, and had demanded permission of the duke, saying, that they had served the time required of them on their departure from Flanders. The duke was much surprised and displeased at their conduct, but earnestly desired that they would stay with him for only eight days longer, as he had received intelligence that his enemies were near at hand, with a great army, ready to offer him battle, and that they could never serve him more effectually. At this moment, the greater part of their officers waited on the duke to take leave of him, who, hearing the earnest and affectionate manner in which he made so trifling a request, resolved to go back to their men and inform them of it, and promised to do everything in their power in order that it should be complied with. On their return to the tent of Ghent, where all their councils were held, they assembled the leaders of the commonalty, and told them the request the duke their lord had made, namely, that they would stay with him only eight days more, for that his adversaries were at hand with a large army to offer him battle. This request having been stated, various were the opinions of the meeting: some were for staying, others not, saying they had fulfilled the term required of them by their lord,—that winter was approaching, when, so numerous as they were, they could not keep the field without great danger. Their opinions were so discordant that no conclusion could be formed, to enable their captains to give any positive answer to the duke.

This council was held the 20th day of September, in the afternoon; and when it became dusk, these Flemings made very large fires in different places, of the wood and timber of the houses which they had pulled down and destroyed in Mondidier. They then began to load their baggage-waggons, and to arm themselves; and at midnight they all shouted from their quarters, in Flemish, *Vax, vax!* which signifies, "To arms, to arms!" and alarmed all the other parts of the army. The duke of Burgundy was entirely ignorant of what they intended to do, and sent some Flemish lords to know their intentions; but they would not explain themselves to any one, and made answers contrary to the questions asked. During this, the night passed away; and the moment day appeared, they harnessed their horses to the baggage-waggons, and set fire to all their lodgings, shouting, "Gau, gau!" and departed, taking the road to Flanders. The attendants of the duke of Burgundy, hearing this cry and clamour, went to inform him of it in his tent. Very much astonished thereat, he instantly mounted his horse, and, accompanied by the duke of Brabant, rode after them. When he had overtaken them, with his head uncovered and his hands uplifted, he most humbly besought them to return, and stay with him four days only, calling them his most trusty and well-beloved friends and companions, offering them great gifts, and promising to relieve the country of Flanders from taxes for ever, if they would comply with his wishes.

The duke of Brabant also remonstrated with them on the advantages offered them by their lord, and, as he asked in return so very trifling a favour, entreated them to pay due deference to his demand. But it was in vain: they turned a deaf ear to all that was said, and continued their march, only showing the written agreements they had made with the duke, which were carried before them, and which they had fulfilled on their part; but, as they were signed with his seal, he had not performed his, in having them escorted beyond the river Somme to a place of safety. Should he refuse to do this, they would send him his only son, then at Ghent, cut into thousands of pieces. The duke of Burgundy, noticing their rude manners, and perceiving that nothing was to be gained from them by fair means,

began to appease them by ordering the trumpets to sound for decamping. This was not done without much loss,—for the duke, occupied solely with the attempt to make the Flemings change their minds, had not ordered the tents to be struck, nor the baggage loaded, so that the greater part of the tents were burnt, with other things, from the fire of the houses caused by the Flemings on their departure. The flames spread from house to house, to the lodgings of the duke of Burgundy, who was troubled to the heart,—for he well knew that his adversaries were in high spirits, a short day's march off, and he was anxious to give them battle; but from this conduct of the Flemings his intentions would be frustrated,—and what was worse, he knew for certain, that the moment they should hear of it, they would publish that he had retreated, not daring to meet them. He was, nevertheless, forced to submit to events which he could not foresee nor prevent.

The Flemings had no sooner turned their faces homeward but they advanced more in one day than in three before, and whatever they could lay hands on was pillaged and thrown into their baggage-carts: they had, moreover, many quarrels with the Picards and English, and it often happened that stragglers were wounded or put to death, —and when they were superior in numbers, they failed not to retaliate. It must be remembered, that this retreat took place in the month of September, when the grapes in the vineyards were ripe; and they robbed every vineyard they passed, devouring so many that numbers were found dead among the vines. On the other hand, they fed their horses and cattle so very abundantly on the immense pillage which they everywhere made, that very many were bursten.

The duke of Burgundy, on his arrival at Peronne with his men-at-arms, went personally to thank the Flemings, who were encamped on the river side, in the most humble manner for their services, and then had them escorted by his brother, the duke of Brabant, to Flanders, when every man returned to his home. The magistrates of the great towns were, however, very much displeased when they heard of their behaviour; but they did not at the time notice it, for there were too many of them under arms. Thus did the Flemings retreat from Mondidier contrary to the will of their lord, the duke of Burgundy. On the same day, a knight of the party of the duke of Orleans, called sir Peter de Quesnes, lord of Garois, at the head of full two hundred combatants, made an attack on Mondidier, about four hours after they had marched away. He found there many people, especially merchants, and inhabitants of the neighbourhood, whom he took prisoners: he slew many, and he and his men made a very great booty.

He then returned to Clermont in Beauvoisis, whither the Armagnacs had marched in pursuit of the count de Nevers. When they heard of this retreat of the duke of Burgundy and the Flemings, they held a council whether or not they should follow them into their own country. It was at length determined by the wisest to return toward Paris, and attempt to gain admittance by means of some connexions they had there, principally in order to have possession of the person of the king, which was their grand object. They began their march, in consequence, towards Verberies, and crossed the river Oise by a new bridge, which they erected, and thence advanced for Paris. Those who had the guard of the king and the Parisians were not well pleased to hear of their being so near, and made every preparation to oppose their entrance to Paris. The Armagnacs, finding it impossible to succeed, managed so well with the inhabitants of St. Denis that they were there admitted; and the princes lodged in the town, and the army in the adjacent fields and villages. From that situation, they made a sharp war on the town of Paris, and on all those who sided with the king and the duke of Burgundy. They advanced daily from different parts to the very gates of Paris, —when sallies were made against them, particularly by sir Enguerrand de Bournouville, who was one of the chiefs of the garrison under the count Waleran de St. Pol, the governor of the town. Severe skirmishes often took place, and many gallant deeds were done by the men-at-arms of both sides.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ASSEMBLES ANOTHER ARMY TO MARCH TO PARIS.—EVENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THAT TIME.

We will now return to the duke of Burgundy, who having, as I have said, dismissed his Flemings, under the escort of his brother, the duke of Brabant, went from Peronne to Arras, where he met the earls of Pembroke and of Arundel, and sir William Baldock, who had accompanied him on his late expedition. As these earls were lately come from England, he paid them every respect, in compliment to the king of England who had sent them. They had brought full twelve hundred combatants, as well horse as foot, all men of courage. Much intercourse took place at this time between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, respecting a marriage between Henry prince of Wales and one of the duke's daughters *.—— After he had magnificently feasted these English captains in his town of Arras, and made them handsome presents, he ordered them to march to Peronne, and hastily summoned men-at-arms from all quarters to meet him personally at Peronne, where he had commanded the nobles of his estates to assemble. The duke of Brabant did not meet him this time, being detained in the county of Luxembourg by affairs on behalf of his wife. The duke of Burgundy left Peronne with no more than six thousand combatants, and marched to Roye,—thence, by Breteuil, to Beauvais, and from Beauvais, through Gisors, to Pontoise, where he halted for three weeks or thereabout. During this period, great numbers of men-at-arms came from different countries to serve him.

While these things were passing, it was ordered by the royal council, in the presence of the duke of Aquitaine, the count de Mortain, the lord Gilles of Brittany, Waleran count de St. Pol, governor of Paris, the chancellor of France †, the lord Charles de Savoisy, and other great nobles, that certain proclamations should be sent to all the bailiwicks and seneschalships of the kingdom, respecting the assembling of such large bodies of men-at-arms, daily done in defiance of the king's orders, by the duke of Orleans, his brothers, the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and d'Armagnac, and others of their party, to the great mischief and tribulation of the kingdom at large, and highly displeasing to the king, and disgraceful to his dignity. This proclamation again prohibited any one from daring to join the aforesaid nobles, or any of their party in arms, under pain of being reputed rebels and traitors to the king and his realm. It likewise commanded all that had joined them to depart without delay, and return peaceably to their homes, without further living on or harassing the people; and ordered that no hindrance should be given to prevent this from being carried into effect. Such as should disobey these orders would be most rigorously prosecuted without delay as rebels; and from that day forth no grace or favour would be shown them.

This proclamation was published in the usual places; and some few, but in no great number, privately quitted the party of the Armagnacs, and returned to that of the king. Those that were disobedient, when taken by the royal officers, were in great danger of their lives. Several were publicly executed; and among them a knight, called sir Binet d'Espineuse, attached to the duke of Bourbon from being a native of the county of Clermont, suffered at Paris. The cause of his death was his having taken by force some Flanders horses that were coming as a present to the duke of Aquitaine from the duke of Burgundy.

* The advice which, according to Stowe, king Henry gave to the duke of Burgundy on this occasion, was deserving of more attention than he was disposed to pay to it. "The duke of Burgoyne, desiring the king's aid against the duke of Orliance, promised many things,—amongst the which he promised his daughter in marriage to the prince, and a great sum of gold with her. To whom the king answered: 'We advertise you not to fight with your enemie in this case, who justly seemeth to vexe you, for the death of his father by you procured, but as much as in you lyeth endeavor yourself to mitigate the young man's wrath, and promise to make him reasonable satisfaction, according to the advice of your friends; and if then he will not cease from persecuting you, get you into the strongest place of your dominion, and there gather such power as may be able to put off his force. If then, after this, he will make war against you, you shall have the juster occasion to fight with him,—and in such case we will show you such favour as yee have demaunded.' Thus there were sent over to his ayde Thomas earl of Arundell, Gilbert Umfreville earl of Angus, or earl of Kyme, sir Robert Umfreville, sir John Oldcastle lord Cobham, sir John Grey, and William Porter, with twelve hundred archers, &c., &c."

† According to the catalogue in Moreri, Arnauld de Corbie, lord of Joigny, was at this time chancellor.

After he was beheaded in the market-place, his body was suspended by the arms to the gibbet at Montfaucon. This punishment was inflicted by order of sir Peter des Essars, who, as has been said, was lately re-established in his office of provost of Paris, in the room of sir Brunelet de Sainct-Cler.

The duke of Orleans and his party were indignant at this execution, as well as at the late royal proclamation; and the duke of Bourbon was particularly angry at the disgraceful death of his knight. Thus affairs went on from bad to worse. One day, the duke of Orleans fixed his quarters, with a large force, at the castle of St. Ouen, which is a royal mansion, and thence made daily excursions to the gates of Paris. He pressed the Parisians so hard that they were much straitened for provisions; for they were not as yet accustomed to war, nor had they provided any stores or assembled a force sufficient to repel the attacks of their adversaries.

The archbishop of Sens, brother to the late grand master Montagu, had joined the Armagnacs, but not in his pontifical robes; for instead of a mitre, he wore a helmet,—for a surplice, a coat of mail,—and for a cope, a piece of steel,—for his crosier, a battle-axe. At this period, the duke of Orleans sent his heralds with letters to the king and the duke of Aquitaine, to inform them that the duke of Burgundy had fled with his Flemings from Mondidier, not daring to wait his nearer approach. He took that opportunity of writing also to some of his friends in Paris, to know if through their means he could be admitted into the town. It was lost labour, for those who governed for the duke of Burgundy were too active and attentive in keeping the party together.

By some intrigues between those of the Orleans party and one named Colinet du Puiseur, who was governor for the king in the town of St. Cloud, this place was given up to them. The duke of Orleans instantly re-garrisoned it, and continually harassed the Parisians; for now he could at any time cross the Seine at the bridge of St. Cloud, and attack both sides of Paris at once. Thus were the Parisians oppressed on all sides by the Armagnacs,—on which account, another proclamation was issued in the king's name throughout the realm, complaining of the continued atrocious and rebellious acts, in spite of the positive orders of the king to the contrary, committed by the duke of Orleans and his allies, to the great loss and destruction of his subjects and kingdom; that since such grievous complaints had been made on the subject, and were continually made, he was resolved to have a stop put to such lawless proceedings. The king, therefore, with mature deliberation of council, now declares the aforesaid family of Orleans, and their allies, rebels, and traitors to himself and the crown of France; and in order that henceforward no persons may dare to join them, he declares all such to have forfeited their lives and estates, and by these presents gives power and authority to all his loyal subjects to arrest and imprison any of the aforesaid rebels, and to seize on their properties, moveable or immoveable, and to drive them out of the kingdom, without let or hindrance from any of the king's officers. Given at Paris, the 3d day of October, 1411. Signed by the king, on the report from the great council specially called for this purpose, at the hôtel de St. Pol, when were present the duke of Aquitaine, the count de Mortain, the count de la Marche, Louis de Baviere, the lord Gilles of Brittany, the count de St. Pol, the chancellor of France, with many other nobles of high rank.

In consequence of this proclamation, many of the captains and noblemen of the Armagnacs grew cold in their service, or delayed joining them according to their former agreements; and fearing greater evils might befal them by further incurring the indignation of the king, they withdrew to the king's party, and excused themselves the best way they could.

While these affairs were going forward, the duke of Burgundy remained at Pontoise, as I have before said, and was there joined by numbers of men-at-arms, as well vassals to the king as his own. During his stay at Pontoise, a man of a strong make entered his apartment, with the intention to murder him, and had a knife hid in his sleeve to accomplish his wicked purpose; but as he advanced to speak with him, the duke, having no knowledge of his person, and always suspicious of such attempts, placed a bench before him. Shortly after, some of his attendants, perceiving his design, instantly arrested him, when, on confessing his intentions, he was beheaded in the town of Pontoise.

The king, in order to strike more terror into the duke of Orleans, and his allies, issued

other proclamations throughout his kingdom. Underneath is the tenor of the one which he sent to the bailiff of Amiens.

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, sends health. It has lately come to our knowledge, by informations laid before our council, that John our uncle of Berry, Charles our nephew, duke of Orleans, and his brothers, with John de Bourbon, John d'Alençon, Charles d'Albreth, our cousin Bernard d'Armagnac, in conjunction with others, their aiders and abettors, moved by the wicked and damnable instigations of their own minds, have for a long time plotted to depose and deprive us of our royal authority, and with their utmost power to destroy our whole family, which God forbid! and to place another king on the throne of France, which is most abominable to the hearing of every heart in the breasts of our loyal subjects. We, therefore, by the mature deliberation of our council, do most solemnly, in this public manner, divulge these abominable and traitorous intentions of the aforesaid persons, and earnestly do call for the assistance of all our loyal subjects, as well those bound to serve us by the tenure of their fiefs as the inhabitants of all our towns, who have been accustomed to bear arms, to guard and defend our rights and lives against the traitors aforesaid, who have now too nearly approached our person, inasmuch as they have entered by force our town of St. Denis, which contains not only many holy relics of the saints but the sacred bodies of saints, our crown and royal standard, known by the name of the Oriflamme, with several other precious and rare jewels. They have also gained forcible possession of the bridge of St. Cloud, and have invaded our rights, (not to say anything of our very dear and well-beloved cousin, the duke of Burgundy, to whom they have sent letters of defiance,) by setting fire to and despoiling our towns and villages, robbing churches, ransoming or killing our people, forcing married women, and ravishing maidens, and committing every mischief which the bitterest enemy could do. We therefore do enjoin and command thee, under pain of incurring our heaviest displeasure, that thou instantly cause this present ordinance to be proclaimed in the usual places in the town of Amiens, and in different parts within thy said bailiwick, so that no one may plead ignorance; and that thou do punish corporally, and by confiscation of property, the aforesaid persons, their allies and confederates, whom thou mayest lay hands on, as guilty of the highest treason against our person and crown, that by so doing an example may be held forth to all others. We also command, under the penalty aforesaid, all our vassals, and all those in general who are accustomed to carry arms, to repair to us as soon as possible. Be careful to have the within ordinances strictly executed, so that we may not have cause to be displeased with thee.

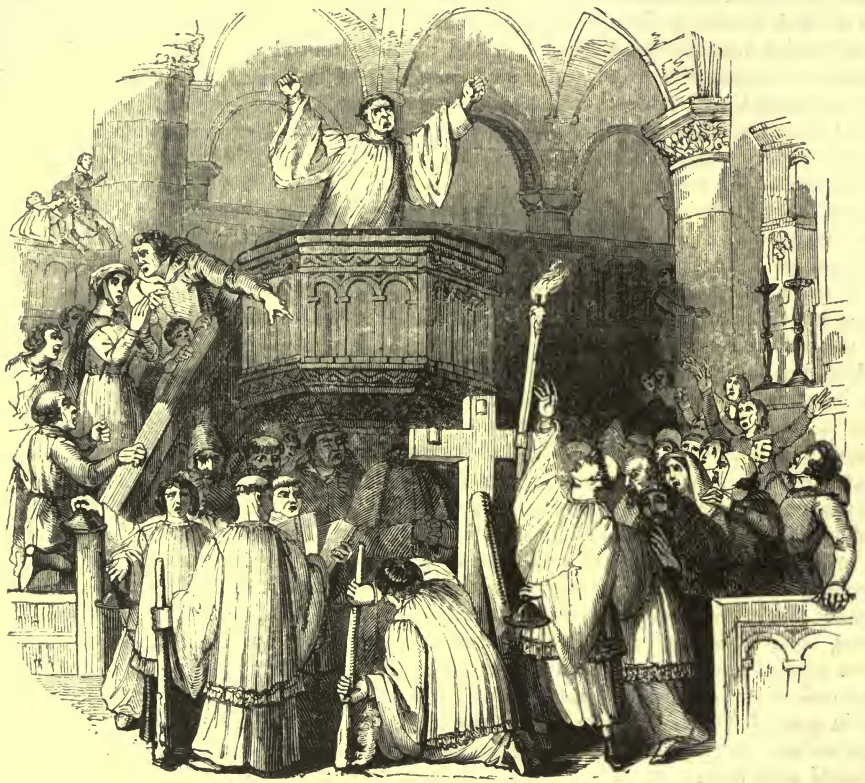
"Given at Paris, the 14th day of October, 1411, and in the 32nd year of our reign."

This ordinance was signed by the king, on the report of his council, and thus dispatched to Amiens and other good towns, where it was proclaimed in the usual places, and with such effect on the vassals and loyal subjects of the king that they hastened in prodigious numbers to serve him. On the other hand, very many of those who were of the Orleans party were arrested in divers parts of the realm,—some of whom were executed, and others confined in prison, or ransomed, as if they had been public enemies. It was pitiful to hear the many and grievous complaints which were made by the people of their sufferings, more especially by those in the neighbourhood of Paris and in the isle of France.

I must not forget, among other circumstances, to relate, that the Parisians, to the amount of three thousand, as well those of the garrison as others, sallied out of Paris, and went to the palace of Winchester (Bicêtre), a very handsome mansion of the duke of Berry, where, from hatred to the duke, they destroyed and plundered the whole, leaving the walls only standing. When they had done this, they went and destroyed another house, where the duke kept his horses, situated on the river Seine, not far from the hôtel de Nesle. The duke was much enraged when he was told of the insult and mischief that had been done to him, and said aloud, that a time would come when these Parisians should pay dearly for it.

Affairs daily grew worse; and at length, the duke of Berry, the duke of Orleans, and his brothers, the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albreth, were personally banished the realm by the king, with all their adherents, of whatever rank they might be, by sound of trumpet in all the squares of Paris, and forbidden to remain or

set foot within it until they should be recalled. They were not only banished the kingdom of France, but, by virtue of a bull of pope Urban V. of happy memory, (preserved in the Trésor des Chartres of the king's privileges in the holy chapel at Paris), they were publicly excommunicated and anathematised in all the churches of the city of Paris, by bell, book,



Excommunication by "Bell, Book, and Candle."—From an original design.

and candle. Many of their party were much troubled at these sentences, but, nevertheless, continued the same conduct, and made a more bitter war than before.

CHAPTER LXXX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES A LARGE ARMY FROM PONTOISE TO PARIS, THROUGH MELUN.—THE SITUATION AND CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

I have mentioned, that during the stay of the duke of Burgundy at Pontoise, he received great reinforcements of men-at-arms from all parts: among others, the count de Penthievre, his son-in-law, joined him with a noble company. Having remained there for about fifteen days, and made diligent inquiry into the state of his adversaries, on the 22d day of October, he marched his whole army thence about two o'clock in the afternoon. As the royal road from that place to Paris was occupied by the enemy, he quitted it for that through Melun sur Seine, where he crossed the river with full fifteen thousand horse, and, marching all night, arrived, on the morrow morning, at the gate of St. Jacques at Paris. Great multitudes went out of the town to meet him; among whom were the butchers of Paris, well armed and arrayed, conducted by the provosts of the Châtelet and of the merchants, under the command of the count de Nevers, brother to the duke of Burgundy, who was attended by several princes, noble lords, and captains: even the great council of state went out upwards

of a league to meet him, and to do him honour. Indeed, they all showed him as much deference and respect as they could have done to the king of France, on his return from a long journey. With regard to the people of Paris, they made great rejoicings on his arrival, and sang carols in all the streets through which he passed; and because his entry was made late in the day, and it was dusk, the streets were illuminated with great quantities of torches, bonfires, and lanthorns.

On his approach to the Louvre, the duke of Aquitaine, who had married his daughter, advanced to meet him, and received him with joy and respect. He led him into the Louvre, and presented him to the king and queen, who received him most graciously. Having paid his due respects, he withdrew, and went to lodge at the hôtel de Bourbon. The earl of Arundel was quartered, with his attendants, at the priory of St. Martin des Champs, and his Englishmen near to him in the adjoining houses. The rest quartered themselves as well as they could in the city.

On the morrow, which was a Sunday, Enguerrand de Bournouville, with many valiant men-at-arms and archers, as well Picards as English, made a sally as far as La Chapelle, which the Armagnacs had fortified, and quartered themselves within it. On seeing their adversaries advancing, they mounted their horses, and a sharp skirmish ensued, in which many were unhorsed. Among those who behaved well, sir Enguerrand was pre-eminent. Near his side was John of Luxembourg, nephew to the count de St. Pol, but very young. Many were wounded, but few killed. The English, with their bows and arrows, were very active in this affair. While this action was fought, the Armagnacs quartered at St. Denis, Montmartre, and other villages, hearing the bustle, mounted their horses, and hastened to cut off the retreat of Enguerrand. He was informed of this in time, and, collecting his men, retreated towards Paris; but as the enemy were superior in numbers, they pressed hard on his rear, and killed and made prisoners several of his men.

The duke of Orleans and the princes of his party, on hearing of the arrival of the duke of Burgundy with so large an army in Paris, ordered their men-at-arms, and others that were lodged in the villages round, to unite and quarter themselves at St. Denis. To provide forage, sir Clugnet de Brabant was sent with a body of men-at-arms into the Valois and Soissonois, where there was abundance. Sir Clugnet acquitted himself well of his command, and brought a sufficient quantity to St. Denis; for at this time there was great plenty of corn and other provision in France. The Armagnacs were, therefore, well supplied; and as they were the strongest on that side of Paris, they daily made excursions of different parties as far as the rivers Marne and Oise, and throughout the isle of France. In like manner, the army of the king and the duke of Burgundy scoured the country on the other side of the Seine, as far as Montlehery, Meulan, and Corbeil; and thus was the noble kingdom of France torn to pieces There were frequent and severe rencounters between the men-at-arms of each side; and a continued skirmish was going forward between those in Paris and in St. Denis, when the honour of the day was alternately won.

Among other places where these skirmishes took place was a mill, situated on an eminence, and of some strength. In this mill, two or three hundred of the Orleans party sometimes posted themselves, when the Parisians and Burgundians made an attack on them, which lasted even until night forced them to retreat.—At other times, the Burgundians posted themselves in the mill, to wait for the assault of their adversaries. The duke of Orleans had with him an English knight, called the lord de Clifford, who had, some time before, joined him with one hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers, from the country of the Bourdelois. Having heard that the king of England had sent the earl of Arundel, with several other lords, to the duke of Burgundy, he waited on the duke of Orleans to request that he would permit him to depart, for that he was afraid his sovereign would be displeased with him should he remain any longer. The duke of Orleans having for a while considered his request, granted it, but on condition that neither he himself nor his men should bear arms against him during the war. The knight made him this promise, and then returned to England.

On the 6th day of November, Troullart de Moncaurel, governor and bailiff of Senlis, having marched about six score combatants of his garrison to the country of Valois, was met

by seven score of the Armagnacs, who vigorously attacked him; but, after many gallant deeds were done, Troullart remained victorious. From sixty to eighty of the Armagnacs were taken or slain; and among the prisoners was sir William de Saveuse, who had followed the Orleans party, when his two brothers, Hector and Philip, were in arms with the duke of Burgundy. Thus, in this abominable warfare, were brothers engaged against brothers, and sons against fathers. After this defeat, Troullart de Moncaurel and Peter Quieriet, who had accompanied him, returned with their booty to Senlis, when, shortly after, by the exertions of the old lord de Saveuse and the two brothers, Hector and Philip, sir William obtained his liberty.

CHAPTER LXXXI.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY LEADS A GREAT FORCE, WITH THE PARISIANS, TO ST. CLOUD, AGAINST THE ARMAGNACS.

The duke of Burgundy having remained some time at Paris with his army, and having held many councils with the princes and captains who were there, marched out of the town about midnight, on the 9th of November, by the gate of St. Jacques. He was magnificently accompanied by men-at-arms and Parisians, among whom were the counts de Nevers, de la Marche, de Vaudemont, de Penthievre, de St. Pol, the earl of Arundel, Boucicaut marshal of France, the lord de Vergy marshal of Burgundy, the lord de Heilly, lately appointed marshal of Aquitaine, the lord de St. George, sir John de Croy, Enguerrand de Bournouville, the lord de Fosseux, sir Regnier Pot governor of Dauphiny, the seneschal of Hainault sir John de Guistelle, the lord de Brimeu, the earl of Kent, an Englishman, with many other nobles, as well from Burgundy as from Picardy and different countries. They were estimated by good judges at six thousand combatants, all accustomed to war, and four thousand infantry from the town of Paris. When they had passed the suburbs, they advanced in good array, under the direction of trusty guides, to within half a league of St. Cloud, where the Armagnacs were quartered. It might be about eight o'clock in the morning when they came thither, and the weather was very cold and frosty. Being thus arrived without the enemy knowing of it, the duke of Burgundy sent the marshal of Burgundy, sir Gaultier des Ruppes, sir Guy de la Tremouille, and le veau de Bar, with eight hundred men-at-arms, and four hundred archers, across the Seine, towards St. Denis, to prevent the enemy from there crossing the river by a new bridge which they had erected over it. These lords so well executed the above orders that they broke down part of the bridge, and defended the passage.

The duke, in the mean time, ascended the hill of St. Cloud in order of battle, and at the spot where four roads met posted the seneschal of Hainault, sir John de Guistelle, the lord de Brimeu, John Phillips and John Potter*, English captains, at one of them, with about four hundred knights and esquires, and as many archers. At another road, he stationed the lords de Heilly and de Ront, Enguerrand de Bournouville, and Aymé de Vitry, with as many men as the knights above-mentioned. The third road was guarded by Neville earl of Kent†, with some Picard captains; and the Parisians and others, to a great amount, were ordered to Sevres, to defend that road. When these four divisions had arrived at their posts, they made together a general assault on the town of St. Cloud, which the Armagnacs had fortified with ditches and barriers to the utmost of their power. At these barriers, a notable defence was made by those who had heard of the arrival of the enemy, under the command of their captains, namely, sir James de Plachiel, governor of Angoulême, the lord de Cambour, William Batillier, sir Mansart du Bos, the bastard Jacob, knight, and three other knights from Gascony, who fought bravely for some time; but the superiority of numbers, who attacked them vigorously on all sides, forced them to retreat from their outworks, when they were pursued, fighting, however, as they retreated, to the tower of the bridge and the church, which had been fortified.

The whole of the Burgundian force which had been ordered on this duty, excepting the

* Called William Porter by Stowe.

† Q. If this is not *Umfreville* earl of Angus and *Kyme* (as Stowe calls him)? There was at this period no Neville earl of Kent. The only earl of Kent of that family was William Nevil lord Falconbridge, created 1461. I find this conjecture somewhat confirmed by the original, which is, "Ousieville comte de Kam.' It is true, that Holinshed mentions the earls of Pembroke and of *Kent* as being of the expedition: but he cites Monstrelet as his authority, and is therefore likely to be mistaken.

party who guarded the passage of the bridge, now bent all their efforts against the church. The attack was there renewed with greater vigour than before, and, notwithstanding the gallant defence that was made, the church was stormed, and many were slain in the church as well as at the barriers. Numbers also were drowned of the crowd that was pressing to re-enter the tower of the bridge, by the draw-bridge breaking under their weight. It was judged by those well acquainted with the loss of the Armagnacs, that including the drowned, there were nine hundred killed and five hundred prisoners. Among these last were sir Mansart du Bos, the lord de Cambour, and William Batillier. In the town of St. Cloud were found from twelve to sixteen hundred horses that had been gained by plunder, and a variety of other things.

While this was passing, the duke of Burgundy was with the main army drawn up in battle-array, on a plain above the town: he had with him the greater part of the princes, and his scouts were everywhere on the look-out that the enemy might not surprise him by any unexpected attack. The engagement at the tower of the bridge was still continued by the Burgundians, in the hope of taking it; but it was labour in vain, for those within defended it manfully. Some of the garrison sallied out on the opposite side, and hastened to St. Denis, to inform the duke of Orleans of the disaster that had befallen them. He was sorely displeased thereat, and instantly mounted his horse, accompanied by the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and d'Armagnac, the constable, the master of the cross-bows, the young Boucicaut, and about two thousand combatants, advanced toward St. Cloud, and drew up in battle-array on the side of the river Seine, opposite to where the duke of Burgundy was posted, and made every preparation as if for an immediate combat. The duke of Burgundy and his men likewise dismounted, drew up in order of battle, and displayed his banner, which was most rich and splendid. But notwithstanding the eager desire which these princes showed for the combat, it was to no purpose,—for the river was between them, so that no damage could accrue to either party, excepting by some chance bolts from the cross-bows, who shot at random.

When the Armagnacs had remained there for some time, seeing that nothing effectual could be done, they remounted their horses and returned to St. Denis, leaving, however, a reinforcement to defend the tower of St. Cloud. On their departure, the duke of Burgundy held a council, and it was determined to march the whole army back to Paris. The duke lost this day, in slain, not more than from sixteen to twenty; but there were many wounded, among whom were Enguerrand de Bournouville and Aymé de Vitry, who had fought well, as did the lord of Heilly. In like manner, the earl of Arundel and his men behaved gallantly; and it was one of them who had made sir Mansart du Bos prisoner, but for a sum of money he resigned him to one of the king's officers. The duke of Burgundy, on his return, was received by the Parisians with great acclamations; for they had heard of his brilliant success, and they imagined that through his means they should shortly be delivered from their enemies, who oppressed them sorely. With regard to the king, the duke of Aquitaine, and the members of the grand council, prelates as well as seculars, the reception which they gave him, the princes and the captains of his army, is not to be described.

The duke of Orleans, learning that the duke of Burgundy had returned to Paris with his army, held a council with the heads of his party, when, having considered the severe loss they had suffered of the most expert of their captains, and the great power and numbers of their opponents, whom they could not at this moment withstand with hopes of success, they resolved to retire to their own countries, and collect a sufficient army to oppose any force the king and the duke of Burgundy should bring against them. This was no sooner determined than executed; for they instantly packed up their baggage, and, crossing the newly-erected bridge over the Seine, which they had repaired, and the bridge of St. Cloud, hastily marched all night toward Estampes, and then continued their route to Orleans, and to other towns and castles under their obedience. Thus, therefore, the duke of Orleans, in seeking vengeance for the death of his father, gained only disgrace and great loss of men. Such of them as were slain in the field, at the battle of St. Cloud, were there inhumanly left without sepulture, as being excommunicated, a prey to dogs, birds, and wild beasts. Some lords of his party, such as sir Clugnet de Brabant, sir Aymé de Sarrebruche, the lord de Hufalize,

and many more, passed through the county of Valois to Champagne, and thence to their own homes.

News of this retreat was, very early on the morrow, carried to the duke of Burgundy and his captains at Paris. Some of them mounted their horses, and went to St. Denis, when all that the Armagnacs had left was seized on and pillaged: they even arrested and carried away, in the king's name, the abbot of St. Denis, for having admitted his enemies into that town. Many of the principal inhabitants were also fined, notwithstanding the excuses they offered. Others of the duke's officers went to the town of St. Cloud, which they found abandoned.—Many pursued the Armagnacs, but in vain; for they had marched all night, and were at a considerable distance before the news of their decampment had reached Paris. A few days after, the king, by the advice and entreaties of the duke of Burgundy, bought the greater part of the prisoners made at the late battle, by paying their ransoms to those who had taken them. In the number was Colinet, thus surnamed by many, who had betrayed the bridge of St. Cloud to the duke of Orleans; and on the 12th day of November, he and five of his accomplices were beheaded in the market-place at Paris: his body was quartered, and the five others were hung up by the arms on the gibbet at Montfaucon.

On the 13th of the same month, a sermon was preached in the church-square, before the porch of Nôtre Dame in Paris, by a Friar Minor, in the presence of the duke of Burgundy, many princes, and a great concourse of people,—in which he said that the bulls given by pope Urban V. had been of the utmost efficacy against the rebellious subjects of the king, and publicly denounced the duke of Orleans and his party as excommunicated. They were also thus denounced in many other succeeding sermons. The ensuing day, the king heard mass in Nôtre Dame, and returned to the Louvre to dinner, when he most graciously received the earl of Arundel, and caused him to be seated at his table next to the duke of Burgundy.

Many councils were held at Paris respecting this war, and on the measures the king should now adopt. It was at length determined, that on account of the winter, neither the king nor the princes should attempt anything more until the ensuing summer, but only have some able captains with a sufficient force on the frontiers, to harass and pursue the enemy, and keep him in check. In consequence, the lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, the lord de Heilly, marshal of Aquitaine, Enguerrand de Bournouville, Aymé de Vitry, the lord de Miraumont and others, were ordered on this service with a very considerable force. They marched toward Estampes and Bonneval, and those parts, having with them the lord de Ront. Bonneval, on the first summons from the above captains, surrendered to the king's obedience, and the greater part of them were lodged in the town, and in an adjoining abbey of some strength. Those of Estampes refused to surrender, for it was garrisoned by the duke of Berry, and began to make war on the troops of the king and the duke of Burgundy, by the instigation of the lord Louis de Bourbon, governor of Dourdan, who resided there.

At this period, with the consent of the duke of Burgundy, sir John de Croy, eldest son to the lord de Croy, still detained prisoner by the duke of Orleans, marched from Paris, with eight hundred combatants, for the castle of Monchas, in the county of Eu, in which were the duke of Bourbon's children and his lady-duchess, namely, one son about three years old, and a daughter by her first husband nine years old, with their nurses and other attendants. The son of sir Mansart du Bos, and the lord de Foulleuses, knight, were also there. The castle and the whole of its inhabitants were taken by sir John de Croy; and he carried them, and all he found within it, to the castle of Renty, where he held them prisoners, until his father, the lord de Croy, was released. When this misfortune was told to the duke of Bourbon, he was much afflicted; but the duchess took it so sensibly to heart that very soon after she died of grief. *

* "Que *à peu près* elle *ne* mourast de deuil." "That she was within a little of dying with grief." Mary of Berry, daughter of John duke of Berry, and wife to John duke of Bourbon (her third husband, she having been before twice a widow, first of Louis de Châtillon count of Dunois, and, secondly, of the constable d'Eu), lived till the year 1434, when she died at Lyons. See Moreri. Her children by the duke of Bourbon were Charles, duke of Bourbon after his father,—Louis, who died young,—and another Louis, founder of the line of Montpensier.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THE COUNT DE SAINT POL TO THE VALOIS, AND TO COUCY, AND OTHER CAPTAINS TO DIFFERENT PARTS, AGAINST THE ARMAGNACS.

CONFORMABLE to the resolutions of the aforesaid council, count Waleran de St. Pol was sent into the Valois, to reduce the whole of that country to the king's obedience, and then to march to Coucy with a large body of men-at-arms, archers, and cross-bows. Sir Philip de Servolles, bailiff of Vitry en Pertois, was also ordered into the country of Vertus, with a considerable force, to subdue the whole of it. The vidame of Amiens was sent into the county of Clermont. Ferry d'Hangest, bailiff of Amiens, was ordered, for the above purpose, into the counties of Boulogne, Eu, and Gamaches.

The inhabitants of Crespy, the principal town of the Valois, no sooner learnt the intentions of the count de St. Pol, than they surrendered it to him, and received him handsomely. He thence advanced to the castle of Pierrefons, which was very strong, and well provided with all warlike stores and provision. On coming before it, he held a parley with the lord de Boquiaux the governor, who concluded a treaty with him for its surrender, on condition that the count would pay him, in the king's name, two thousand golden crowns for his expenses, and that the garrison should carry away all they had with them. The lady of Gaucourt, who was in the castle, retired to the castle of Coucy, where she was honourably received by sir Robert d'Esne, the governor. The count de St. Pol marched from Pierrefons to la Ferté-Milon, a very strong castle, and to Villers-Cotterêts, both belonging to the duke of Orleans: when not only these two, but all the other places in Valois, hearing of the surrender of so strong a castle as Pierrefons without making any resistance, surrendered, and returned to their obedience to the king. The count placed good garrisons in each, and then marched for Coucy, in the Soissonois, where, as I have before said, sir Robert d'Esne was governor of the castle. He had with him Rigault des Fontaines, and others attached to the party of the duke of Orleans. The governor of the town of Coucy was sir Enguerrand des Fontaines, and within it were many noblemen, who, holding a council, resolved to surrender the place, and to leave it with all their baggage.

The count quartered himself and his men-at-arms in the town and suburbs, and then summoned sir Robert d'Esne, in the king's name, to surrender the castle. This, sir Robert refused to do, saying, that the duke of Orleans had given him orders, when he appointed him governor, never to surrender it without his consent or knowledge, and these orders he had sworn to obey; that it was well provided with all kinds of stores, and plenty of provision, so that he did not fear its being taken by force; and he hoped, that before he should be induced to yield it, means would be found to restore his lord and master to the good graces of the king.——The count, on hearing this answer, ordered the castle to be surrounded, and quartered his men as near to it as possible, keeping up at the same time a brisk cannonade. Among other expedients, the count employed a body of miners, to undermine the gate of the lower court, called la Porte Maistre Odon, which was as handsome an edifice as could be seen for twenty leagues round; and he employed companies of miners to work at the other large towers, who were so successful that, in a short time, the mines were ready to be set fire to. The governor was again summoned to surrender, but again refused. Upon which, the count ordered his men under arms, to be prepared for the storm should it be necessary; and when all was ready, fire was set to the combustibles within the mines, so that when the supporters were burnt, the whole of the tower and gate fell flat down, but, fortunately for the besieged, the inside wall remained entire, so that the besiegers were not greatly benefited. Several were killed and wounded on both sides by the fall of the towers: one of them at the corner was prevented from falling to the ground by the wall supporting it; and one of the men-at-arms remained on this inclined tower, where he had been posted to guard it, and was in great peril of his life, but was saved by the exertions of the garrison.

At length, when the count de St. Pol had been before this castle of Coucy about three months, a treaty was entered into between him and sir Robert, that he would surrender the castle on condition that he and his garrison should depart unmolested whither they pleased, with all they could carry with them, and should receive, for their expenses, twelve hundred

crowns, or thereabout. When this was concluded, the governor marched off with about fifty combatants, the principal of whom were his son, le Baudrain de Fur, knight, Rigault des Fontaines, before mentioned, and Gaucher de Baissu. The lady de Gaucourt departed also in their company. Sir Robert and the greater part of his men went and fixed their residence at Creve-coeur and in the castle of Cambresis. The count de St. Pol, on the surrender of the castle, appointed sir Gerard de Herbannes governor, with a sufficient garrison. There were with him on this expedition, his nephew, John of Luxembourg, the vidame of Amiens, the lord de Houcourt, and many other nobles and esquires from Picardy, especially such as were his vassals. Having finished this business so successfully, he returned to the king at Paris, who, in consideration of his good qualities, and as a remuneration for his services, nominated him constable of France. The sword of office was delivered to him, and he took the usual oaths, in the room of the lord d'Albreth, who had been dismissed therefrom, being judged unworthy to hold it any longer.

In like manner, the lord de Rambures was appointed master of the cross-bows of France, in the place of the lord de Hangest, who had been dismissed by the king. The lord de Longny, a native of Brittany, was made marshal of France, on the resignation, and with the consent, of the lord de Rieux *, who was superannuated.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—SIR PHILIP DE SERVOLLES, BAILIFF OF VITRY, LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF MOYENNES.———OTHER PLACES ARE BY THE KING'S OFFICERS REDUCED TO HIS OBEDIENCE.

In regard to the county of Vertus, the moment sir Philip de Servolles came before the town of that name, it surrendered to the king,—and in like manner all the other places in that county, excepting the castle of Moyennes. In this castle were sir Clugnet de Brabant, his brother John of Brabant, sir Thomas de Lorsies, and many more, who would not on any account submit to the king. The bailiff of Vitry consequently laid siege to it, and made every preparation to conquer it by force. It was, however, in vain; for the garrison were well provided with provision, artillery and stores of all kinds, so that they little feared the besiegers, and very frequently cut off their detachments. The siege lasted for upwards of three months; and at the end of this time, sir Clugnet and sir Thomas de Lorsies, mounted on strong and active coursers, followed by two pages, set out from the castle,—and, galloping through the besieging army, with their lances in their rests, passed safely, striking down all opposers, escaped to Luxembourg, and went to sir Aymé de Sarrebruche to seek for succour. But they did not return with any assistance; for a few days after, John of Brabant was made prisoner in a sally from the castle, and, by order of the king and council, beheaded in the town of Vitry. After this event, the remainder of the garrison surrendered themselves to the king's obedience, on stipulating with the bailiff that they were to have their lives and fortunes spared. He instantly new-garrisoned the castle.

Thus was that whole country reduced to the king's obedience: and that of Clermont followed the example, by surrendering to the vidame of Amiens without making any resistance. The garrisons in the different towns and castles that had done great mischief to the surrounding country, withdrew with all their baggage, under the protection of passports, to the Bourbonois, and were replaced by the king's troops. The bailiff of Amiens was equally successful at Boulogne-sur-mer, which, with all the adjacent places, surrendered, excepting the castle of Boulogne,—the seneschal of which, by name sir Louis de Corail, a native of Auvergne, would not yield it without the permission of his lord, the duke of Berry, who had intrusted it to his guard. The bailiff, however, with his men, destroyed the draw-bridge, and filled up the ditches, so that no one could enter or come out of the castle. A parley took place between the governor and bailiff, when the first was allowed to send to his lord, the duke of Berry, to know if he would consent that the castle should be given up to the king, and hold him discharged for so doing. The duke, in answer, bade him surrender the castle

* John II. lord of Rieux and Rochefort. According to Moreri's catalogue, two mareschals were created this year,—Louis lord of Loigny, and James lord of Heilly, commonly called Mareschal of Aquitaine.

to the king's officers, and come to him at Bourges, which was done. In like manner, all the places in the county of Eu, and in the territory of Gamaches, were surrendered to the king; and the officers who had been placed in them by their lords were dismissed, and others of the king's servants put in their room.

During this time, very large sums of money were raised in Paris and elsewhere, to pay the English troops who had come to serve the duke of Burgundy by permission of the king of England. On receiving their payment, the earl of Arundel, with his men, returned to England by way of Calais; but the earl of Kent * and his troops remained in the service of the duke of Burgundy. At this moment, the Orleans party were in great distress, and knew not where to save themselves; for the instant any of them were discovered, whether secular or ecclesiastic, they were arrested and imprisoned, and some executed,—others heavily fined. Two monks were arrested at this time, namely, master Peter Fresnel, bishop of Noyon, who was taken by sir Anthony de Craon, and carried from Noyon to the castle of Crotoy; the other, the abbot of Foresmoustier, was made prisoner by the lord de Dampierre, admiral of France. They were soon delivered on paying a large ransom, when each returned to his bishopric and monastery.

The lord de Hangest, still calling himself grand master of the French cross-bows, being attached to the Orleans party, had, after the retreat from St. Denis, secretly retired to the castle of Soissons. Having a desire to attempt regaining the king's favour, he sent a poursuivant to demand a safe conduct from Troullart de Moncaurel, bailiff and governor of Senlis, for him to come and reside in that town. The safe conduct was sent to him, and he came to Senlis; but, because there was no mention of his return in this permission, Troullart made him and fifteen other gentlemen prisoners in the king's name. Shortly after, they were carried to the Châtelet in Paris, to his great displeasure, but he could not prevent it. The count de Roussy also had retired, after the retreat from St. Denis, to his castle of Pont á Arsy sur Aine; but it was instantly surrounded by the peasants of the Laonnois, who increased to about fifteen hundred, and made most terrible assaults on the castle,—and in spite of its deep moat and thick walls, they damaged it very much. These peasants called themselves the king's children. Sir Brun de Barins, knight, bailiff of the Vermandois, and the provost of Laon, came to assist and to command them,—when the count, perceiving the danger he was in, to avoid falling into the hands of these peasants, surrendered himself and his castle to the bailiff of the Vermandois, on condition that his own life, and the lives of all within it, should be spared. The bailiff accepted the terms, and, having re-garrisoned it with the king's troops, carried the count and his men prisoners to Laon, where they remained a long time; but at length, on paying a heavy ransom, they obtained their liberty. The archdeacon of Brie was, in like manner, taken in the tower of Andely by these peasants. He was natural son to the king of Armenia. Sir William de Coussy, who was of the Orleans party, retired to his brother in Lorrain, who was bishop of Metz.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—THE DUKES OF AQUITAINE AND BURGUNDY MARCH TO CONQUER ESTAMPES AND DOURDAN.—THE EXECUTION OF SIR MANSART DU BOS AND OTHER PRISONERS.

During these tribulations, there were so many grievous complaints made to the king and the princes at Paris, of the mischiefs done to the country by the garrisons of Estampes and Dourdan, that notwithstanding it had been determined in council that neither the king nor the duke of Aquitaine should take the field until the winter should be passed, this resolution was overruled by circumstances. On the 23d day of November, the duke of Aquitaine, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers, de la Marche, de Penthievre, de Vaudemont, and the marshal de Boucicaut, with others of rank, and a great multitude of the Parisians on foot, marched out of Paris, with the intent to reduce to the king's obedience the garrisons of Estampes and Dourdan, and some others, who continued the war on the part of the duke of Orleans and his adherents. He halted at Corbeil to wait for the whole

* See p. 198.

of his forces,—and thence, with an immense quantity of warlike stores and bombards, with other artillery, marched his army toward Estampes, wherein was sir Louis de Bourdon, who instantly withdrew into the castle. The townsmen immediately returned to their former obedience, and were kindly received by the duke of Aquitaine, in consideration of his uncle the duke of Berry. Sir Louis de Bourdon, however, refused to surrender, although he was summoned many times, when the castle was besieged on all sides. The lord de Ront was at this time prisoner there,—for he had been taken by sir Louis not long before the arrival of the duke of Aquitaine.

Many engines were now pointed against the walls, which they damaged in several places; and in addition, miners were employed to underwork the towers. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that the garrison, thinking it probable they should be taken by storm, opened a parley; and by means of the lord de Ront, surrendered themselves to the duke of Aquitaine. Sir Louis de Bourdon, with some other gentlemen, his confederates, were sent to the Châtelet at Paris. Great part of the wealth of Bourdon, with a most excellent courser of his, were given to the lord de Ront, to make amends for the losses which he sustained when he was made prisoner. The dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy regarrisoned this place, and then returned with their army to Paris; for, in truth, they could not, from the severity of the winter, make any further progress. A few days after, by order of the duke of Burgundy, many noble prisoners were carried from Paris to the castle of Lille; among whom were the lord de Hangest, sir Louis de Bourdon, the lords de Gerennes, des Fontaines, sir John d'Amboise, and others, who had been arrested for supporting the party of the duke of Orleans. They suffered a long confinement, but were set at liberty on paying a heavy fine.

At this period, sir Mansart du Bos was beheaded in the market-place of Paris, his body hung by the shoulders on the gibbet at Montfaucon, and his head affixed to the spike on the top of the market-house. This execution took place at the instance of the duke of Burgundy, because sir Mansart was his liege man, nevertheless he had sent him his challenge at the same time with the brothers of Orleans, as has been before noticed. Not all the solicitations of his friends could save him, and he had many of weight with the duke, who endeavoured earnestly to obtain his pardon; but it was in vain, for the duke had resolved upon his death. There were in the prisons of the Châtelet, and in other prisons of Paris, very many of the Orleans party, who perished miserably through cold, famine, and neglect. When dead, they were inhumanly dragged out of the town, and thrown into the ditches, a prey to dogs, birds, and wild beasts. The reason of such cruel conduct was, their having been several times denounced from the pulpits, and proclaimed from the squares, as excommunicated persons. It seemed, however, to many discreet men, as well noble as of the church, that it was a great scandal thus to treat those who were Christians and acknowledged the laws of Jesus Christ. The same rigorous conduct being persevered in, a short time after, a valiant knight, called sir Peter de Famechon, was beheaded in the market-place of Paris: he was of the household and family of the duke of Bourbon,—and his head was affixed to a lance like the others. The duke of Bourbon was much exasperated at his death, especially when he was informed of the disgraceful circumstances that had attended it. At this time, therefore, all who sided with the Armagnacs, and were taken, ran great risk of their lives; for there were few that dared speak in their favour, however near their connexions might be.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS DIFFERENT CAPTAINS WITH TROOPS TO HARASS THE ARMAGNACS ON THE FRONTIERS. — THE DEFEAT OF THE COUNT DE LA MARCHE.

Many of the nobles and captains were now sent by the king to the countries of such as were confederates with the duke of Orleans and his party. In the number, the count de la Marche was ordered into the Orleanois, to subject it to the king's obedience, in company with the lord de Hambre.

Aymé de Vitry, Fierbourd, and others, were sent against the duke of Bourbon, who had done much mischief to the country of Charolois; and having a large force with them, they

despoiled the Bourbonois and Beaujolois. They advanced with displayed banners before the town of Villefranche, in which was the duke of Bourbon and his bastard brother, sir Hector, a very valiant knight, and renowned in war. There was with them a large company of knights and esquires, vassals to the duke, who, seeing the enemy thus boldly advancing, drew up in handsome array and sallied forth to meet them, and the duke himself joined them in their intent to offer battle. A severe skirmish ensued, in which many gallant deeds were done on each side. The bastard of Bourbon distinguished himself much in the command of the light troops, and fought most chivalrously. He was, however, so far intermixed with the enemy that the duke was fearful of his being slain or taken, and, sticking spurs into his horse, cried out to his people, "Push forward! for my brother will be made prisoner unless speedily succoured." Great part of his battalion followed him on the gallop toward the enemy, and the battle was renewed with more energy: many men-at-arms were unhorsed, wounded, and slain: at length, the van of the Burgundians, under the command of Aymé de Vitry, was forced to fall back on the main army, which was at a short distance off. The bastard, who had been struck down, was remounted, and returned to the duke. Before that day, no one person had ever heard the duke call him brother.

About forty were slain on both sides, but very many were wounded. When the skirmish was ended, each party retreated without attempting more; the duke and his men into Villefranche, and the others toward the country of Charolois, destroying everything on their march.

Other parties were sent to Languedoc, Aquitaine, and Poitou, to despoil the countries of the duke of Berry, the count d'Armagnac, and the lord d'Albreth. Sir Guichard Daulphin, master of the king's household, commanded one division; and the two others were under the lord de Heilly, marshal of Aquitaine, and Enguerrand de Bournouville. They did infinite damage to the lands of the aforesaid lords; but one day, as the lord de Heilly was lodged in a large village, called Linieres, he was attacked at day-break by a party of the duke of Berry, who defeated and plundered great part of his men of their horses and baggage: a few were killed and taken; but he and the majority of his army saved themselves by retreating within the castle, which held out for the king.

I must say something of the count de la Marche and the lord de Hambre, who, as I have said, were ordered into the Orleanois. It is true, they might have under their command from five to six thousand combatants, whom they conducted, destroying all the country on their line of march, as far as Yeure-la-Ville and Yeure-le-Chastel. The count de la Marche was quartered in the village of Puchet, and the lord de Hambre in another town. The moment their arrival at Yeure-la-Ville was known in Orleans, where were considerable numbers of men-at-arms for the guard of the country, about six hundred of them were assembled under the command of Barbasan de Gaucourt, sir Galliet de Gaulles, and a knight from Lombardy, together with three hundred archers. They marched all night as secretly as they could to Yeure-la-Ville, to the amount of about a thousand men, under the guidance of such as knew the country well, and where the count was lodged. The count was, however, somehow informed of their intentions, and, having armed his men, posted the greater part of them in and about his lodgings: the others he ordered to keep in a body, and sent to the lord de Hambre to acquaint him with the intelligence he had received, that he might be prepared to come to his assistance, should there be any necessity for it. The count and his men were under arms, waiting for the enemy, the whole of the night; but when day appeared, and no news of the enemy arrived, he was advised to repose himself, and to order his men to their quarters.

Soon after sun-rise, one of the adversary's scouts rode into the town, and seeing that no watch was kept, hastened back to inform his friends, whom he met near the place, of this neglect. They instantly entered the town, shouting, "Vive le roi!" but soon after, crying out "Vive Orleans!" made a general attack on the houses. The greater part hastened to the lodgings of the count, who was preparing to hear mass, and the tumult became very great, for the count and his people fought gallantly; nevertheless, he was conquered, and made prisoner. The whole quarter was carried, and all taken or slain. After this defeat, the count and his men were conducted hastily to Orleans. In the mean time, as the lord de

Hambre was coming to their assistance, he was misled by a man whom he had chosen for his guide, and, on his arrival, found the whole town destroyed, and the count with his men carried off. Notwithstanding his grief for this event, he pursued the enemy with all speed, and, by his activity, overtook the rear; upon which he fell manfully, and defeated part of it. He rescued some of the prisoners; but the count, with about four score (as it was told him), were sent forward as fast as horses could carry them, and were to be confined in the prisons of Orleans. The lord de Hambre was much troubled that he could not rescue him. There were slain in these two affairs from three to four hundred men on both sides, but the greater part were Armagnacs. Among others of the party of the count de Vendôme that were mortally wounded, was Guoit le Gois, eldest son to Thomas le Gois, a capital citizen of Paris, which caused great sorrow to the Parisians.

After this affair, the lord de Hambre assembled, by the king's orders, a larger force than before, and made a very severe war on the duchy of Orleans, and all attached to that party, which caused the country to suffer greatly.

King Louis of Sicily arrived at this time at Paris, from Provence, attended by three hundred men-at-arms well equipped, and was lodged in his own hôtel at Anjou. He was grandly received by the king, the duke of Aquitaine, and the other princes; and united himself with the king and the duke of Burgundy, promising to join their party against the family of Orleans and their adherents. The duchess of Burgundy and her daughter came, nearly at the same time, from Burgundy to the Bois de Vincennes, where the queen and the duchess of Aquitaine resided, who received her with much pleasure. Thence they went to visit the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy; and very gay and magnificent feasts were made on their arrival. They remained for a long time with the queen, living at the expense of the king.

At this period, the king of France sent the lord de Dampierre, admiral of France, with other lords, to Boulogne-sur-mer, to meet the English ambassadors who were arrived at Calais. They went together to Leulinghen, where they agreed on a truce between the two crowns for one year; after which the admiral and his companions returned to the king at Paris, where he was holding a grand assembly of prelates and ecclesiastics for the general reformation of the church. The particular object of this assembly was to select proper delegates to send to the holy father the pope, to request that a convenient place might be appointed for the holding of a general council; but, in truth, very little was done, for they could not agree on one single point. Another meeting was therefore fixed upon, when a greater number of churchmen should be summoned to attend it.

The Parisians, having loyally served the king and the duke of Aquitaine in the late wars, obtained, through the means of the duke of Burgundy, that the power of the shrievalty, with all its franchises, of which the city of Paris had been deprived by royal authority, in the month of January, in the year 1382, should be restored to it fully and freely by letters patent from the king. This created very great rejoicings, and much increased the popularity of the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND.—THE LORD DE CROY AND THE DUKE OF BOURBON'S CHILDREN OBTAIN THEIR LIBERTY.—OF COUNT WALERAN DE SAINT POL.

At the beginning of the month of May, the duke of Burgundy, with the approbation of the king of France, sent ambassadors to England, namely, the bishop of Arras, the provost of Saint Donas de Bruges, and the provost of Viefville, to treat of a marriage between one of the duke's daughters and the prince of Wales, a matter which had been talked of before*. They found the king of England at Rochester, who honourably entertained them, as did the other princes; but the prince of Wales was particularly attentive, as their mission more immediately concerned him. In the course of a few days, the bishop had fully explained the object of his coming to the king, his sons, and council; and having received a favourable answer, with very handsome presents to himself and his colleagues, they returned by way

* Their passport is, in the Fœdera, dated January 11, 1412.

of Dover to Calais, and shortly after arrived at Paris. The ambassadors related, in the presence of the kings of France and Sicily, the dukes of Aquitaine, Burgundy, and Bar, and other great lords of the council, a full detail of their proceedings, and that the king of England and his family were well pleased with their proposals. Upon this, the duke of Burgundy sent orders to his son the count de Charolois, then at Ghent, to repair to Paris, to be present at the festivals of Easter.

At this time, by the intercession of the duchess of Bourbon, daughter to the duke of Berry, with the duke of Orleans and others of that party, the lord de Croy obtained his liberty from the prison in which he had for a considerable time been confined, and was escorted safely to Paris. On his departure, he promised by his faith to make such earnest applications to his lord, the duke of Burgundy, that the duke of Bourbon's children should be delivered. On his arrival at Paris, he was received with joy by the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy, especially by the latter; and a few days after, he made the request he had promised, and so successfully that the king and the other lords gave the duke of Bourbon's children their liberty. They were sent for to Paris from the castle of Renty, where they were confined; and they and their attendants were delivered without any ransom to the care of sir John de Croy, who escorted them to the territories of the duke of Berry. The son of sir Mansart du Bos, who had been taken with them, remained prisoner in the castle of Renty.

The lord de Croy was nominated governor of the county of Boulogne and captain of the castle of Braye-sur-Somme, by the king, with the approbation of the duke of Berry and the aforesaid duchess. He also obtained, through the recommendation of the duke of Burgundy, the office of grand butler of France. To sir Peter des Essars, provost of Paris, was given the office of grand master of waters and forests which had been held by count Waleran de St. Pol, who was contented to yield it up.

The count de Saint Pol, now constable of France, ordered a large body of men-at-arms to assemble at Vernon-sur-Seine. In consequence, full two thousand armed with helmets came thither, with the design of making war on the inhabitants of Dreux, and on the count d'Alençon and his people, who had overrun parts of Normandy, near to Rouen, where they had plundered everything they could lay their hands on. To provide for the payment of this force, as well as for others in different parts of the country which the king had employed under various captains, a heavy tax was imposed on the whole kingdom, to be paid at two instalments,—the first on the Sunday before Easter, and the second at the end of June following. This affected the poor people very much; and in addition, the pope had granted to the king a full tenth to be levied, through France and Dauphiny, on all the clergy, payable also at two terms,—the one on St. John the Baptist's day, and the other on All-saints following. The clergy were greatly discontented,—but it was not on that account the less rigorously levied,—and commissioners were appointed to receive it from them. The constable set out in the holy week from Paris for Vernon, to take the command of the men-at-arms, and to lead them against the king's enemies.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—THE DUKES OF BERRY AND OF ORLEANS, WITH OTHERS OF THEIR ADHERENTS, SEND AN EMBASSY TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE CONSEQUENCES OF IT.

[A.D. 1412.]

At the commencement of this year, the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and of Bourbon, the counts de Vertus, d'Angoulême, d'Alençon, and d'Armagnac, and the lord d'Albreth, calling himself constable of France, with other great lords, their confederates, sent ambassadors to the king of England, with instructions, under their seals, for them to act according to the occasion with the king of England, his children and ministers. As they were journeying through Maine to go to Brittany, and thence to England, they were pursued by the bailiff of Caen in Normandy, who, with the aid of the commonalty, attacked and defeated them, making some of them prisoners, with their sealed instructions and other articles: the rest escaped as well as they could.

After the defeat, the bailiff dispatched an account of it to the king and council at Paris, and sent the sealed instructions, with the other articles, in a leathern bag, well secured. The king assembled a great council at his palace of St. Pol, on the Wednesday after Easter,

Charles Lord d'Albreth, Constable of France.—From the MS. of Berry, engraved in Montfaucon, Vol. III.

for the full examination of these papers. He was present, as were the king of Sicily, the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy, the counts de Charolois, de Nevers, and de Mortaigne, the lord Gilles de Bretagne, the chancellor of France, namely, master Henry de Marle*, the bishops of Tournay, of Amiens, of Constance, and of Auxerre, the rector of the university, the provost of Paris, and several others, as well of the king's council as capital citizens of Paris and students of the university. The chancellor of the duke of Aquitaine, the lord d'Olhaing, lately an advocate in the parliament, then declared, that there had been given to his charge, by the king's ministers, a leathern bag, which had been taken by the bailiff of Caen, together with a knight, chamberlain to the duke of Brittany, from de Faulcon d'Encre and friar James Petit, of the order of the Augustins, and other ambassadors from the lords mentioned in the papers contained in the bag, which had been transmitted by the said bailiff to the king's council. He added, that he had found in this bag four blank papers, signed and sealed by four different persons, namely, Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and Alençon. Each blank had only the name signed on the margin above the seal. He had also found many sealed letters from the duke of Berry addressed to the king of England, to the queen, and to their four sons; and in like manner from the duke of Brittany to the earl of Richmond and to other noblemen in England. There were also many letters without any superscription, being credential ones for the aforesaid Faulcon and friar James Petit, to the king and queen of England.

These letters were publicly read, and in them the duke of Berry styled the king of England, "My most redoubted lord and nephew;" and the queen, "My most redoubted and honoured lady, niece and daughter;" and they were signed with the duke of Berry's own hand. In the one to the queen, there were two lines in his own handwriting, desiring her to place full

* Moreri, in his list of chancellors, places Arnauld de Corbie, lord of Joigny, from 1409 to 1413, and makes Henry de Marle, lord of Versigny, his successor in the *latter year*.—See *post.*, where it is said, that sir Reginald (*i. e.* sir Arnauld) de Corbie was displaced (1413), and Eustace de Lactre appointed in his place.

confidence in the said ambassadors. These blanks were publicly displayed,—and the king held them some time in his hand. There was a small article on a single sheet of paper containing the instructions for the ambassadors, which was likewise read aloud, and contained a repetition of the charges made against the duke of Burgundy, by the duchess of Orleans and her sons, for the death of the late duke of Orleans. It recited, that they had frequently demanded justice of the king of France for this murder, but could never obtain it, because the duke of Burgundy had prevented and evil counselled the king, by persuading him that the duke of Orleans had been a disloyal traitor to his king and country, which was false,—adding, that the duke of Burgundy had seduced the commonalty of France, more especially the populace of Paris, by asserting that the late duke of Orleans wanted to destroy the king of France and his family, which was also a falsehood, for it had never even entered his thoughts.

These instructions contained, likewise, that the duke of Burgundy had caused the king to be angry with the duke of Brittany, because he had obstructed his expedition against Calais, and several other attempts which the duke of Burgundy had plotted against England; that the duke of Burgundy had instigated the people of Paris so greatly against the king and the duke of Aquitaine that everything was governed to his will,—and he had now the royal family in such subjection that they dared hardly to open their mouths; that the Parisians, under pretext of a bull granted by pope Urban V. against the free companies that had ravaged France, had caused them and their adherents to be excommunicated, and had forcibly constrained the official at Paris to proceed against them in the severest manner, and to denounce them publicly, as excommunicated, with every aggravation of circumstance.

These ambassadors were not to discover themselves to any man in England, unless they were sure of his support; and when they had read the contents of these papers to the king, they were to demand a private audience, and declare from the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, of Bourbon, and from the count d'Alençon, that they were most anxious for his welfare and honour, and ready to aid and assist him against the duke of Burgundy, as well as against the Welsh and Irish. They were to add, that if they could not succeed against the Scots, which they would attempt, and in case they could not obtain all they wished, they would engage to establish a peace between him and the king of France; and that if there were any lands to which he laid claim, or pretended any right, on their side the sea, they would manage the matter to his full satisfaction. They were also to say, that for want of due justice being administered at home, they were come to claim it from him, in regard to the death of the late duke of Orleans; and as bearing the name of king, it belonged to him to do justice; and he would acquire perpetual honour to himself, and great advantages to his subjects, by granting them his aid and support. It was also worthy of his interference, considering the high rank of the late duke of Orleans. They were likewise to say, that the undersigned would serve him and his family, as well as their descendants, in all times to come, and which they were enabled to do, even against the most potent in the realm of France. These ambassadors were also to require an immediate aid against the duke of Burgundy, of three hundred lances and three thousand archers, who should receive pay in advance for four months.

The chancellor of Aquitaine next produced a sketch of their intended government of France, containing many articles, which were read aloud. Among other schemes, there was to be imposed on every acre a tax called a land-tax; and as there were deposits of salt in the kingdom, there were likewise to be granaries of wheat and oats for the profit of the king: that all lands or houses which were in a ruinous state should be instantly repaired, or otherwise forfeited to the crown: that every commoner should be forced to work or quit the realm,—and that there should be but one weight and one measure throughout the country. Item, that the duchies of Lorrain and Luxembourg should be conquered, as well as the towns in Provence and Savoy, and annexed to the kingdom of France.—Item, that the university should be removed from Paris, and one erected and nobly endowed for the reception of numbers of discreet men. There were many rolls produced, but not read, as they were of little consequence. After the chancellor of Aquitaine had concluded, the provost of the

merchants and the sheriffs preferred two requests to the king, by the mouth of a monk of the order of St. Benedict and doctor of divinity.

One was, that the king would be pleased to grant to the city of Paris a third of the taxes collected in that city in the same form and manner as had been done during the reign of king Charles, whose soul may God receive! for the reparations of the said town and the improvement of the river Seine, of which, as the provost of merchants declared, they were in great need; that it would be for the advantage of the king and his good city that certain repairs, very much wanted, should be undertaken, and the place better fortified against the bitter hatred which the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and their faction bore to it. He added, that the town of Tournay was the best fortified, and in the most complete repair of any in the kingdom, because the inhabitants allot certain sums for this purpose; and that, if all the king's enemies were to besiege it, they would never be able to injure it. The other was, that orders should be given to the chancellor to seal without opposition the patent of an office vacant, or becoming so, by the demission of one of the Armagnacs, which had hitherto been refused.

They were told, that on the Thursday ensuing, they should have answers to both of these requests. The provost and sheriffs demanded beside, that the chancellor of France should lay before the king such letters as had come to the knowledge of the duke of Aquitaine, mentioning that the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and the count d'Alençon intended making a new king, to the exclusion of his present majesty and the duke of Aquitaine. The chancellor replied, that the subject of their present consideration was the letters contained in the bag; that it was true, he was in possession of letters and other papers mentioning this circumstance, and that he had assured the duke of Aquitaine of their contents.

The chancellor of Aquitaine then declared publicly to the king, that the grand master of his household, sir Guichard Daulphin, had written to inform the duke of Burgundy, that the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and the count d'Alençon, had again renewed their oaths of alliance in the city of Bourges; that the leaders of the confederacy had met in that city, and had there determined to destroy the king of France, his whole royal family, the kingdom of France, and the good city of Paris, or perish themselves in the attempt. The king was much affected on hearing this, and replied with tears, "We now fully see their wickedness, and we entreat of you all that are of our blood to advise and aid us against them; for the matter not only regards you personally, but the welfare of the whole kingdom is in danger; and we shall therefore expect the support of all present, and of every loyal subject."

The king of Sicily then rose, and, falling on his knees before the king, said, "Sire, I entreat, in regard to your own honour and welfare, as well as for that of your realm, you will order the most efficacious measures to be pursued against these rebels, for there seems to be instant need of it." In like manner, the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy, and all the other lords, knelt to the king, and proffered him their services to the utmost of their power. When this was done, the assembly broke up, and all that had passed was promulgated through Paris: even accounts of it were sent in writing to different bailiffs in the kingdom, to the great astonishment of many.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—DUKE LOUIS OF BAVARIA IS DRIVEN OUT OF PARIS BY THE PARISIANS, AND HIS PEOPLE ROBBED.—OF THE CARDINAL DE CAMBRAY, AND THE PROHIBITION OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.

About this time, duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen of France, and residing at Paris, was much suspected by the Parisians of having in secret spoken favourably to the king and queen of the dukes of Berry and Orleans; and fearing it might be prejudicial to them, knowing how much they were hated by these dukes, they assembled one day in great numbers, and sent to tell duke Louis, that they were much displeased with him, for that he was of the Orleans party; and since he was so well inclined to them, he must go and join them. Duke Louis sent for answer, that he was not of any party, but of that of the king. The matter, therefore, rested in this state for the present; but as he perceived they

were dissatisfied with him, and apprehending some insult, he went away with very few attendants to the castle of Marcoussy. Before his departure, he had a waggon laden with his plate and other most valuable effects, which he sent off under the escort of three gentlemen of his household,—one of whom was a young nobleman of about fifteen years old, of high rank in Germany,—and some servants, to the town of Valenciennes, intending to follow them speedily.

They had not proceeded far on their journey when some of the Burgundian party, incited by avarice and cruelty, namely, the bailiff de Foquesolle, his brother Jacotin, Jacques de Bracquencourt, and others of their companions, the greater part from Picardy, having learnt the value of this convoy, by the treachery of sir Morlet de Betencourt, followed and overtook it between the rivers Seine and Oise. They made a sudden attack, which was no way resisted, putting to death most of the attendants, and seizing the waggon, which they carried off, with the young esquire above-mentioned, and lodged themselves at a nunnery called Premy, near to the city of Cambray. When they had tarried there two or three days, they led the young man out of the nunnery by night, and most inhumanly murdered him, and threw him into a ditch full of water.—When he was dead, they drove a stake through his body, to fix it at the bottom of the ditch; and in this state was it found, some days after, by the servants and workmen of the nunnery. He was carried thence and interred in the consecrated ground of the church, where, afterward, was performed a most solemn service for the salvation of his soul, at the expense of his friends, who made great clamours and lamentations when they heard of his fatal end.

The Burgundians, having well secured their prize, lodged it in the house of an inhabitant of their acquaintance in Cambray, and set off from the Cambresis to other parts where they had business. On duke Louis receiving information of this exploit, he was in the utmost rage and grief, especially for the death of the young esquire, as well as for the loss of his other servants, and his effects, and made heavy complaints of it to the king, the duke of Aquitaine, and particularly to the duke of Burgundy, whose vassals the perpetrators said they were. The duke of Burgundy promised him the restitution of his valuables, and the punishment of the offenders; but, a few days after, duke Louis set out from the castle of Marcoussy, and was, by orders of the duke of Burgundy, escorted by the vidame of Amiens, with a considerable force, as far as the town of Valenciennes, where he staid a long time. At the end of six weeks, he learnt that the greater part of his effects were deposited in the town of Cambray: he therefore wrote to the magistrates, and caused letters also to be sent to duke William of Hainault, to whom he was related: in short, he made so much stir that his effects were restored to him,—that is to say, all that had been deposited in Cambray. The then bishop of Cambray was master Peter d'Ailly, an excellent doctor of divinity: he was created cardinal by pope John XXIII. and took the title of Cardinal of Cambray. John de Gaures, son to the lord de Liquerque, master of arts, who was at that time with the court of Rome, succeeded to this bishopric.

At this period, Henry king of England caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet in Calais, and in all the places bordering on France, that none of his subjects, of whatever rank, should any way interfere between the two factions in France, nor go into France to serve either of them by arms or otherwise, under pain of death and confiscation of fortune.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE KING OF SICILY LEAVES PARIS.—THE SIEGE OF DOMFRONT.—THE BATTLE OF SAINT REMY DU PLAIN.—THE SIEGE OF BELLESME,—AND OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

On Tuesday the 20th day of April of this year, the king of Sicily, by order of the king and council, marched his men-at-arms out of Paris in handsome array. He was escorted out of the town by the duke of Burgundy, the provost of Paris, and a very great number of noblemen and others. He hastened to Angers, and to his possessions in the county of Maine, to defend them against the counts d'Alençon and de Richemont, who harassed them much by an incessant warfare. On his arrival at Angers, he summoned all his vassals, as well

knights and esquires as those who were accustomed to bear arms, and sent them to garrison all his towns which were near to those of the enemy.

Shortly after, sir Anthony de Craon, the borgne de la Heuse, knight, and other captains, were sent by the king to the county of Alençon, to subject it to his obedience. They gained the town of Domfront, but failed in taking the castle; for it was very strong in itself, and well garrisoned and provided with all necessary stores. They remained, however, before it, annoying the garrison to the utmost of their ability. The garrison sent to the count d'Alençon to require instant succours: he was much grieved at the loss of the town of Domfront, but answered by one of his heralds, that he would very shortly come and give the enemy battle, if they would wait for him there. Sir Anthony de Craon and the other captains, hearing this, despatched messengers to the king of France for reinforcements. The king sent instant orders to the constable and marshal of France, who were at Vernon with a great armament, to advance to Domfront. This they obeyed,—and the king of Sicily also sent thither large reinforcements. But on the day fixed for the battle, the count d'Alençon neither came himself nor sent any forces.

The constable and the other commanders having waited under arms the whole of that day, seeing no signs of their adversaries coming, erected a strong bulwark against the castle, in which they left a numerous garrison, to keep it in check, and to oppose any attempts to relieve it, and then departed. The constable marched to besiege the town of St. Remy du Plain, and sent sir Anthony de Craon, with a large force to Vernon, to escort the cannons, bombards, and other military engines, to St. Remy. There were in company with the constable, his nephew John of Luxembourg, sir Philip de Harcourt and his brother sir James, the lord de Beausault, the vidame of Amiens, the lord d'Offemont*, the lord de Canny, the borgne de la Heuse, Roux de Nesle, Raoul son to the vidame of Amiens, the lord de Lovroy, le Galois de Renty†, sir Bort Queret, the lord de Herbainnes, the lord de Saine, and many noble knights and esquires, to the number of twelve hundred helmets, and a large body of archers.

They quartered themselves within the town of St. Remy, and around the castle, which was tolerably strong and well garrisoned with men at arms, and summoned it to surrender to the king's obedience; but on a refusal, some engines were pointed against the walls, which did them much damage. During this time, the lord de Gaucourt, sir John de Dreues, sir Jean de Guarenchieres, Guillaume Batillier, the lord d'Argiellieres, John de Falloise, with other captains of the Orleans and Alençon party, assembled a considerable body of combatants, with the intent of making an unexpected attack on the constable and taking him by surprise. In consequence, they marched on the 10th day of May from their place of rendezvous, and, riding all night, came towards the end of it very near their adversaries. The latter were, however, day and night on their guard, and had spies and scouts dispersed over the country. Morlet de Mons, Galien bastard of Auxi, and others, were on guard when the Armagnacs approached. They made Morlet de Mons and Galien prisoners; but the rest escaped, and, galloping as fast as their horses could carry them to the main army, shouted out, "To arms, to arms!" adding, that the Armagnacs were advancing in battle-array toward the camp, and had already made prisoners of Morlet and Galien, with some others.

The constable, hearing the noise, ordered his men to arm without delay, and despatched the lord de St. Legier and the lord de Drucat, two well experienced knights, to examine and report the truth of this alarm. They had not gone far before they saw the enemy advancing, as had been said, on which they returned to inform the constable of it. He immediately caused his banner to be displayed, and his trumpets sounded, and, sallying out of his tent with a part of his men, drew them up in battle-array to receive the enemy, and urged the remainder of his men to make haste to join him. When he had mounted his horse, he rode along the line, to post his army most advantageously, and exhorted the whole, in the kindest manner, to combat boldly the enemies of the king and crown of France. By the advice of the most experienced, his carts and baggage were disposed of in the rear of his army, with varlets to guard them. On each wing of the men-at-arms were posted the archers and cross-

* Guy de Nesle. *Vide* p. 173, *ante*.

† Renty was the name of a considerable family in Artois. I can find nothing about any of the others.

bows, as far as they could be extended. When every arrangement was made, and the enemy was in sight, several new knights were created, as well by the constable as by others present, namely, John of Luxembourg, John de Beausault, Raoul son to the vidame of Amiens, Alard de Herbainnes, le Brun de Saine, Roux de Nesle, Raillers de Fransseurs, Regnault d'Azincourt, and many more. This done, the constable dismounted and posted himself under his banner,—when instantly after the Armagnacs entered the town, full gallop, thinking to surprise their adversaries.

On perceiving they were prepared for them, they charged the division of archers and cross-bows with great shoutings, and at the first shock killed about twelve: the rest posted themselves very advantageously on the other side of a ditch, whence they made such good use of their bows and cross-bows that they routed the horses, which were unable to withstand the sharpness of their arrows, and flung down many of their riders. The constable then advanced his main battalion, and cried out to them, "Here, you scoundrels! here I am whom you are seeking for: come to me!" but their ranks were so broken, chiefly by the bowmen, that they could not rally, and, consequently, betook themselves to flight. The army of the constable, noticing this, fell on them lustily, shouting their cries, and killed numbers: the archers, being lightly armed, pursued them vigorously, and put many to a cruel death. There was near the field of battle a fish-pond, into which many horses ran with their riders, and both were drowned.

A valiant man of arms from Brittany attacked these archers with great gallantry, expecting to be supported by his companions, but he was soon pulled from his horse and slain. The constable, seeing the defeat of his enemies, mounted several on the fleetest horses, that they might attack them in their flight, and very many were indeed slain and taken: the remnant fled for refuge to Alençon and other towns belonging to their party. More than fourscore prisoners were brought to the constable, who was with his knights, rejoicing on the victory they had gained; and in the number were the lord d'Anieres, knight, and sir Jaunet de Guarochieres, son to the lord de Croisy, who was with the constable. When he thus perceived his son led prisoner, he was so exasperated against him that he would have killed him had he not been withheld.

Those who had made this attack on the constable had brought with them a multitude of peasants, in the expectation of destroying him and his army,—but the reverse happened, for upwards of four hundred of them were killed in the field, and from six to eight score made prisoners. Shortly after, the constable returned into the town of St. Remy du Plain, whence he had dislodged in the morning; and this battle, ever since, has borne the name of St. Remy. He then made preparations to storm the castle; but the garrison, seeing no chance of further relief, surrendered it, and were, by the constable, received to the obedience of the king.

The king of Sicily had about eight hundred chosen men-at-arms in the county of Alençon, —and when he heard that the Armagnacs had collected a large force to march to raise the siege of St. Remy, he sent fourscore of his men to reinforce the constable, who arrived at St. Remy four hours after the action was over. They were overjoyed at the victory, and the surrender of the castle, both of which they were ignorant of; and having thanked God for this good fortune, and congratulated the constable thereon, they returned to the king of Sicily. The constable advanced to Bellême with his army, accompanied by the marshal of France and sir Anthony de Craon; and on their arrival, they were soon joined by the king of Sicily, with archers, cross-bows, and other implements of war. They instantly formed the siege of the castle,—the king of Sicily investing it on one side, and the constable and marshal on the other. Their attacks were so severe and incessant that the garrison could not withstand them, but surrendered on terms. Having placed a new garrison there in the king's name, the constable marched away toward Paris; the marshal returned to Dreux; and the king of Sicily and his men went for Mans, to guard his territories of Anjou.

On the constable's arrival at Paris, he was magnificently feasted by the king, and the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy, as well for the victory he had gained at St. Remy as for other matters, which, during his expedition, he had brought to an honourable conclusion; and a sum of money was instantly ordered him, for the payment of his men-at-arms. Splendid presents were also made him by the king and the duke of Burgundy.

While things were thus carried on successfully against the count d'Alençon, Aymé de Vitry and the bastard of Savoy* kept up a continued warfare with the duke of Bourbon in the Beaujolois; and about the middle of April, an engagement took place near to Villefranche, when two of the duke's captains, Vignier de Reffort and Bernardon de Seres, were defeated, and with them eightscore men-at-arms, knights and esquires: few escaped death or being made prisoners. In another part of the kingdom, the lord de Heilly and Enguerrand de Bournouville were equally successful, and had subjected to the king's authority the greater part of Poitou. They had very lately gained a victory over two hundred of the duke of Berry's men, near to Montfaucon.

The grand-master of the king's household, sir Guichard Daulphin, and the master of the cross-bows of France, and sir John de Châlon†, were sent by the king's orders, with ten thousand horse, to lay siege to St. Fargeau in the Nivernois, which belonged to John son to the duke of Bar. While there, they were in daily expectation of a battle, but in vain: however, when they had remained ten or twelve days, with the loss of many men in killed and wounded, the town surrendered, and was by them regarrisoned in the king's name. With similar success did the lord de St. George and the nobles of Burgundy make war on the count d'Armagnac, in Gascony. Sir Elyon de Jacques-Ville was stationed at Estampes, and made daily conquests from the Orleans party, who at this period were very unfortunate, for war was carried on against them on all sides. To provide a remedy, and to enable themselves to make head against their adversaries, they sent a solemn embassy to Henry king of England, and to his children, to solicit succours of men and money. The ambassadors, by means of their credential letters and other papers which they brought from these lords of France, treated with king Henry so that he consented to send to the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and their party, eight thousand combatants, under the command of his second son, the duke of Clarence.

For the confirmation of this, he granted to the ambassadors letters under his great seal, which they carried back to the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and the count d'Alençon and others, whom they found at Bourges waiting their return. They were much rejoiced on seeing the great seal of the king of England; for they expected to have immediate need of his assistance, as they had information that the duke of Burgundy was intending to lead the king in person to subdue and conquer them.

CHAPTER XC.—CHARLES KING OF FRANCE, ATTENDED BY OTHER PRINCES, MARCHES A LARGE FORCE FROM PARIS TO BOURGES.—LETTERS FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

The council of state now determined that the king should march in person against his rebellious subjects, to reduce them to obedience. Summonses were sent throughout the kingdom for men-at-arms and archers to assemble between Paris and Melun; and at the same time, great numbers of carriages were ordered to meet there for the baggage. In like manner, the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy issued their special summonses. When all was ready, and the king on the point of leaving Paris on this expedition, a large body of the Parisians and members of the university waited on him, and earnestly required, in the presence of his council, that he would not enter into any treaty with his enemies without their being included and personally named therein. They remonstrated with him on the necessity for this, as they were hated by his enemies, because they had loyally served him against them. The king and council granted their request.—The king then left Paris in noble array, on Thursday the 5th day of May, and lay the first night at Vincennes, where the queen resided: he thence went through Corbeil to Melun, where he remained some days waiting for his men-at-arms. On the ensuing Sunday, the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy set out from Paris to join the king at Melun, to which place large bodies of men-at-arms and archers repaired from all parts of the kingdom.

* Humbert, natural son of Amadeus VII. and brother of Amadeus VIII. counts of Savoy.

† John de Châlon, second son to Louis I. count of Auxerre, and brother to Louis II.

On Saturday, the 14th of May, the king marched his army from Melun, accompanied by the dukes of Aquitaine, Burgundy and Bar, the counts de Mortain and de Nevers, with many other great barons, knights and gentlemen. It had been resolved in council, that the king should not return to Paris until he had reduced the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon, with their adherents, to obedience. He then advanced to Moret, in the Gatinois, and to Montereau-Faut-Yonne. At this last place, he was wounded in the leg by a kick from a horse, but continued his march to Sens, where he was confined by this accident six days. The queen and the duchess of Burgundy had hitherto attended him, but they were now sent back by their lords to reside at Vincennes. The count de Charolois was ordered by his father to return to Ghent; and, shortly after, the queen went to Melun, where she held her court.

During this time the English, on the frontiers of the Boulonois, took by storm the fortress of Banelinghen, situated between Ardres and Calais, and the inheritance of the lord de Dixcunde *, notwithstanding there were sealed truces between the kings of France and England. It was commonly said that the governor, John d'Estienbecque, had sold it to the English for a sum of money. The French were much troubled when they heard of this capture, but they could not any way amend it, and were forced to be contented. The governor and his wife resided quietly with the English, which convinced every one that the place had been sold, and also some of his soldiers, who had been made prisoners, were ransomed. This conduct of King Henry surprised many: for he had appeared earnest in his desire to marry his eldest son with the daughter of the duke of Burgundy,—but he had been turned from it by the offers and negotiations of the ambassadors before mentioned, and had now united himself with them.

The king of England wrote the following letter to the towns of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and the Franc, which he sent by one of his heralds. "Henry, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to our honoured and wise lords the citizens, sheriffs and magistrates, of the towns of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and of the territory du Franc, our very dear and especial friends, we send health and greeting. Very dear and respected lords, it has come to our knowledge, through a very creditable channel, that under the shadow of our adversary the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, is making, or about to make, a speedy march into our country of Aquitaine, to wage war upon and destroy our subjects, particularly on our very dear and well beloved cousins the dukes of Berry, Orleans and Bourbon, and the counts of Alençon, of Armagnac, and the lord d'Albreth. Since, therefore, your lord perseveres in his malicious intentions, you will have the goodness to assure us, on the return of our messenger, by your letters so soon as possible, whether the Flemings be willing to conform to the truces lately concluded between us, without any way assisting their lord in his wicked purposes toward us.

"Understanding, honoured lords, and very dear friends, that if your town, and the other towns in Flanders, be desirous of continuing the terms of the truces, to the advantage of Flanders, we are very willing, on our part, to do the same. Very dear friends, may the Holy Spirit have you alway in his keeping!—Given under our privy seal, at our palace of Westminster, the 16th day of May, in the 13th year of our reign †."

The Flemings sent for answer to this letter by the bearer, that they would no way infringe the truces between the two countries; but that they should serve and assist the king of France their sovereign lord, and their count the duke of Burgundy, as heretofore, to the utmost of their power. This letter and answer were sent to the duke of Burgundy, who was attending the king in the town of Sens in Burgundy.

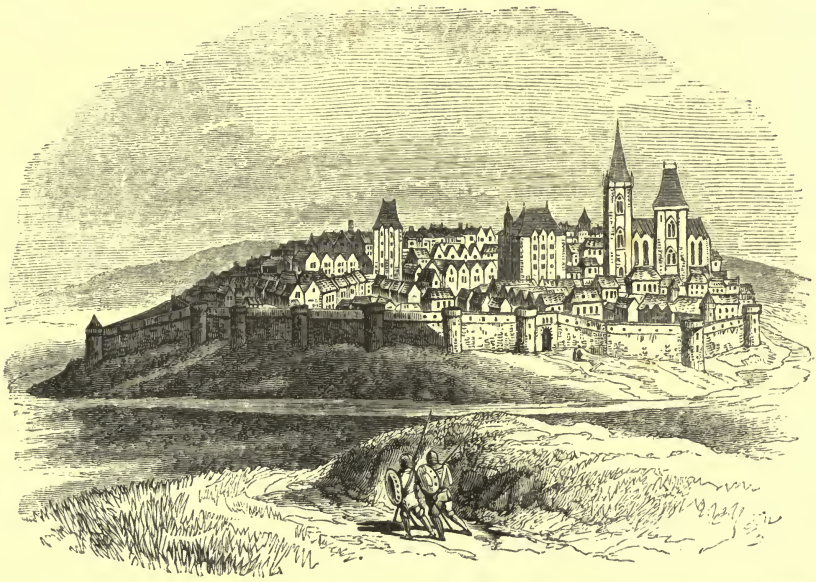
At this same time, the duke of Berry, by the advice of the count d'Armagnac, coined money with the same arms and superscription as that of the king of France, in the town of Bourges, to pay his troops, which greatly exasperated the king and his council when they heard thereof. The coins consisted of golden crowns and others, perfectly similar to those of the king.

* Q. Dixmuyde?

† See this letter, and the treaty with the duke of Berry, &c. in Rymer, A. D. 1412.

CHAPTER XCI.—THE TOWN OF VERVINS IS TAKEN BY SIR CLUGNET DE BRABANT, AND AFTERWARD RETAKEN.—THE CASTLE OF GERSIES IS WON BY SIR SIMONDE CLERMONT.

About this same time, the town of Vervins, which was very strong and rich, was taken by treachery, by sir Clugnet de Brabant and Thomas de Lorsies, lord of Boquiaux, and some other gentlemen, to the amount of six hundred men, from different countries, of the party of the duke of Orleans. This was said to have been effected by a butcher who had been for ill conduct banished the town, and in revenge had joined the army of sir Clugnet de Brabant.



Vervins, as it appeared in the Sixteenth Century.—From a print in Chastillion's Topographie Françoise.

The butcher's wife and family had remained in the town; and one day, when it was dusk, they hid themselves near the gate, and about sun-rise, when the guard had quitted the ramparts, and the gate was opened and the drawbridge let down, they made a signal to the enemy, who was in ambuscade. Sir Clugnet instantly entered the place, sounding trumpets, and shouting out, "The duke of Orleans for ever!" to the great surprise of the inhabitants, who were far from expecting such a morning salute. Very few were made prisoners, but all were robbed; and for three days the money and plate of the lord de Vervins, who was with the king, or on his road to join him, as well as everything of value in the different houses, were collected, and sent off by sir Clugnet, to the amount of thousands of florins, to the town of Ardennes *, that those of his countrymen who had joined his party, and those who had accompanied him on this expedition, might be paid.

The neighbouring towns were astonished when they heard of this event, and collected a large force to enable them to besiege the enemy in Vervins, and retake the town. The bailiff of the Vermandois, sir le Brun de Bairins, the lord de Chin, with many other knights and citizens, hastened thither, to the number of four hundred helmets and from six to eight thousand infantry very well armed. The lord de Vervins, who was of high rank and a very expert knight, no sooner heard of his loss than he hastened to join the besiegers, and led many brisk attacks on the town. Those who had captured it made an excellent defence from the walls with bows and cross-bows, so that the besiegers were twenty-three days before it. On the 26th of June, the lord de Boquiaux, Thomas de Lorsies, son to the lord de Selebes,

* Q. Ardres?

knights, the bastard d'Esne, and those who were with them, considering that their enemies were daily increasing, and that they had done much damage to the walls and houses, were afraid of being killed or taken, and held a council on the best means to escape. They defended themselves with greater vigour than before, the better to conceal their intentions; and when the besiegers were at their dinner in their tents and pavilions, and they had seen their guard posted at one of the gates, they mounted their horses fully armed,—and, having had the gates thrown open, all except three, who were asleep or too negligent, sallied out full gallop, sticking spurs into their horses, and made with all speed for the forest near the town. The besiegers were astonished on seeing this, and, pushing aside their tables, mounted instantly to pursue them, and followed with such haste that they took about forty of them, —and the rest saved themselves by dint of speed. The royalists returned to the town with their prisoners, and found there the three negligent Armagnacs and some other wretches of their party, who, by the command of the bailiff of the Vermandois, were sent to prison; and when he had heard their confession, they were by him sentenced to be beheaded. The bailiff then set out for Laon, whither he carried the other prisoners, well-bound, there to suffer a similar punishment. The lord de Vervins remained in his town to put it into repair, and the lord de Chin and the rest went to their homes.

A few days after, the castle of Gersies, which was very strong, was taken by some of the army of sir Clugnet de Brabant, namely, by sir Simon de Clermont, a captain called Millet d'Autre, and others, who won it one morning by storm. But shortly after, the bailiff of the Vermandois, with some of the aforesaid lords and a large body of the commonalty, regained it by assault. Sir Simon and Millet d'Autre, with their companions, were all made prisoners, carried to Laon, and beheaded. The castle was new garrisoned for the king.

CHAPTER XCII.—THE KING OF FRANCE RECEIVES CERTAIN INFORMATION THAT HIS ADVERSARIES HAD FORMED AN ALLIANCE WITH THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE CONSTABLE MARCHES INTO THE BOULONOIS.

During the residence of the king of France at Sens in Burgundy, he received positive intelligence, that the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and their confederates, had formed an alliance with the king of England, who had engaged to send a large army to their assistance, to lay waste his kingdom,—and that part of it had already marched from Calais and the other castles on the frontiers of the Boulonois, and commenced the war. They had carried away much plunder, and had set fire to the town of Merck on the sea-shore, thus infringing the truces which subsisted between them. In consequence of this inroad, the king of France ordered his constable, the count de St. Pol, to march thither, to assemble all the nobles of Picardy, and to garrison and victual the frontier towns, and to use every diligence in opposing the further progress of the English; for the duke of Burgundy had carried with him all the youth, and the most warlike men, from the countries of the Boulonois, Ponthieu, and Artois, leaving behind only the superannuated and such as were unable to bear arms.

The constable, hearing of the mischiefs the English were doing, more of his own free will than in obedience to the king's, hastened to Paris, laying all other matters aside, with the borgne de la Heuse and some other knights whom he left there, at the earnest entreaties of the Parisians, to carry on the war against Dreux. He went then to Picardy and to St. Pol, to visit his lady; thence he went to St. Omer and to Boulogne, inspecting the whole frontier, and providing necessaries where wanted. The whole country was now alarmed and in motion, insomuch that the English retired worsted; but they very soon recommenced their warfare. When the constable saw this, and that they did not abstain, he held a council of his principal officers, such as the lord d'Offemont, the lord de Canny, the lord de Lovroy, sir Philip de Harcourt and others. At the conclusion of it, he assembled a body of men-at-arms, to the amount of fifteen hundred, whom he put under the command of the lord de Lovroy, and one called Alen Quentin, and ordered them to march toward the town and castle of Guines. As they approached the place on foot, the constable sent off, by another

road, forty helmets under sir John de Renty, who was well acquainted with all the avenues to the town, to make a pretence of attacking it on that side, which was only inclosed with a palisade and ditch, and garrisoned with Dutchmen and other soldiers who resided there.—The constable, with six hundred combatants, advanced between the town and Calais, to guard that road, and to prevent the English, should they hear of the attack, from sending any considerable reinforcements. Thus did he remain between his two battalions so long as the engagement lasted. The infantry, at day-break, began the storm with courage, and continued it a long time, until they had succeeded in setting the town on fire, so that upward of sixty houses were burnt.—Those in the castle defended themselves valiantly, and much annoyed the assailants with stones and arrows shot from their cross-bows. Perceiving the distress of the townsmen, they opened a gate of the castle to receive them,—and thus they escaped death. By the advice of the said marshal de Renty, his division made a retreat to where they had commenced the attack, but not without many being severely wounded: few, however, were killed. The constable, when informed of their retreat, made it known to the whole army, and returned to Boulogne, but leaving garrisons along the whole frontier, who daily had some skirmishes with the English.

CHAPTER XCIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE LAYS SIEGE TO FONTENAY AND TO BOURGES.—THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE HE REMAINED THERE.

The king of France having remained some days at Sens, and having held many councils on the state of his realm, marched thence to Auxerre, and to la Charité on the Loire, where he staid five days. He then advanced toward a strong castle called Fontenay, in the possession of the Armagnacs, who, on seeing the great force of the king, instantly surrendered it, on condition of having their lives and fortunes saved. Several captains, who had commanded on the frontiers against the Armagnacs, entered it,—and the army of the king was greatly increased by troops daily arriving from all quarters. In the number of those that came were the lord de Heilly, Enguerrand de Bournouville, the lord de Vitry and others. The king marched from Fontenay to the town of Dun-le-Roi in Berry, where he encamped, and had it besieged by his army on all sides, and well battered by his engines. During this siege, Hector, bastard-brother to the duke of Bourbon, with only three hundred men, made an attack on a body of the king's army when foraging, and killed and took many. After this exploit, he hastened back to Bourges, and told the dukes of Berry and Bourbon of his success.

Dun-le-Roi was so much harassed by the cannon and engines of the besiegers, that, on the ninth day, the garrison offered to surrender, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared, and that sir Louis de Corail, lately made seneschal of the Boulonois, should return with his men in safety to the duke of Berry. These terms were accepted, and the town was delivered up to the king. He remained there for three days, and then departed with his army, leaving sir Gautier de Rubes, a Burgundy knight, governor of the town. The king and his army were quartered, on Friday the 10th day of June, three leagues distant from Dun-le-Roi, at a town near a wood. On the morrow he continued his march, and came before the city of Bourges, which was strong, very populous, and full of every sort of provision and wealth. This city was, in ancient times, the capital of the kingdom of Aquitaine, and is situated on the river Yeure. Through the town, a small rivulet runs from Dun-le-Roi.

The lords within this town, namely, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the lord d'Albreth, the count d'Auxerre*, John brother to the duke of Bar, with the inhabitants, showed every appearance of making a strong resistance. There were also in Bourges many who had fled their country, such as the archbishops of Sens and of Bourges, the bishops of Paris and of Chartres, the lords de Gaucourt, Barbasan, Aubreticourt, le borgne Foucault, and fifteen hundred helmets, or thereabout, and four hundred archers and cross-bowmen. When the king's army approached, which was estimated and commonly believed to consist of upward of one hundred thousand horse, some few sallied out of the town well armed, shouting,

* Louis II. de Châlon, count of Auxerre, son of Louis I. and Mary of Parthenay.

" Long live the king, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon !" at the same time falling desperately on the light troops of the van, so that very many were killed and wounded on each side ; but the main army, advancing, soon forced them to retreat. When they had re-entered the town, they set the gates wide open, and gallantly made preparations for defence.

Bourges, as it appeared in the Sixteenth Century.—From a print in Chastillion's Topographie Françoise.

The van of the king's army was commanded by the grand master of the household, sir Guichard Daulphin, and the lords de Croy and de Heilly, knights, Aymé de Vitry and Enguerrand de Bournouville, esquires. The lords de Croy and de Heilly, in the absence of the marshals of France, Boucicaut and de Longny, were ordered by the king to exercise the functions of marshals. The rear division was commanded by the lords d'Arlay, sir John de Chalon, the lord de Vergy, marshal of Burgundy, the lords de Ront and de Raisse.

In the king's battalion were the dukes of Aquitaine, Burgundy, and Bar, the counts de Mortain and de Nevers, the lord Gilles de Bretagne, and a numerous body of chivalry. When the army arrived on the plain in front of the city, they were from three to four hours in arranging their places of encampment, and in dividing the army under the different commanders. Then, near to a gibbet, were created more than five hundred knights, who, with many others, had never before displayed their banners. After this ceremony, the army was advanced nearer to the town, and encamped on the marshes on the side of the small river before-mentioned, and other flat grounds.—Some tents and pavilions were pitched among vineyards, and by the ruins of the houses belonging to the priory of St. Martin-des-Champs, of the order of Cluny, and others near to part of the suburbs which had been destroyed by the inhabitants prior to the arrival of the king's army, and among the large walnut-trees adjoining. It is true, that some from thirst drank water from wells without the town ; but whoever did so died suddenly, so that the wickedness and treachery of the besieged were discovered. It was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that no one should in future drink any well-water, but always make use of spring or running water, for that the wells had been poisoned. The besieged afterward confessed, that an herb called Ισατις by the Greeks, and by the Latins *Glastum*, had been thrown into the wells, to cause the deaths of all who should drink out of them.

Though the townsmen could not now pass the marshes and cross the fords as usual, from fear of the besiegers, they had, by another road, free communication with the country, so that all manner of provision could be brought into the town, to the great vexation of the

lords in the king's army. The besiegers had now approached pretty near to the town, and had brought their artillery to bear on it, so that, from the continued cannonading and shooting from cross-bows, they slew many of their adversaries. The townsmen frequently insulted them by their abuse, calling them false Burgundian traitors, who had brought the king thither confined in his tent, as if he was not sound in mind. They called the duke of Burgundy a treacherous murderer; adding, that they would instantly have opened their gates to the king if he had not been there. The Burgundians were not behindhand in their replies, retorting on the Armagnacs by calling them false and rebellious traitors to their king, and using various other invectives on each side; but the duke of Burgundy, who heard all their abuse, made no reply whatever, but only thought how he might distress them the more.

On Wednesday the 13th of June, a truce was agreed on between the two parties, at the solicitation of the duke of Berry; but during this time, some of the king's household, incited by treason, sent to the besieged,—"Sally forth: now is the time!" well knowing what they would do. When precisely between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, while the king was in his tent, and the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy were reposing, and the greater part of the army disarmed, as not suspecting anything, about five hundred chosen men-at-arms sallied out of two gates of the town, and marched on as secretly as they could through vineyards and by-paths to avoid being seen, with the intent of surprising and taking the king and the duke of Aquitaine, in their tents, and putting the duke of Burgundy to death.

What they were afraid of happened; for two pages of the lord de Croy, riding their coursers to exercise and to water, perceived this body of five hundred marching toward the army, and instantly galloped back again, crying out, "To arms! here are the enemies advancing, who have sallied out of their town." On hearing this, every one hastened to his tent, and armed. The vanguard drew up in array, and soon met the enemy. The engagement immediately commenced; but the Armagnacs were overpowered by their adversaries, who increased every moment, so that they could not withstand them. Six score were soon killed, and about forty made prisoners: the rest took disgracefully to flight, making all haste back to Bourges, led on by the lord de Gaucourt. Among the slain were Guillaume Batiller, who had been taken at the battle of St. Cloud, and set at liberty, and Guillaume de Challus, knight, whose bodies, when stripped, were thrown into the wells said to have been poisoned, to serve them for a grave. In the number of prisoners were the grand-master of the household of the duke of Berry, an esquire of the lord d'Albreth, and also his principal cook, called Gastard, who declared in the presence of several, that he would name those who had urged them to make this attempt. In consequence, on the morrow were arrested master Geoffry de Bouillon, secretary to the duke of Aquitaine, and the family of the lord de Boissay, first maistre-d'hôtel to the king,—and afterward one called Gilles de Toisy, esquire, a native of Beauvais, his servant, and Enguerrand de Seure, esquire, a Norman, who were all on this account beheaded before the king's tent; but as the lord de Boissay was only suspected, and no proof brought to convict him, he was imprisoned, and made to witness the punishment of the others.

There were a body of English and French in the king's army, consisting of about three hundred, under the command of Aymé de Vitry, two hundred of whom one day deserted; but, as they were making for the town, they were so closely pursued that numbers of them were slain by lances, swords, and arrows, before they could enter the gates. One half of the garrison of Gien-sur-Loire, consisting of about four hundred helmets, attempted, on the 19th of June, to enter the city; but, before they could accomplish it, having been observed by the besiegers, they were so vigorously attacked that from one hundred to sixscore were killed.

During the time the king was at this siege of Bourges, the foragers were almost daily cut off by the ambuscades of the enemy, they themselves and their horses being slain or taken; and as they were obliged to seek forage at the distance of six or eight leagues, the army suffered much from famine. Moreover, the waggons that brought provision from Burgundy and other parts, were waylaid by the soldiers of Sancerre, and other places in rebellion against the king, and plundered: this caused great distress to the besiegers, and very many

were disheartened from want of bread. However it lasted not long, for by the vigilance of sir Guichard Daulphin, he met the garrison of Sancerre convoying provision to the town of Bourges, when he attacked them, and forced them to surrender the town and castle of Sancerre, which had been more active than any others in preventing forage being brought to the camp; and thus all dread of famine was removed. Toward the end of June, about sun-set, four hundred men-at-arms made a sally from the town, induced thereto by the information of some of their prisoners, that the provost of Paris, the admiral of France, and the vidame d'Amiens, were coming to the camp with a large sum of money from Paris to the king, to enable him to pay his troops. In the hope of defeating and plundering the above, they rode on and posted themselves in a wood, the more readily to surprise them. Intelligence of this was however carried to the lord de Ront, by some of his spies who had observed them march out of the town; and he instantly made the duke of Lorrain and the lord de Heilly acquainted therewith. They collected about five hundred men-at-arms, under pretence of a foraging party, and, leaving the camp, crossed the river by an old bridge which they repaired as well as they could, and took up their quarters in a small vineyard, whence, during the night, they sent off scouts to observe the situation of the enemy. They were found in ambuscade, thinking to take the king's treasure, but were themselves taken,—for no sooner were these lords informed where they were than they instantly attacked them, and killed and took many: among the latter was a gentleman named Guistardon de Seure: the rest saved themselves by flight. The duke of Lorrain and the lords de Ront and de Heilly returned to the camp with their prisoners, much rejoiced at their victory. The duke of Berry, and those with him in Bourges, were much grieved at this defeat, and others of a similar nature; for he saw with pain his country ruined, and daily witnessed the deaths of his most valiant knights and esquires. He nevertheless did not slacken in his endeavours to defend himself against all who wished to hurt him,—and it frequently happened that his men retaliated severely on the besiegers.

While these things were passing, sir Philip de Lignac, grand master of Rhodes, who had attended the king, exerted himself at various times to bring about a peace between the two parties. The count de Savoye had also sent his marshal, and some of his principal knights, to the king and to the duke of Berry, to attempt the same thing. They, therefore, united in their endeavours, and, by permission of the king and of the duke of Aquitaine, who acted as his lieutenant, they had interviews with each party. By their diligence, a conference was appointed to be holden; and there were added to them as commissioners, the master of the cross-bows, the seneschal of Hainault and some others. The commissioners on the part of the Armagnacs were the archbishop of Bourges, the lord de Gaucourt, the lord de Tignonville, the lord de Barbasan, the lord d'Aubreticourt and others, who diligently exerted themselves on each side to bring a treaty to a conclusion. They had frequent consultations on the subject with the different princes of each party; but in fact it was not a matter speedily to be finished, for each of the parties was too much interested and suspicious. It was strongly remonstrated that the besieged had, during a truce, made a treacherous attack on the army; and many arguments were urged by both sides, which greatly retarded the conclusion of a peace.

CHAPTER XCIV.—THE KING OF FRANCE DECAMPS, AND LAYS SIEGE TO BOURGES ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE.—A TREATY IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES.

When the king of France had remained with his army for sixteen months before the city of Bourges, on the side toward la Charité-sur-Loire, without any hope of taking it, and had perceived the town was well supplied with provision on the side opposite to his camp, he broke up the siege, and ordered fire to be set to all his quarters. He marched away, and again encamped on the right of the city, about four leagues distant, on the river, and near to Yeure-le-Châtel. The besieged, seeing their adversaries thus suddenly decamp, thought it was done from fear of the English, who had promised them their aid, and that they were marching back to France. They were consequently much rejoiced, and some of them sallied forth, with a multitude of peasants, in the expectation of making prisoners,—but it happened

otherwise than they looked for. Enguerrand de Bournouville had, with some other captains, remained behind, with about three hundred men-at-arms in ambuscade, and, when they saw it was time, issued forth, killed many, and made more prisoners, and returned to the king's army.

On the morrow, the king and his whole army crossed the river. One division advanced toward Bourges, and another to Orleans, to despoil and waste the country in the same manner as they had done on the opposite side. The townsmen of Bourges, observing the army to cross the river, hastily set fire to the suburbs on that side, which were very extensive, to prevent the enemy from occupying them, and some churches were also burnt: the more the pity! The king encamped his army round the city on that side, and had his cannons and engines pointed in such wise as effectually to annoy the place. The besieged were not idle in providing for their defence, and the means of preventing the city from being taken, but were very much grieved and cast down at the great damage which had been done to it.

The duke of Aquitaine, son and lieutenant to the king, saw with regret the destruction of so noble a city, the capital of Auvergne and Berry, and to which he was heir, and, fearing its total ruin, forbade the cannoneers, and those who had the direction of the other engines, to fire any balls, or to cast more stones into it, under pain of death. The duke of Burgundy, on hearing these orders, which counteracted his wish to push matters to extremity, was much displeased and surprised, and suspected the duke of Aquitaine had changed his opinion, or was moved with compassion toward his enemies: however, in the conversation that passed between them on the subject, the duke of Aquitaine declared positively, that he would put an end to the war. The duke of Burgundy most earnestly begged of him, that if he were determined upon it, he would conclude it according to the terms that had been agreed to by the king's ministers at Paris, namely, that if their adversaries should present themselves with all humility before the king, and submit themselves to his mercy, he would receive them, but entreated that any terms he should make might not be to his dishonour.

The duke of Aquitaine replied, that in truth the war had lasted too long; that it was prejudicial to the king and kingdom, and that he in the end might suffer from it,—for those against whom the war was made were his uncles, cousins-german, and others of his kindred, by whom he should be greatly assisted in any cases of need,—but he was desirous that they should submit themselves in the manner proposed in council before he had left Paris. The duke of Burgundy, in consequence of this and other conversations, humbled himself much toward the duke of Aquitaine; for he had discovered that the business had been discussed with some other great lords, of whom he was very suspicious, and particularly of the duke of Bar, who had, for some time past, clearly shown he was displeased with him. He, however, told the duke of Aquitaine publicly, that he was satisfied that the negotiations for a peace should be continued according to the good pleasure and honour of the king and himself.

The commissioners were, therefore, ordered to renew the conferences, which they willingly obeyed. When they had reduced to writing the demands and answers of the two parties, they requested of the princes on each side, that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy might meet and conclude the treaty; and this was agreed to by the king and the duke of Aquitaine, and the leaders of the opposite party. An elevated place was fixed and well secured for the meeting of the uncle and nephew, for neither of them had much confidence in the other. It was for this reason that barriers were erected on a platform, on which the dukes entered at separate ends, having bars between them, and their council behind, whom they occasionally consulted as to the demands and answers.

For greater security, a body of their men-at-arms were stationed near to each, but not so near as to hear any conversation that passed.—They were both completely and handsomely armed. The duke of Berry, notwithstanding he was seventy years of age, wore a sword, dagger, and battle-axe: he had on a steel scull-cap, and a rich clasp on his breast,—over his armour a purple jacket, the cross-belt of which was bespangled with pearls. After they had been two hours together, they separated, to outward appearance, in good humour; but the duke of Berry said peevishly to the duke of Burgundy, "Fair nephew and fair godson, when

your father, my dear brother, was living, there was no need of any barriers betwixt us: we were always on the most affectionate terms." The duke of Burgundy replied, "My lord, it has not been my fault." The duke of Berry then mounted his horse, and returned, with his attendants, to Bourges,—and the duke of Burgundy, in like manner, to the camp. The knights of the duke of Burgundy, on their return, said, that those of the duke of Berry, in their common conversations, declared themselves no way rebellious nor disaffected to the king; that their lord had been for some time very unwell, and unable to command them; that had he been otherwise, he would not so long have left the death of his nephew unpunished; that in regard to their having burnt, taken, and destroyed several towns and castles, in different parts of the kingdom, such as St. Denis and Roye, which they had plundered, they replied, that as their lords were of the blood-royal, they had a right to lead their men-at-arms through any towns in the realm, on their personal wars, for that they had very just cause for attacking the duke of Burgundy, and that in so doing they committed no offence against the king; but, in regard to having refused to open the gates of the city of Bourges when the king came in person before it, they confessed themselves guilty of contempt, for which they humbly asked his pardon, as was stated in the treaty, and offered him the keys of the town.

On the Wednesday following, the two dukes again met, with their counsellors, at the barriers in front of the city-gate, and renewed their conference. When it was concluded, they drank wine together, and separated very joyfully. On the next day, all the nobles and knights of the army assembled before the tent of the duke of Aquitaine, who appeared in state as the representative of the king. He was attended by the dukes of Bar and Lorrain, and many others of high rank. The chancellor of Aquitaine, sir John de Neelle, knight and licentiate of law, and of great eloquence, then recited most notably all the different acts of rebellion committed by John de Berry, Charles d'Orleans, John de Bourbon, John d'Alençon, Bernard d'Armagnac, and Charles d'Albreth, and their adherents, declaring their alliance with the king of England, the king's adversary, and detailing all the destruction they had brought on the kingdom,—concluding a long speech by demanding, by orders of the king and of his son the duke of Aquitaine, that every person should now promptly deliver his opinion, whether there should be peace or war. Many replied, that it were better peace should be made with the above lords, and that they should be reinstated in the king's favour, than otherwise, provided the peace were a solid one; but others were of a contrary opinion, —and thus ended this meeting, which caused much murmuring. It is true, that at this time the heat of the weather was excessive, and great sickness prevailed in the army, insomuch that very many, hearing daily of the deaths of their companions, departed without taking leave. There was a great mortality among the horses, and the stench of their carcases much infected the camp.

CHAPTER XCV.—THE PRINCES AND LORDS WITHIN THE CITY OF BOURGES WAIT ON THE KING AND THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE, AND AFTERWARD AT AUXERRE.

On Friday the 15th day of July, when all things had been settled, the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, the lord d'Albreth, the count d'Eu *, the lord John de Bar, brother to the duke of Bar, accompanied by many knights and esquires bearing their banners, came forth of the city towards the king's army, and entered the tent of the duke of Aquitaine, who was surrounded by many nobles, such as the dukes of Burgundy and Bar, and other knights and esquires, the king being afflicted with his usual disorder. After the treaty had been read and agreed to, each kissed the other; but when the duke of Berry kissed his nephew the duke of Aquitaine, tears ran down his cheeks.

This treaty contained, among other articles, that the treaty which had been concluded at

* Charles d'Artois, count of Eu, son to the constable d'Eu (who died in Turkey, 1397,) and of Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry. He married twice, but had no issue, and in him ended the royal branch of Artois, commencing in Robert the good count d'Artois, who was killed in Egypt in the year 1250, when accompanying his brother St. Louis.

Chartres by the king and his council, between Charles duke of Orleans and his brothers, respecting the death of their late father, Louis duke of Orleans, on the one part, and John duke of Burgundy on the other, for being an accomplice in the aforesaid death, should be kept inviolable for ever; and that the marriage formerly proposed between one of the brothers of the Orleans family and a daughter of the duke of Burgundy should take effect. The other articles declared, that the duke of Berry and the lords of his party should surrender to the obedience of the king all such towns and castles as the king might demand; and the duke entreated, that the king would excuse and pardon him for not having before submitted to his obedience the city of Bourges. And also, that the aforesaid lords would renounce all confederations which had been made between them, as well as all foreign alliances against the duke of Burgundy, who in like manner was to renounce the alliances he might have formed against them. That the king would restore to them, fully and completely, all their towns, castles, and forts, which he might have taken, excepting such as had been demolished or razed, which were to remain in their present state. The articles also declared, that the officers of the aforesaid lords who had been deprived of their places, should be reinstated.

When they had dined, the duke of Berry presented the keys of the city of Bourges to the duke of Aquitaine, as the representative of the king, and then returned thither with his companions. The duke of Aquitaine caused the peace to be proclaimed throughout the army and country in the king's name, acting as his lieutenant. By the same proclamation, it was most strictly ordered, that henceforth no one of either party should personally abuse another, either corporally or in his fortune, nor use any opprobrious language, nor call any one by the names of Armagnac or Burgundian.

On Saturday, the 16th day of the same month, king Louis of Sicily came from his possessions in Anjou and Maine, escorted by three thousand two hundred men-at-arms, knights and esquires, and accompanied by the count de Penthievre with his Bretons, to assist the king in his siege of Bourges. The king of Sicily was very much rejoiced when he was informed of the peace that had been concluded with the princes; and on the morrow, attended by the duke of Bar and a number of other knights, he went into the city, and was there magnificently entertained at dinner by the duke and duchess of Berry. The other lords dined in the duke's palace, and were grandly and plentifully served: after dinner, they all returned to the camp. On the ensuing Wednesday, the king of France decamped from before the town, having remained there, at this second siege, forty days, at an immense expense, and with his whole army marched back, the way they had come, to la Charité-sur-Loire, where he was lodged. Thither came the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, and the lord d'Albreth, with the commissioners from the duke of Orleans and his brothers, who, in the tent of the duke of Aquitaine, and in his presence and in that of the principal lords, made oath on the holy evangelists punctually and faithfully to observe the peace that had been concluded at Bourges. They promised to swear the same in the presence of the king; and as the duke of Orleans and his brothers were absent, they solemnly engaged that they would meet the king, to take this oath personally before him, on any appointed day, at Auxerre: when this was done, they returned home. The peace was again proclaimed by the king's orders; and all persons were strictly enjoined, whatever might be their rank, not to molest each other in body or estate, and not to use any defamatory language, or call any one by the name of Armagnac.

After this, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Aquitaine, Burgundy, and Bar, and all the princes, counts, barons, and chivalry, departed. The king retained with him a great body of the captains of his army, and their men-at-arms, and gave permission for all the rest to return to their homes. He went thence to Auxerre, and was lodged in the episcopal palace: the king of Sicily and the duke of Aquitaine were quartered in the town, and their men in the adjacent villages. The lord Gilles de Bretagne, on his arrival at Auxerre, died of a dysentery. In like manner, the count de Mortain, brother to the king of Navarre, lost his life either at Auxerre or at Sancerre from the same disorder. His body was carried to Paris, and interred in the church of the Carthusians. Aymé de Vitry, sir John de Guistelle, John d'Icquennie, and several others, died on their road home; and this disorder was so fatal that from one thousand to twelve hundred knights and esquires, not including varlets, died of it,

as it was reported to the lords in Auxerre. When the marshal de Boucicaut, the count de Foix, and the lord de St. George, who were carrying on the war against the count d'Armagnac, heard that peace was concluded between the king and his enemies, they disbanded their army, and gave permission for all to return home.

During the time the king was at Auxerre, he had summoned the greater part of his nobles and prelates thither, as well as the chief citizens of the great towns, to witness the solemn swearing to the observance of the peace. But before they could arrive, other intelligence was brought, which was far from being agreeable, namely, that the English were at anchor, with their whole navy, before the town of la Hogue de St. Vas, in the country of Coutantin; that they had made a descent, and spread themselves over the adjacent countries, destroying or plundering everything they could find, and that their numbers amounted to about eight thousand, of whom two thousand were men-at-arms, and the rest archers or infantry, and that they were under the command of the duke of Clarence, second son to the king of England. These English had landed in consequence of the treaty between the dukes of Berry and Orleans and their allies, and the king of England, and were on their march to assist in raising the siege of Bourges. The counts of Alençon and Richemont went to meet them, and received them most joyfully, although they had come too late to do them any effectual service; but, notwithstanding this, they exerted themselves to the utmost to supply them with horses and provision. This force was much increased by the junction of six hundred Gascon helmets that had likewise been subsidized by the confederates at Bourges. When these forces were united, they overran the country, and committed great destruction.

The prisoners confined at Lille, as before mentioned, consisted of the lord de Hangest, formerly master of the cross-bows of France, sir Louis de Bourdon, sir Charles de Gerammes, Enguerrand des Fontaines, and some others. They were all set at liberty by the count de la Marche, on each paying a large ransom to the person who had made him prisoner; and in like manner were all others delivered, by exchange or by ransom.

About the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, those who had been summoned by the king of France arrived at Auxerre. In their number, the Parisians came in great pomp; and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, and the lord d'Albreth, also attended. The lord d'Albreth, soon after his arrival, wished to resume the office of constable; but the count Waleran de St. Pol would not suffer him, and exercised it himself. Many high words passed between them; and the lord d'Albreth, having taken the oaths of peace, retired much displeased and indignant. On the ensuing Monday, the duke of Orleans and his brother, the count de Vertus, came to Auxerre, escorted by about two thousand combatants. When all the lords were arrived, they assembled on an extensive plain without the city, near to a convent of nuns, where had been erected a handsome scaffolding, richly adorned, on which was the duke of Aquitaine, as representative of his father, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Burgundy, of Bar, and others.

The duke of Burgundy and his party repeated the oaths they had before taken, as also did the duke of Orleans and his friends: and the same proposal of marriage as had been made at Chartres, was again solemnly agreed to take place, between the count de Vertus and a daughter of the duke of Burgundy, on the terms before mentioned. The aforesaid lords then publicly renounced all confederations and alliances which they had formed with Henry king of England, with his sons, or with any others of the English nation, enemies to France, the duke of Burgundy having before declared that he had no connexion with them,—and they agreed to write such letters to the king of England as the king and his council should advise. They also promised and swore to renew their oaths respecting the observance of this peace in the king's presence, so soon as he should have recovered his health,—for at that time he had had a relapse,—and to sign such papers as he would please, that they would never again form any confederations or alliances against each other; and that if either of them should attempt to infringe the articles of this peace, the others would unite against him or them to enforce their due observance, and oblige them to listen to reason.

At this ceremony, by orders of the king, were some of the members of the parliament, of the chamber of accounts, and of the university of Paris, the provosts of Paris and of the merchants, the sheriffs and some of the principal citizens, to many of whom this treaty was

not very agreeable. There were also present, in consequence of the king's summons, very many from Rouen, Caen, Amiens, Tournay, Laon, Rheims, Troyes, Langres, Tours, and from the chief towns in the kingdom.

When this solemnity was over, all the great lords went to dine with the duke of Aquitaine at his lodgings. At this entertainment, which was most splendid and abundant, the duke of Burgundy served, and the counts de Nevers and de St. Pol, assisted by other noble knights, carried the dishes. After they had dined, the company amused themselves by playing at divers games. These being ended, towards dusk all retired to their lodgings. On the morrow, and for several days following, they continued feasting together, and, according to all outward appearances, were in great harmony with each other. Even the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy rode out together, both on the same horse *, in company with other lords, and showed such mutual affection as is becoming brothers and near relations. Nevertheless, some wicked tongues were not sparing of them behind their backs, but loudly spoke their minds. With regard to the people, they were in such crowds that it need not be asked if they were pleased,—for they continually shouted out, "Gloria in excelsis Deo," as if they wished to praise the gloriousness of the heavens. It indeed seemed to them a kind of miracle that such bitter hatred as had existed between these great lords should be so speedily appeased.

When every thing was concluded, and because this epidemic disorder raged at Auxerre, the king and princes departed, and went by Sens to Melun, where great feasts and entertainments, with justings and dancings, were held by the queen and her court, for joy of the happy reconciliation that had taken place between the princes of the blood royal. In truth, while the king resided at Melun, he recovered his health, and then, at the entreaties of the queen, his daughter, the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy, and of the king of Sicily, he approved of and ratified the treaty of peace that had been made. In consequence, he delivered up all the castles, towns and lands, which he had seized on account of the rebellion of his nephews and other lords, as well secular as ecclesiastic, and restored them to their free possession. They thus re-entered their towns and castles, but without any restitution for the damages which had been done to them: several of them had been nearly destroyed; and the vineyards, forests and other lands, had suffered greatly, with various mischiefs that had been done to the farms. That this peace might be publicly known, and that no one might plead ignorance, but that it should remain for ever inviolate, the king issued the following edict.

CHAPTER XCVI.—THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS HIS EDICT RESPECTING THE PEACE TO BE SENT TO HIS DIFFERENT OFFICERS FOR PROCLAMATION IN THE USUAL PLACES,—— AND OTHER MATTERS.

"CHARLES, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.—Among the heavy and continued anxieties which we always feel for the preservation of our crown and kingdom, the warmest wish we have is to nourish love and affection among our subjects, and to guard them from all oppressions and other inconveniences which are consequent on civil commotions, that they may live under us in perfect tranquillity. Whereas many very serious discords and divisions have arisen within our realm between several of the princes of our royal blood, their adherents and allies, which have caused great mischiefs to ensue, to the detriment of our faithful subjects; and others still more disastrous might have followed, had we not provided a sufficient remedy. These discords have occasioned to us the utmost grief of heart; and for this reason we make known to thee, that through the grace of the sovereign King of kings, our Creator and Saviour, and the Giver of all peace; and through the diligent exertions of our very dear and well-beloved son the duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, and others who have laboured with him, we

* This was a singular method of publicly displaying familiarity. In some of the old romances we read of adventurous knights assisting the unfortunate by "giving them a lift," in this manner; and the knights Templars, in token of poverty and humility, bore two knights on one horse as their device: but we have never met with anything to show that the practice was usual.—ED.

have concluded a sound peace with the aforesaid princes, our kindred, and their confederates, in the manner and form expressed in the treaty drawn up for this purpose. By this treaty all rancour and malevolence between one party and another are extinguished, and the princes aforesaid have solemnly sworn on the holy evangelists, in the presence of our very dear son, many prelates and other persons, that they will strictly observe every article of it, and no way infringe it, according to the oaths which they had before taken on a similar occasion.

"For this reason, we therefore enjoin, and most strictly command, thee to proclaim this peace in all the squares and public places of Amiens, by sound of trumpet, and then to make proclamation of the same in all the villages and other places within thy bailiwick, particularly ordering all our subjects most faithfully to keep this peace, under pain of our highest displeasure, and of being criminally guilty towards our royal person, forbidding any person, whatever may be their rank, in our name, in any wise to offend against any of its articles, on pain of being corporally punished, with confiscation of property. We, moreover, enjoin thee, that thou do punish most severely and publicly, according to the exigency of the case, any who shall be found violating this peace in any degree whatever, either by word or deed, who may be regularly accused before thee, so that it may serve as an example to all others.

"Given at Melun, in the year of Grace 1412, and in the 32d of our reign."—Signed by the king from the report made to him by the council held by my lords the dukes of Aquitaine, Berry, Burgundy, Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Vertus and Alençon, and John de Bar, with others present at it. Countersigned, "Emau, inspector."

The English, during this time, had advanced, from the Coutantin, into the countries of Maine and Touraine, despoiling the districts they marched through with fire and sword. A grand council was held on this subject at Melun, presided by the duke of Aquitaine as the king's *locum tenens*, and at which were present the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orleans and Bourbon, the count de Vertus, the chancellors of France, Aquitaine, and of Orleans, the lords de Torsy, d'Offemont, with others, the provost of the merchants, the sheriffs and council of Paris,—when it was ordered, that all persons capable of bearing arms, noble or not, should assemble properly equipped, at Chartres, on the 8th day of October ensuing; at which time and place, they should receive pay for the defence of the realm, and to drive the ancient enemies of France out of the kindgom. This edict was copied, and sent to the principal seneschalships and bailiwicks of France sealed with the royal seal, by the aforesaid princes, that a sufficient force might be provided against the 8th day of October.

The Parisians, as being more nearly affected, hastened to raise their levies of men-at-arms and archers at Paris or at Melun,—and others in the adjacent countries. Every one, on the receipt of the king's edict, assembled his quota. Had the duke of Berry and those of his party kept the engagements they had made with the English, and paid them the large sum of two hundred thousand crowns, according to their promises, they were ready to return to England, either through Aquitaine or Bordeaux; but from the melancholy state of the country, they were unable to raise this sum by any means they could offer,—and thus their terms not being fulfilled, the English thought they might pay themselves. The king of Sicily returned, however, to Anjou, to raise men for the defence of his territories, whither the English were fast advancing.

In these days, the duke of Aquitaine reinstated the eldest son of the late grand master Montagu in his office of chamberlain, andobtained, through his entreaties with the king, that all his estates should be restored, which ought to have descended to him by right of inheritance, so that, with the exception of some trifling confiscations, he regained all the patrimony he would have inherited from his father and mother. He obtained likewise the head of his father; and one evening, about vespers, the provost of Paris, with his executioner, attended by twelve guards, or thereabout, holding lighted torches and carrying a ladder, followed by a priest dressed in his robes, came to the market-place, when the executioner mounted the ladder to where the head of the late grand-master had been fixed to the end of a lance, and, taking it off, delivered it to the priest, who received it in a handsome napkin. Thus wrapped up, he placed it on his shoulder, and carried it, attended by these lighted torches, to the hôtel of the late Montagu, grand-master of the king's household.

The body was in like manner taken down from the gibbet at Montfaucon, in the presence of the provost, by his hangman, and brought to Paris. It was there joined to the head, placed in a handsome coffin, and carried in great state, attended by his children, and a numerous party of friends, with priests chaunting, and a vast number of lighted torches, to the church of the Celestins at Marcoussy, which he had founded and endowed in his lifetime and made a convent of monks, and there honourably interred. Among other gifts which he had made when alive was the great bell, called St. Catherine, to the church of Nôtre-Dame at Paris, as appears from his arms and crest that are upon it.

CHAPTER XCVII.—THE WAR CONTINUES IN THE BOULONOIS.—THE KING RETURNS TO PARIS. —THE DUKE OF ORLEANS SATISFIES THE ENGLISH,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

DURING this time, king Henry of England sent the earls of Warwick and Kyme, with two thousand combatants, to Calais, whence, with other garrisons, they invaded the Boulonois, and did much mischief. They burnt the town of Saumer-au-Bois, took by storm the fort of Ruissault, pillaging, robbing, and setting fire to every place they came to. To oppose them, the king ordered to St. Omer count Waleran his constable, the lord de Rambures, master of the cross-bows, and the lord de Heilly, with a large body of men-at-arms, who were posted in the various garrisons,—and thus was the country harassed on all sides.

At this period, the king of France returned to Paris, and was lodged in his hôtel of Saint Pol, to the great joy of the Parisians, who sang carols in all the streets, lighted bonfires, and had great illuminations, shouting out all night, "God save the king!" There were, likewise, very magnificent feasts and other entertainments. The king was attended, on his entry into Paris, by the dukes of Aquitaine, Burgundy, Bourbon, and the count de Vertus. The queen, with the dukes of Berry and Orleans, had remained at the castle of Vincennes, and thence, on the Sunday following, made her entry into Paris, and was lodged with the king at the hôtel de St. Pol. The duke of Orleans had accompanied her part of the way; but, when he approached Paris, he separated from her, and took the road for his county of Beaumont. The duke of Berry staid at Vincennes. Although the town of Chauny had been surrendered to the king in perpetuity, he restored it to the duke of Orleans, and, at the same time, granted him permission to raise from his vassals the sum of sixty thousand florins of gold, by way of tax, for his own private use. But he could never succeed in the attempts which he made to regain his two castles of Coucy and Pierrefons. When he had been at Beaumont a few days, he departed, and went to meet the English under the command of the duke of Clarence, who had landed, as has been said, at his request, and satisfied him fully, as to the pay of his men, so far as was in his power; but as he could not then advance the whole that was due for their pay, the duke of Orleans gave, as a pledge for the due fulfilment of his engagement, his youngest brother, the count of Angoulême, with many other gentlemen, namely, sir Marcel le Borgne, Jean de Saveuses, Archambault de Villiers, Guillaume le Boutillier, Jean David, and others of his dependants. They were all carried away by the duke of Clarence, who retired with his English to Guienne. The count of Angoulême was pledged for the sum of two hundred and nine thousand francs French money. When the duke of Orleans had concluded this, he returned to Blois; but these bondsmen remained in England a long time, as shall be told hereafter. The duke of Orleans sent some of his most able knights, to prevail on the king to restore to him his castles of Coucy and Pierrefons, which were held by the constable; but although the king granted his letters for the surrender of them, the constable refused to obey, giving for answer, that until he should be repaid the money he had advanced to his men-at-arms for the conquest of them, he would retain them, —adding, that the king had made him a promise of them, and had nominated sir Gerard de Herbannes governor of Coucy, and of Pierrefons sir Collard de Fiennes. The castle of Pierrefons, which was a very strong and handsome edifice, was one night burnt to the ground, to the great displeasure of the duke,—but as he could not obtain any redress, he was forced to endure it.

The duke of Burgundy, who resided at Paris, to be near the king, about this time caused

sir Bourdin de Salligny to be arrested, and carried prisoner to Flanders, where he was confined some time, and then set at liberty. Sir Bourdin had been the particular and confidential friend of the duke; and it was reported, that he was inclined to change sides and turn to that of Orleans, and had even betrayed some of the duke's secrets. In these days also, some very sharp words passed between the bastard of Bourbon and a butcher of Paris, called Denisot de Chaumont, when the bastard said to him, "Peace! hold thy tongue: I shall find thee again another time." Shortly after, Denisot, who had great weight among his brethren of the trade, collected a large body, and, with other Parisians, they barricaded the streets with chains,—but they were at length appeased by the duke of Burgundy.

John duke of Bourbon, the count d'Armagnac, and the lord d'Albreth, were ordered by the king and council into Languedoc, to oppose the enterprises of the duke of Clarence and the English, who had fixed their quarters in Aquitaine, and sorely oppressed all who defended the French interest on the frontiers.

CHAPTER XCVIII.—THE DUKE OF BERRY IS DANGEROUSLY ILL.—HE IS VISITED BY HIS DAUGHTER THE DUCHESS OF BOURBON, AND BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—NOTICE OF OTHER MATTERS.

THE duke of Berry, who had come to Paris to attend the king his nephew, and a grand council about to be holden, was taken dangerously ill at his hôtel of Nesle; but by the care and affection of his daughter the duchess of Bourbon, who, on hearing of his illness, had come to see him, and by her nursing, he was soon restored to health. He was also frequently visited by his nephew, the duke of Burgundy. While the duchess of Bourbon was at Paris, she obtained from the king, and from the dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy, that the body of Binet d'Espineuse, formerly the knight of her lord the duke of Bourbon, should be taken down from the gibbet of Montfaucon, and his head from the market-house, where it had been placed some time since by the king's officers of justice. She had it escorted by many of his friends to the town of Espineuse, in the county of Clermont, where it was honourably interred. The duke of Burgundy at this time had the sole government of the kingdom, for nothing was done but by his advice or that of his friends.

Notwithstanding it had been promised at the peace of Auxerre, by the king and the princes of the blood, that every one, of whatever party he might have been, should be reinstated in his property in such offices as had been held by them, very many could not profit of this royal favour; for with all their diligence in suing for reinstatement, they met with nothing but delays, more especially those who had been attached to the Orleans party. This caused much silent bitterness and discontent; and both sides were busily employed underhand on the means of securing the support of the king and the duke of Aquitaine,—one party making secret attempts to gain the former, the other the latter. Thus, therefore, there was not any sincere love beteen them; and the war was daily expected to recommence with greater fury than before, as shall be more fully explained. I shall hereafter, towards the end of this year 1412, lay before you all the letters and treaties that passed between king Henry of England and his children, and other princes, on the one part, and the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon, d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albreth, and their adherents, on the other part, and their mutual engagements to each other.

CHAPTER XCIX.—THE KING OF FRANCE HOLDS A GRAND ASSEMBLY AT PARIS ON THE REFORMATION OF ABUSES IN THE GOVERNMENT.—OTHER MATTERS.

THE king of France, by the advice of the duke of Burgundy, summoned the greater part of the princes, prelates, heads of universities, and principal citizens of the great towns, to Paris, to consider on several matters of great importance to the kingdom in general, and more especially respecting the reformation of his ministers, who had for a long time very ill governed the realm.

When this assembly had held many consultations on the subjects laid before it, its members determined that the university of Paris should make their report in the name of all,—which report was delivered to the king at his hôtel of St. Pol, in manner following.

CHARLES VI. IN COUNCIL WITH (*a*) HIS GRAND MASTER AND CHAMBERLAIN, (*b*) HIS NOTARY AND TREASURER, AND (*c*) HIS WAR TREASURER.
From various contemporary authorities, engraved in Montfaucon, plate 36, vol. 3.

"To our most high and most excellent prince, our sovereign lord and father. Your most humble and devoted daughter the university of Paris, your very submissive and obedient subjects the provost of the merchants, the sheriffs and citizens of your good town of Paris, lay before you their opinions and advice, as required by you, for the welfare and happiness of yourself and kingdom. In the first place, respecting the peace that has been lately concluded between certain princes of your royal blood, according to the terms your majesty has been pleased to lay before us, we say, that all who have sworn solemnly to keep this peace, and have hitherto observed it, ought to continue this same conduct, in pursuance of their intentions sworn to before God: but we think that you should summon certain others of the lords of your blood, and of their principal servants, to swear personally before you to keep the peace; and that for many reasons,—first, because they never yet have taken the said oaths,—secondly, because many among them do not keep the peace. It is a notorious fact, that although the English are in your kingdom, and in conjunction with other companies, as well natives as foreigners, daily commit waste on the country, scarcely any attempts have been made to oppose their further progress, and petitions and clamours arise throughout the realm.—Item, the count d'Armagnac, who is your subject, pays no regard to the peace; and so far from observing it, is constantly making war on your more faithful subjects.—Item, for the better observance of this peace, we recommend that your majesty should cause letters to be drawn up, in which all the articles of the treaty shall be incorporated, and sent to the different officers, or to whomsoever else you may please, with orders to make known all transgressors of them, that they may be punished accordingly.

"With regard to the second point on which you, our sovereign lord, demand our advice, having fully considered all that concerns your own honour and welfare, and everything that may tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, we feel ourselves obliged to make known to you what we perceive to be defects in your government. We must begin by the bad adminis-

tration of the public finances, to which you, as king, ought to have caused more faithful attention to be paid. We recommend, in the first place, that the revenues of the royal demesne be divided into four parts: one to be distributed in alms, another to defray the expenses of your majesty, those of the queen, the duke of Aquitaine, and your household; another to pay the salaries of your officers and servants; another to be applied to the repairs of bridges, roads, mills, castles, causeways, or other public works,—and the overplus to be paid into the king's treasury, as was formerly done.—Item, it clearly appears, that the finances are not at this present time so regulated, which is the fault of your treasurers, who have the administration of them. The religious of both sexes, as well belonging to convents as to hospitals, are frequently forced to expend their own money on the repairs of their churches, without deriving any assistance from the royal treasury, to their great detriment, to the loss of their personal comforts, the ruin of the churches, and the failure of divine service, to the prejudice of the souls of your predecessors, and to the oppression of your own conscience. In regard to alms, it is well known that scarcely anything is paid; and as to the expenses of yourself, the queen, and the duke of Aquitaine, which are regulated by sir Pierre de Fontenay, and paid by Raymond Ragnier and Jean Pie, clerks of the exchequer, they are found to amount to four hundred and fifty thousand francs, as well received from the royal demesnes as from other sources; whereas, in former times, only ninety-two thousand francs were received for this purpose, and your predecessors kept up a royal state, and the tradesmen were regularly paid, notwithstanding the smallness of the sum: but at present this is far from being the case, for the tradesmen are not only unpaid, but your household, and those of the queen and the duke of Aquitaine, are frequently broken up. Even so lately as Thursday last, this disgrace happened to the household of the queen; whence it appears, that these sums are not employed for your expenses, but wasted at the will of your ministers, and among their favourites, as we shall more fully explain at a proper time and place.

"In former days, the sum raised for the expenses of the queen's household was but thirty-six thousand francs; but at present, one hundred and forty thousand are raised on this account, from taxes independent of the revenues of her demesnes. This difference proceeds from the fault of the administrators of this department, the principal of whom is Raymond Ragnier, the treasurer; and he has so managed this money, destined for the use of the queen, that he has purchased large estates, and built fine houses, as may be seen both in town and country. The management of this part of the finances should be examined into; for beside the regular receipt, other sums are demanded by way of extraordinaries.—Item, there are also great abuses in the offices of the master of your wardrobe, and of the treasury; for those who have the direction, receive very large sums of money, and dispose of them otherwise than in the payment of your debts or to your advantage: the salaries of your officers and servants are consequently in arrear; and those who have supplied your table with provision and wine, cannot get their money. Of course, these sums must be applied to their own use, as is very apparent from the great state they live in, from the number of their horses and other luxuries; as in the instance of Raymond Ragnier, who, in purchasing and building, has expended, as it is said, upward of thirty thousand francs.

"Charlot Poupart, master of the wardrobe, and master William Budé, storekeeper, have also made great acquisitions of property, and live at an immense expense, which cannot be done from the salaries of their office, nor from their estates before they had these offices given to them. There are likewise great defects in the management of your stables, which is an office of very great receipt; and the prodigious sums that are there expended, are not for your honour nor profit.—Item, in regard to the salaries of the officers of your household, they are very ill paid at the treasury; nor are their payments any way regular, so that they suffer very great poverty, and are unable to appear before you so decently dressed as they would wish. There are, however, some favourites among them that are very well paid.

"With respect to the repairs of your castles, mills, and other public works, they are all going to ruin; and as for the overplus that should remain to be paid into your private treasury, there is not at this moment one penny; although, in the days of king Philip, king John, and king Charles, when the receipt was not anything like what it is now, there were savings: but the treasury was then far better managed. We must likewise observe, that this kind of

management of the finances has been continued for nearly thirty years; and that those who have had the administration of them, have no way attended to your honour or profit, or to the good of the kingdom, but solely to their own private emolument.

"It therefore befits your said daughter, the university of Paris, to lay before you the following facts, that a better administration of your finances may be adopted. In the first place, you have too many treasurers, who have increased since the time before mentioned, from the additional business in the office; and several have forced themselves into it, who, before the expiration of the year, have been removed to make way for others of more popularity in the country. God knows, they would not be so eager to be admitted into this office, were it not for the plundering daily going on there; and if a treasurer do not yearly gain from four to five thousand francs, he thinks he is badly off. Where formerly there were but two treasurers, there are now five or six, from the great increase of business; and at times there are six or seven. Thus it is clear as the day, that you lose every year from sixteen to twenty thousand francs, from the bad conduct of your treasurers. When they are admitted to their office, they pay not any attention to the discharge of the necessary disbursements, nor to the oaths they took on admission, but solely to the enormous grants that have been surreptitiously obtained, which are paid from their general receipt. In regard to the other offices where the net receipt is paid, it passes through so many hands that immense fortunes are made from the exorbitant fees claimed by the treasurers: these are Andrieu Guiffart, Burel Dampmartin, Regnier de Bouligney, Jean Guerin, and the director Nicolle Bonet, who was clerk to his predecessor in office, Jean Chayf, and the clerk master Guy Bouchier, who are all of them useless and guilty of mismanagement, except Jean Guerin, who has but lately come into the office, and has not as yet misbehaved himself. Andrieu Guiffart is particularly culpable for having wasted all the patrimony he had received from his father. He was appointed, through the influence of the provost of Paris, (who is his cousin by the mother's side,) to one of the treasurerships, where he has amassed such sums of money that he wears nothing but sapphires, rubies, and other precious diamonds, with the most costly dresses, and rides the best of horses. He lives in the utmost state, with his side-boards covered with plate of every description for ornament and use.

"Item, formerly it was not necessary to have a treasurer for the criminal prosecutions, but only an occasional counsellor; but now there are four counsellors, who receive very large sums to your prejudice. In regard to the administration of those taxes called Aides, there are officers appointed for that purpose, called Generals, through whose hands pass all that is ordered for the carrying on the wars, amounting, one year with another, to twelve thousand francs. The aforesaid treasurers, by the connivance of these generals, manage the finances very badly; for they commonly obtain their places through the influence of friends, to whom the generals make great gifts to your loss. The salaries of these generals amount to from two to four thousand francs yearly each; and if a general remain in office for two years, he will acquire from nine to ten thousand francs, or some such great sum, by private gifts, and which are sometimes levied on the properties of great lords without their knowledge: particulars of such conduct, and false certificates, were discovered during the late inquiries for the reformation of abuses. There is also another office, wrongfully called the Treasury of Savings, under the government of Anthony des Essars, for which the sum of about one hundred and twenty thousand francs is taken from the taxes. In former times, this chest for savings was kept under two locks, of which you had one key, to take from it any sum that should be wanting for yourself or your kingdom. Those, however, who now have the management of it have so acted, that there is not one penny in the chest; nor is it known who in the world has been bettered by it, excepting the administrators, with the consent of those they found in the office, by drawing out false statements of expenses to your prejudice.

"Item, this aforesaid Anthony has the keeping of your wardrobe and jewels, and is so negligent that whatever may be wanting for your dress is bought from day to day, of which he alone is culpable.—Item, after this comes another office, called the Cofferers, held by Maurice de Rully, who, in general, receives daily ten golden crowns, which he ought to deliver into your hands to spend according to your pleasure; but the coffers are empty, for

he has dissipated their contents,—and under shadow of this office, immense sums have been wasted, as shall be spoken of in proper time and place. The manner in which you, the queen, and the duke of Aquitaine, are pillaged, is easily shown; for when you have need of a speedy sum of money for the war, or for any other urgent necessity, application must be made to certain money-lenders, who, for usury, make a traffic of money, and supply your wants on having your plate and jewels in pawn, and at an exorbitant loss in the interest paid for these loans, insomuch that what may be worth ten thousand francs costs you fifteen or sixteen; and thus your losses are annually very great from these usurious practices and pretended exchanges. You may readily suppose that your officers must be accomplices in this traffic, and that this alone will occasion such an empty treasury. Your inferior servants are much distressed and ill treated; and in this manner are not only your own affairs but those of the princes of your blood managed, without any exception.

"Item, it is proper that you should be made acquainted with the tricks and deceit of those officers called Generals, in the receipt of your finances. When any receiver shall have lent you a sum amounting to five or six thousand crowns over and above his receipt, he is dismissed from his office, to prevent him from reimbursing himself, and another put in his place, who will receive the whole of the taxes in that department. When, therefore, there shall be little or nothing to receive, he that was dismissed will be replaced in his office, provided he has made sufficient presents to his superior officers. By this means, the aforesaid receiver can neither be paid nor pay what he owes; and thus they ride one on another, to the ruin of your finances,—and you drink your wine sour.—Item, when there is an ambassador to be sent, or even a simple canon to be despatched to a foreign country, money for their expenses must be borrowed from usurers; and it frequently happens that the aforesaid ambassador cannot depart for want of money, which renders the embassy useless, and the kingdom suffers greatly from it.—Item, it is also necessary that you should know what is become of all the money that for these last two years has been raised, as well from the domains of the crown as from the very numerous and heavy taxes and impositions of all sorts, of which the provost of Paris has, as is notorious, taken on himself the management, and styled himself Director and General Superintendant of the Finances.—Item, it should likewise be remembered, that other great officers, as well as the provost, have held many offices of importance, which they have sold, and pocketed the amount, to your great disadvantage and contrary to your royal edicts, and also to the prejudice of the kingdom,—for by this system, ignorant and improper persons are put into the said offices.

"Item, the provost of Paris, who had held for some time the office of grand-master of waters and forests, has now resigned it to the lord de Jury, for which six thousand francs have been levied. But beside the provostship of Paris, he holds the government of the towns of Cherbourg and its dependencies, which brings him an annual rent of six thousand francs, with the government of Nemours, amounting to two thousand more. Your income is also ruined by another mode, namely, by the immense number of receivers, treasurers, clerks, comptrollers, and other officers, who swallow enormous sums by way of fees, over and above the regular fees of office, of which the provost and his dependants have the greater share, and which they regard as their own personal property, to your great loss, and to the delay of payments to many of your faithful servants, knights, and counsellors of state. It is daily witnessed, that when a young man has been appointed to any of the above offices, however poor his situation may have been before, or how little versed he may be in the management of public affairs, he soon becomes rich, keeps a grand establishment, and purchases large estates and manors, all at your expense. There are great frauds committed by your treasurers of the war department, who are accustomed to take from your knights and esquires blank receipts sealed by them, of which they make a very bad use, as they know to their cost: but they can more fully inform you on this head than we can. It is melancholy to hear their complaints of the delays in the payment of their salaries, which are always much curtailed, at least to the greater part of them. It is consequently now become a rule among your men-at-arms, when their salary is in arrear, to pay themselves from the countries they are quartered in, saying, that, since they cannot obtain their pay, they must live by their service.

" Item, whenever these directors or superintendants of your finances are called upon, they make answer, that they are ready to produce their accounts, as if that were sufficient, and even go so far as to desire commissioners may be appointed to inspect and examine them; but, under correction, this answer is futile,—and if the real culprits are to be discovered, let their original state, and what substance they possessed before they entered into office, be inquired into,—what the amount of their salaries and fees, how much their reasonable expenditure, and then what is their present income, what estates they possess, and what buildings they have erected. It is notorious, that the superior officers are rich and magnificent, but that they were indigent before their appointment to office, and that some of them have purchased houses of great value, namely, master Jean Chastegnier, Guillaume Luce, and Nicaise Bouses. To say the truth, every loyal subject must be astonished and grieved at heart when he witnesses such management, that you, their lawful prince and sovereign, should be thus robbed, and that all your finances should be lodged in such beggarly purses, by the aforesaid, whose purses are swollen out, and by those who have preceded them, without any regard to your own wants, or to those of the state.—Item, since mention has been made of the grand state in which many live, it seems to your daughter, that such a style of living is too generally adopted throughout your kingdom; and she fears, from the evils that daily result from it, lest God may be angered against his people.—Item, in regard to the great councils, they are not held in the manner they ought to be; for generally almost every one is admitted, whereas none but wise and discreet men, such as knights and clerks, should be suffered to enter, to a competent number receiving pay and salaries from you, and from none other,—and these should always have an attentive eye to your personal profit and honour, and to the strengthening of your crown and kingdom. It frequently happens, from the numbers admitted, that business of every sort is neglected or delayed, and that when any good resolution has been made, as now and then will be the case, it remains unexecuted, however nearly it may affect your interests.—Foreign ambassadors should have their negotiations terminated, and our own should be despatched; and whenever anything conclusive has, by mature deliberation, been settled, it ought not to be broken off by a few persons afterward, as has often happened.

" Item, it is very distressing to hear such loud complaints of the debility of your government in protracting business. We even see the lord de Mouberon, the viscount de Murat, and those of la Rochelle, complaining of the delays of your council, although they are employed for the service of your kingdom, and declaring, that if more energy is not exerted, they must necessarily make peace with your enemies,—and thus you may lose many of your faithful vassals. In regard to the administration of justice in the realm, your court of parliament, which is the most eminent, is not governed as it is wont to have been. Formerly it was composed of excellent lawyers, as well secular as ecclesiastical, of a mature age and learned in the laws; and from its great fame for learning and justice, without partiality to any one, was resorted to, not only by Christians of all nations, but even by Saracens, who have applied to it for judgment. For some short time past, through favour of friends, relations, or other means, many young men have been admitted who are ignorant of the laws and unworthy of such honour, by which the authority and fair reputation of this court is greatly lessened. There are also other inconveniences attending these indiscriminate admissions: for instance, there are in this court many sons, brothers, nephews, and relations, sitting together, and many others who are lineally connected, as is the case with the family of the first president,—and from this circumstance great injustice may ensue in the decisions of the court.

" Item, there are now before the parliament several causes between poor persons, that are, as it were, dead; for the members do not use such expedition in deciding upon them as they in reason should. —Item, respecting the chamber of accounts, nothing is done, for all causes are there buried; for although some new members have been lately admitted, no progress seems to be made. Among the new ones is Alexander Boursier, who has several times been receiver-general of taxes, and whose accounts are said not yet to have been closed. You may, consequently, be a great loser in this business; for he who ought to be narrowly examined himself, is appointed to examine and reduce the accounts of others.—Item, the

better to effectuate his own business, this Alexander has so well practised that he has got Jean Vautier, who was his clerk, appointed to succeed him in the office of receiver-general; and notwithstanding the royal ordinances, and the oaths which receivers, and other officers in the receipt of taxes, take on entering their offices, to make the proper payments in regard to alms, they avoid, as it is said, by dissimulation and fraud, these distributions of alms, and frequently infringe the aforesaid ordinances.

"Item, respecting the administering of justice on those guilty of crimes against the revenue laws, it appears to us that the great multiplicity of officers is useless in this general dissipation of the substance of the kingdom, as well as the number of inferior officers, who, from their salaries and the presents they receive, devour the wealth of the country; for the greater part of these aforesaid officers are intruded on this court by the influence of friends. We must also notice the many presidents of the criminal court. During the reign of king Charles, there was but one, or two at the utmost,—whereas at present there are seven, who receive each annually one hundred livres, not including the notaries. Were we to enter into any detail respecting the masters of requests of the king's household, God knows how far it would lead us. In former times, ancient men, experienced in the laws and customs of the realm, were appointed to such places, who replied to all the petitions presented to them, and signed such as they judged expedient, so that the matter was speedily decided in chancery; but now raw and inexperienced youths are appointed, who expedite nothing but by orders from the chancellor,—and this occasions supernumerary officers to be named, to supply their defects, whose pay is very great, and of course to your loss.

"Item, in respect to your chancery, it is well known, that your chancellor of France undergoes great labour, and is very deserving of a large salary, but without prejudice to your realm. Although his salary should not amount to more than two thousand livres parisis, he has, nevertheless, for these last twenty years, taken, besides these two thousand livres and the gift of two thousand livres for the profits of the great seal, fines on remissions and registerings, of twenty sols parisis, which in the course of a year amount to a very large sum of money. He has also received other two thousand francs from the taxes levied for the support of the war.—Item, he receives annually for his robes two hundred francs; and also from the treasury, for the use of his chancery, five or six hundred livres parisis. He receives likewise, in addition to the above gifts, to a very large amount, on the different taxes and impositions. He has likewise signed and sealed with too great facility letters patent for large sums, without making any opposition: the particulars of them may be found in the accounts of Michel de Sabulon and Alexander Boursier, and in the accounts of several others, who have not failed to make advantage of them. To speak more plainly in regard to this article, there will be found in the above accounts grants, to the amount of six thousand francs, to private persons, sealed by the chancellor, although he well knew that this money was appropriated for carrying on the war.—These grants bring considerable emolument to the chancery, whose finances are managed by master Henry Machalie and master Buder, comptroller of the seal of chancery. They charge double fees on the king's dues, namely, those of notary and secretary, and receive exorbitant salaries and presents; and in such wise is your chancery governed, that no great profit comes to you, although the emoluments of it are immense. In regard to the fees of notaries, as they connect themselves with whomever they please, we shall enter more fully into their detail when occasion offers.

"Item, there are several offices in the kingdom which are incompatible, and yet are held by the same persons, who serve them by proxy, and thus in different ways pillage your subjects of their money. The debasement of your coin must not be forgotten,—and its weight and value have been lately so much diminished, that a crown is now of less worth than two sols were formerly. The penny and twopenny pieces are scarcely worth as many farthings, which is very prejudicial to your people; and thus the good money is carried off, —for the Lombards, in their exchanges, collect all the good, and make payment in the new coin. You ought to know by whose advice this debasement of the value of your coin has been made, for it is commonly said to have been thus lowered in value by the provost of Paris, the provost of the merchants, and Michel Lallier, who have taken upon themselves the management of your mint; and although they may have allowed you some profit on this

diminution of the coin, the loss that you and the queen will ultimately suffer is incomparably greater, as you may learn from those who are competent to give you information.

"Although your daughter and others of your subjects have now briefly laid before you the guilt of the aforesaid, this is not enough, nor will several days suffice, to enter into a full detail of all the wickedness and disgraceful conduct of your ministers and their adherents. Very many others, besides those we have named, are equally guilty, but we now pass them over, in the expectation of more amply speaking of them hereafter, for the welfare of yourself and of your kingdom. In regard to the aid, advice, and support, most sovereign lord, which you demand from your aforesaid daughter, and other loyal subjects, whom you have summoned for the purpose, they pray to God that he would be pleased, out of his grace, to comfort and advise you, for we are willing to expose our lives and fortunes in your service and support: indeed, we are bounden so to do by the solemn resolutions entered into at our last congregation, feeling ourselves greatly obliged to your royal majesty for the innumerable acts of kindness shown to us.

"The first advice we shall give regards your finances, that they may be put under a better administration as speedily as may be. We therefore recommend it as expedient for you to shut the hands of all your treasurers, directors, and receivers, without any exception, and to dismiss them from their offices, taking, at the same time, possession of all their fortunes, moveable and immoveable, and having their persons secured, until they shall have rendered you a just account of their administration.—Item, we think it necessary that you should annul all assignments of grants and extraordinary pensions. We advise, that you instantly command, under pain of death and confiscation of goods, all receivers, treasurers, and other officers in the country, as well of your domain as of other taxes, to bring you the whole sums they may have in their hands, and that they make no payment whatever, by way of assignation, to any one, however great his rank, excepting to such as yourself shall then order; that, at the same time, they bring you their books, and all papers concerning their receipt, and that, on their arrival, they have no communication whatever with the aforesaid directors, under pain of the above punishments.

"Item, in order the more effectually to establish order in your finances, seeing the great waste and misapplication of the large sums that have been raised for your personal defence, and in support of the war, you will order the whole of the receipt of taxes to be produced before you, as is your right, that henceforth they may be applied according to the true intent of raising them, and as the urgency of events may require. When the great need of such an ordinance is considered, no one ought to be dissatisfied; and on this subject have the goodness to keep in remembrance the prudent conduct of your father king Charles, whose soul may God receive! who nobly employed his taxes in driving the English out of his kingdom, and by this means made himself master of fortresses that were not before under his subjection: his officers and army were, at the same time, well paid; and there remained to him an overplus, which served him to purchase many precious jewels.—Item, should these means not be sufficient for your immediate wants, it seems to us that as you have treasuries in different parts, you may justly take from them, for they are alike your own. There are also a number of very rich persons, to the number of sixteen hundred, who can at any time be named to you: these ought to assist in the support of the poor,—for one-third of them do not pay, one with another, one hundred francs, which certainly cannot oppress them; but repayments may be made them when the treasury shall be better filled, according to the most advised plan.

"Item, we recommend that you nominate for receivers of your finances, as well from your demesne, as from the taxes, prudent persons, fearing God, without avarice, and who were never employed in any such offices, with reasonable salaries, but without any extraordinary presents, by whom your finances will be distributed according to the wants of the state, and the overplus paid into your private treasury. When such are appointed, all deputy-receivers, and tax-collectors, should be ordered to produce their papers and books to them.—Item, we recommend that all the schedules of the common expenses of yourself, the queen, and the duke of Aquitaine, be carefully examined, so that the annual amount may be exactly known, which we believe does not exceed two hundred thousand francs; for the treasurers do not

receive more than that sum from the demesne or taxes.—Item, in regard to the court of parliament, it is necessary that all inefficient members be dismissed, and replaced by others better informed, who shall adhere to ancient usages. The presidents of finances, of the civil and criminal courts, with the greffiers, treasurers, and clerks, must be handsomely provided for, but reduced to a competent number.—Item, the chamber of accounts must undergo similar regulations; and the members of it should consist of men of a prudent age, who may inform you of any mismanagement in the finance department.—Item, in regard to the minor officers, and deputy-receivers of finance, we think that if the whole of this business was put under the management of the presidents, you would gain considerably, whereas these minor officers swallow up great sums in salaries and fees.

"Item, it appears to us that you ought to select certain wise men, that they may be solely your council, in conjunction with the princes of your blood, and that they may loyally advise you for the real good of yourself and state, having their attention directed to nothing else, and that, when so doing, they should be strenuously supported by you in such wise that whatever they may propose for the welfare of the state may be instantly put into execution, without any opposition whatever. They should take such oaths as are usually taken, or any more solemn ones, such as you shall think proper.——Item, we recommend that the defence of the frontiers of Picardy, of Aquitaine, and of other parts, be sufficiently provided for, by allotting adequate sums of money for the payment of men-at-arms and repairs of castles, so that all danger of invasion, and other inconveniences, may be prevented.—Item, to check as much as possible the daily oppression of the lower orders, by provosts and other inferior officers, it will be necessary to nominate honest and discreet persons, with moderate salaries, to overlook their conduct, and see that these men do not surcharge the poor by exorbitant fines.

"Item, there are several other oppressive grievances that have lasted for a considerable time, and which cannot be immediately remedied. Your daughter and aforesaid dutiful subjects promise to apply themselves diligently concerning them; and they most humbly and earnestly supplicate you to reform the abuses they have stated to you, and more especially those that relate to your treasury, which has been exceedingly wasted, and that without any cause. They also beg of you to appoint a commission of the princes of your blood, with other well-informed persons, no way connected or related to those who have had the management of your finances, that they may reform and punish all who have been culpable let their rank be what it may.——Item, we also entreat that you would order the prelates and chief citizens in the difierent provinces, to impeach those who in their districts have been guilty of any peculations in your finances. All these things, most redoubted lord, have your aforesaid daughter and dutiful subjects laid before you, as being anxiously interested in your honour and welfare, and in the preservation of your crown and kingdom. Your aforesaid daughter has not done this through any expectation of worldly profit, but simply as her duty; for it is well known she has not been accustomed to hold offices, nor to seek for such profits, but solely to attend to her studies, and to remonstrate with you on what touches your honour and welfare whenever the case may require it.

"But although she has several times presented herself before you, to remonstrate on some of the before-mentioned grievances, no remedy has been hitherto applied, by which your kingdom is in the utmost possible danger. Your faithful and loyal subjects again acquit themselves of their duty; and, that the reformation may now be entered upon in earnest, your aforesaid daughter requires the aid of your eldest son the duke of Aquitaine, and of the duke of Burgundy, by whom a reform was some time since begun, with heart and hand, without sparing any one, with whom your daughter joined, considering such reformation was so much wanted. However, from the great opposition made by those who were interested in checking it, no great progress was made, for they were afraid the consequences would have been fatal to them. They urged every objection to it, as well as those now in power. We demand also the assistance of our much-honoured lords of Nevers, of Vertus, of Charolois, of Bar, and of Lorrain, of the constable and marshal of France, of the grand-master of Rhodes, of the admiral, of the master of the cross-bows, and in general of all the chivalry and esquiredom in the realm, whose peculiar duty is to watch for the preservation of your

crown, and also of your counsellors and all other your subjects, who, according to their several situations, may wish to acquit themselves toward your majesty.

"It has been publicly said by some, that your aforesaid daughter has made this exposition to your majesty, through hatred to particular persons, and from the reports of five or six. May it please you to know, that she has never been accustomed to gain information by such means, but has learnt the existence of the before-stated grievances from their public notoriety; and there is no man so ignorant as not to be fully sensible of the truths we have asserted, and of the culpability of those we have impeached. She has also received informations from many who are attached to your person, who have not indeed been gainers by it; but in further regard to them, she will be silent, unless you shall order otherwise in a private audience. Your daughter, therefore, concludes by begging your majesty to pursue diligently, and without delay, an examination and reform of the above grievances, in which she will join without the least personal disrespect to your royal person, otherwise your daughter would not acquit herself properly in regard to your royal majesty."

After this conclusion, the university demanded of the princes, prelates, and lords, then present, that they would avow that what they had declared would be for the honour of the king and the welfare of the kingdom, which they complied with; adding, that they were ready to assist in carrying the aforesaid reforms into execution to the utmost of their power. The king's ministers, more especially those of the finances, were thunderstruck, and fearful of an immediate arrest. Among them, master Henry de Marle, chancellor of France, seeing that he was accused with the others, found means of admission to the king, and by his fair promises, and by engaging to pay a very large sum of ready money within a few days, he contrived to gain his favour. On the following Saturday, the 2d day of March, Andrew Guiffart, one of the treasurers, was arrested and confined in the Châtelet: his associate, John Guerin, took refuge in a church,—and thither also fled sir Peter des Essars, provost of Paris, who lately had great command in the expedition to Bourges. The duke of Burgundy had hitherto supported him, but his affection was cooled, for the provost had lately shown himself more attached to the party of Orleans. Having formed the resolution of quitting Paris, sir Peter des Essars sent Thomelin de Brie with five other men-at-arms to gain possession of the bridge at Charenton, that his passage over it might be secured; but they were made prisoners by the inhabitants of Charenton, who had received information of their coming, and carried back to the tower of the Louvre, wherein they were confined. The provost, learning this, took another road, and escaped to Cherbourg, of which place he was the governor, and remained there for some time. Shortly afterward, Baudrin de la Heuse was appointed provost of Paris, for the king had now relapsed into his former disorder. The duke of Aquitaine, however, took the whole government of the kingdom into his own hands; and many of the king's ministers, particularly those in the treasury, were ordered to be put under arrest, until they should have rendered a faithful account of all their receipts.

CHAPTER C.—THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE IS DISPLEASED WITH HIS CHANCELLOR.—JEALOUSIES ARISE AMONG THE GREAT LORDS,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

In these days, at a full council, of which the duke of Aquitaine was president, high words passed between the chancellor of France and sir John de Nesle, lord d'Ollehaing chancellor of Aquitaine, insomuch that the latter told the chancellor his words were not gospel; and the other madly replied, that he lied in his throat.—Several other abusive expressions were used by him, and so often that the chancellor of France said, "You abuse me, who am chancellor of France, and have often done so: nevertheless, I have always borne it patiently, from respect to my lord of Aquitaine, who is now present, and shall even still suffer it." But the duke of Aquitaine, hearing these words, arose in a passion, and taking his chancellor by the shoulders, thrust him out of the council-chamber, saying, "You are a wicked and proud vagabond, for having thus abused the chancellor of my lord the king in my presence,—and I have no farther need of your services." In consequence, the lord d'Ollehaing resigned the

seals, which were given to master John de Vailly, advocate in the parliament, who was appointed chancellor of Aquitaine in his stead.

The queen attempted, but in vain, to appease her son, as did the duke of Burgundy, who had recommended the late chancellor to him; for he now took the whole government into his hands, and insisted that every thing should be done according to his pleasure. Some of his confidential servants encouraged him in this conduct, as the welfare of the kingdom concerned him more than any one else; and since, as he was now of a proper age to govern it was absolutely necessary for him to take the reins, considering the melancholy state of the king his father. Among those who thus encouraged him were the duke of Bar, duke Louis of Bavaria, the count de Vertus, and others of that faction then at Paris, who visited him often, and desired nothing more than that he would take the government of the kingdom upon himself. The duke of Burgundy was duly informed of all these intrigues, and saw clearly that their object was to drive him from the administration, which very much displeased him. He formed different plans, and remembered that the duke of Aquitaine had told him, when before Bourges, that he would put an end to the war, and was sensible that the treaty of peace then concluded was contrary to the engagements sworn to be observed at the royal council held at Paris, previous to their march from the capital. Nevertheless, he did not openly show that he was hurt by what was passing.

At this time, the county of Poitou was given to John de Touraine*, at the instance of duke William of Hainault, whose daughter he had married. The Poitevins made all the opposition they could, as they preferred being vassals to the king; but it was taken possession of in the name of the duke of Touraine, by the lords d'Andregines and de Mouchas, members of duke William's household, who brought with them the king's grant of this county, which was proclaimed in the usual manner.

At the same period, namely, about Mid Lent, some of the inhabitants of Soissons rose suddenly in rebellion, and, advancing to the castle, broke down all the out-walls as well as those which surrounded their city, to open a free entrance on all sides. They also demolished the bridge over the river that gave access to the castle, so that none could gain admittance but by means of boats, which might formerly have been done without their leave. This castle belonged to the duke of Orleans, who was much exasperated by their conduct, although at the moment he could not obtain any reparation, notwithstanding he had remonstrated with the king's ministers on the subject. At the request of the duke of Aquitaine, the head and body of sir Mansart du Bos, who had been beheaded at Paris, were restored to his widow and children. At ten o'clock at night his head was taken down from the market-place, and his body from Montfaucon: they were united together in a coffin, and carried to the town of Rainsseval, in the diocese of Amiens, where his remains were honourably interred near the bodies of his father and ancestors.

CHAPTER CI.—HENRY OF LANCASTER, KING OF ENGLAND, WHO HAD BEEN A VALIANT KNIGHT, DIES IN THIS YEAR.—OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN HIM AND THE FRENCH PRINCES.

Toward the end of this year, died Henry of Lancaster king of England. He had in his time been a valiant knight, eager and subtile against his enemies, as is recorded in history, which also has enregistered the strange and disgraceful manner of his obtaining the crown of England, by dethroning his cousin-german Richard, after he had reigned peacefully for twenty-two years. He was before his death sorely oppressed with leprosy, which pitifully put an end to him, and he was royally and honourably interred among his ancestors in Westminster Abbey. This king left behind him four sons,—namely, Henry prince of Wales, who succeeded to the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphry duke of Gloucester,—and a daughter married to Philip Barbatus, duke of Bavaria†.

* Second son of the king.

† Monstrelet has forgotten Philippa of Lancaster, Henry's younger daughter, married to Eric king of Denmark, and died without issue. His elder daughter outliving the duke of Bavaria, and her second husband the king of Arragon, was married to the duke of Bar, but had no issue by any of them.

All the four sons were handsome, well made, and versed in the different sciences,—and in process of time each had great commands, of which mention shall be hereafter made. But we must not omit reporting a conversation that passed between the king and his eldest son at his last moments. He was so sorely oppressed at the latter end of his sickness that those who attended him, not perceiving him breathe, concluded he was dead, and covered his face with a cloth. It was the custom in that country, whenever the king was ill, to place the royal crown on a cushion beside his bed, and for his successor to take it on his death. The prince of Wales, being informed by the attendants that his father was dead, had carried away the crown; but, shortly after, the king uttered a groan, and his face was uncovered,—when, on looking for the crown, he asked what was become of it? His attendants replied, that "my lord the prince had taken it away." He bade them send for the prince; and on his entrance, the king asked him why he had carried away the crown? "My lord," answered the prince, "your attendants, here present, affirmed to me that you were dead; and as your crown and kingdom belong to me as your eldest son, after your decease, I had taken it away." The king gave a deep sigh, and said, "My fair son, what right have you to it? for you well know I had none." "My lord," replied the prince, "as you have held it by right of your sword, it is my intent to hold and defend it the same during my life." The king answered, "Well, act as you see best: I leave all things to God, and pray that he would have mercy on me!" Shortly after, without uttering another word, he departed this life.

After the king's interment, the prince of Wales was most honourably crowned king, in the presence of the nobles and prelates of England, no one appearing to contest his right.—

Coronation of Henry V. of England. The Throne surrounded by the first Ecclesiastical and Lay Peers; the former doing homage.—Designed from contemporary authorities.

When the duke of Clarence and the English in the duchy of Aquitaine, heard of king Henry's death, they returned as speedily as they could to England, for at that moment there was a truce between the two countries. But, notwithstanding this truce, the English on the frontiers of Calais continued to make inroads on, and to harass, the Boulonois, insomuch that the constable was obliged to reinforce the garrisons of Ardres, Gravelines, and other places in the French interest.

Here follows a copy of the treaty concluded by king Henry IV. and his children, on the

one part, and the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon, d'Armagnac, and the lord d'Albreth, on the other, on the 8th day of May, in the year 1412.

"It was first agreed to by the above lords, or by their commissioners, that they would expose their lives and fortunes in the service of the king of England, his heirs and successors, whenever they should be required so to do, in all their just quarrels,—in which they include the king of England's warfare in Guienne as a just quarrel, and maintain that the duchy of Guienne and its dependencies belong to him by right of succession, and that by such declaration and assistance they shall no way act contrary to their loyalty.—Item, the aforesaid lords make offer, by themselves or their delegates sufficiently authorised, of their sons, daughters, nephews, nieces, relations, in short, of all their subjects, to contract such marriages as shall be agreeable to the aforesaid king of England.—Item, they likewise make offer of all their towns, castles, treasures, and in general all belonging to them, for the assistance of the said king and his heirs in all their lawful quarrels, saving their loyalty, which they have more fully explained in other acts passed between them.—Item, they also make offer of their friends and adherents, to support the said king in the recovery of his duchy of Guienne.—Item, the aforesaid lords are willing, without any fraud or deceit, to acknowledge at the altar, or in any sacred place, the said king's right to the duchy of Guienne, in as full a manner as any of his predecessors ever possessed it.—Item, the aforesaid lords acknowledge, by themselves or their delegates, that all the towns, castles, and possessions they may have in Guienne, they hold under the king of England, as the true duke of Guienne, promising every service due from their homage, to be performed in the best possible manner by them. — Item, they also engage to deliver up to the king of England, as far as lies in their power, all towns and castles, said to have belonged to the king of England, to the number of twenty, as well castles as towns, which are fully detailed in the treaty*. In regard to the other towns and fortresses that are not under their obedience, they will gain them, or assist the king of England to gain them, at their expense and with a sufficient number of men.

"Item, as is more fully detailed in the treaty, that it shall be agreeable to the king of England that the duke of Berry, his loyal uncle, subject and vassal, that the duke of Orleans, his subject and vassal, and in like manner the count d'Armagnac, do hold under him the following lands by fealty and homage. The duke of Berry shall possess the county of Poitou during his life: the duke of Orleans shall hold the county of Angoulême for his life, and the county of Perigord in perpetuity: the count d'Armagnac shall hold four castles specified in the treaty, upon the terms and conditions therein declared.—Item, among the engagements entered into by the king of England as duke of Guienne, he was to guarantee them safe possession of the above places, and to defend them against all enemies whatever, and afford them the assistance due from their true and superior lord,—and he was also to aid them in bringing the duke of Burgundy to exemplary punishment. And the said king was not to make or enter into any treaties with the duke of Burgundy, his children, brother, or with any of his adherents, without the previous consent of the aforesaid princes.—Item, the king of England promises to assist the aforesaid lords as his loyal vassals in all their just wars, and to enforce recompense to them by the duke of Burgundy for all the damages he may have done to them.—Item, the king of England will instantly send them eight thousand combatants to their aid against the duke of Burgundy, who has excited the king of France to march against them with the whole force of his realm."

This treaty of alliance was signed and sealed by the parties on the 8th day of May, in this year 1412. The aforesaid princes, however, agreed to pay the men-at-arms, whom the king of England should send to them, and gave sufficient securities for so doing.

* See the original treaty in the Fœdera. It is dated the 18th of May, and not the 8th, as in Monstrelet.

CHAPTER CII.—THE KING'S MINISTERS ARE GREATLY ALARMED AT THE ARREST OF SIR PETER DES ESSARS AND OF THE DUKE OF BAR.—OTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARISIANS.

[A. D. 1413.]

At the beginning of this year, the king's ministers, that is to say, those who had had the management of the finances under their care for twenty years past, were much pressed to give in their accounts. Several public and private accusations were made against them, which caused the greater part to fear that they should not escape with honour. Many had been arrested, and others had fled, whose fortunes had been sequestrated by the king. They sought, therefore, by divers means, to obtain the protection of those princes who governed the king; and sir Peter des Essars, who had fled to Cherbourg, through the interest of the duke of Aquitaine was remanded to Paris. He secretly entered the Bastile with his brother sir Anthony, but not so privately as to prevent its being known to some of the Parisians, who disliked him, and who instantly acquainted the duke of Burgundy and his people with it, by whom he was equally hated. A party of the commonalty was soon collected; and headed by sir Elion de Jacqueville, then governor of Paris, and some others of the duke of Burgundy's friends, they marched to the Bastile, and made prisoners of sir Peter des Essars and his brother, whom they first led to the castle of the Louvre and then to the prison of the palace. When this was done, they again assembled, to the amount of six thousand, under the standard of the aforesaid Jacqueville, who was joined by sir Robert de Mailly, sir Charles de Lens, and several other men-at-arms of the household of the duke of Burgundy,—and about ten o'clock in the morning they drew up before the hôtel of the duke of Aquitaine. The principal instigators of this insurrection of the commonalty were, Jeannot Caboche, a skinner of the slaughter-house of Saint James, master John de Troyes, a surgeon at Paris, and Denisot de Chaumont, who, having forcibly entered the apartment of the duke, addressed him as follows: "Our most redoubted lord, here are the Parisians, but not all in arms, who on behalf of your good town of Paris, and for the welfare of your father and yourself, require that you cause to be delivered up to them certain traitors who are now in your hôtel."

The duke, in a fury, replied, that such affairs did not belong to them, and that there were no traitors in his hôtel. They answered, that if he were willing to give them up, well and good,—otherwise they would take them before his face, and punish them according to their deserts. During this conversation, the dukes of Burgundy and of Lorrain arrived; and several of the Parisians at the same time entered the hôtel, and instantly seized master Jean de Vailly, the duke's new chancellor, Edward duke of Bar, cousin-german to the king, sir James de la Riviere, the two sons of the lord de Boissay, Michel de Vitry and his brother, the two sons of sir Reginald de Guiennes, the two brothers de Maisnel, the two de Geremmes, and Peter de Naisson. The duke of Aquitaine, witnessing this outrage committed before his eyes, turned to the duke of Burgundy, and angrily said,—"Father-in-law, this insurrection has been caused by your advice: you cannot deny it, for those of your household are the leaders of it. Know, therefore, that you shall one day repent of this; and the state shall not always be governed according to your will and pleasure." The duke of Burgundy replied, by way of excusing himself, "My lord, you will inform yourself better, when your passion shall be somewhat cooled." But, notwithstanding this, those who had been seized were carried off, and confined in different prisons. They afterwards made search for master Raoul Bridoul, the king's secretary, who, as they were carrying him away, was struck by one that hated him with a battle-axe on the head, and thrown dead into the Seine. They also murdered a very rich upholsterer, who was an eloquent man, called Martin d'Aue, and a cannon-founder, an excellent workman, but who had been of the Orleans party, whose bodies they left naked two whole days in the square of St. Catherine. They compelled the duke of Aquitaine to reside with the king his father in the hotel de St. Pol, and carefully guarded the gates that he might not quit Paris. Some said this was done for his amendment, as he was very young, and impatient of contradiction, but others assigned different reasons: among them was one, that he had intended to have tilted on May-day in the forest

of Vincennes, and that he had ordered sir Peter des Essars to meet him there with six hundred helmets, and to pay them for one month, and that this order had been executed. It was added, that the duke of Orleans and those of his party were collecting large bodies of men-at-arms to join the duke of Aquitaine in the forest of Vincennes, which had greatly displeased the duke of Burgundy and the Parisians.

It was melancholy to behold this reign of the mob, and the manner in which they conducted themselves in Paris, as well towards the king as towards the other lords. They also wrote letters to the different towns to inform them that what they had done was for the welfare of the king and kingdom, and required of them to give them all aid and advice should there be any necessity for it, and to remain obedient in their fidelity to the king and his eldest son. Afterwards, that no assembly of men-at-arms might be made by any lord, the king, at the request of these same Parisians, published an edict, addressed to all the seneschals and bailiffs in the realm, of the following tenour.

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

"Whereas, in the divisions and disputes that so lately harassed our kingdom, we, and our very dear eldest son the duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Viennois, have so successfully laboured, that, through God's grace, we have established a solid peace in our realm, for the observance of which the greater part of our liege subjects have given security, and have promised, on their oaths, to keep and preserve it, and not to issue any summons, or to raise any men, without our express permission. Notwithstanding this, we have heard that some of our blood, and others, are making preparations to raise men, by way of companies, in different parts of our kingdom, which may not only be very expensive to the country, but cause other great inconveniences, unless an immediate remedy be provided.

"These, therefore, are to enjoin you to cause this our prohibition to be most publicly proclaimed in the usual places within your bailiwick, and to forbid any person, under penalty of death and confiscation of goods, whether baron, knight or others, to obey any summons from their superior lord, unless so ordered by us, our son, or our well-beloved cousin the count de St. Pol, constable of France, or others so commissioned by us. That no doubts may arise in regard to these our intentions, we send you this sealed with our great seal. You will likewise inform all our vassals, that whenever, and wherever we, or our son, may send for them, they must obey. And because our very dear uncle and cousin the dukes of Berry and of Lorrain are continually in our service, our intention is not that their vassals or subjects should be prevented going to them whenever they are sent for, or whenever they may employ them in our service; and should any in your bailiwick act contrary to the premises, we will and order that you constrain them to do their duty, by arrest and seizure of goods.

"Given at Paris the 9th day of May, in the year 1413, and of our reign the 33d." It was thus signed by the king, on the report made to him of the council held by the dukes of Aquitaine, Berry, and Lorrain, and others, by J. Millet. It was then sent off, and proclaimed throughout the kingdom in the usual places.

The Parisians in those days wore an uniform dress with white hoods, to distinguish all who were of their party. They even made many of the nobles and prelates wear it; and what was more, the king himself afterwards put it on, which seemed to many discreet persons very ridiculous, considering the abominable and detestable manner of the Parisians, and their cruelties, which were almost beyond bearing; but they were so powerful, and obstinate in their wickedness, that the princes knew not well how to provide a remedy. They were all strengthened in it from the belief that they should be supported by the duke of Burgundy and his party, should there be occasion for it.

CHAPTER CIII.—THE PARISIANS PROPOSE WHATEVER MEASURES THEY PLEASE, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE AND THE OTHER PRINCES.—CRUELTIES COMMITTED BY THEM.

On Thursday the 11th of May, the Parisians held a great assembly, and made various propositions, in the presence of the dukes of Aquitaine, Berry, Burgundy, and Lorrain, the counts of Nevers, Charolois, and many nobles and prelates, with others, wearing white hoods by way of uniform, who were said to exceed twelve thousand in number. Towards the conclusion, they presented a roll to the duke of Aquitaine, which he would have refused to accept; but they constrained him not only to take it, but to read its contents publicly. Sixty persons, as well absent as present, were charged in this roll as traitors: twenty of whom were instantly arrested and confined in prison. In this number were the lord de Boissay, master of the household to the king, Michel Lallier, and others to the number above mentioned. The absent that had been thus accused were summoned, by sound of trumpet, in all the squares of Paris, to appear within a few days, under penalty, in case of disobedience, of having their properties confiscated to the king's use.

On the 18th day of this same month, the king recovered his health, and went from his hôtel of St. Pol to the church of Nôtre Dame, wearing a white hood like the other princes.

Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris.—From an original drawing.

When he had finished his prayers, he returned home accompanied by a vast multitude of people. On the Monday following, the Parisians had their city surrounded by numbers of men-at-arms, so that no person might leave it without permission: the gates were closely shut, and the bridges drawn up and watched by a numerous guard at each, armed with all sorts of weapons. They also appointed armed divisions of tens in all the streets; and when this was done, the provost of the merchants, the sheriffs, and other leaders, marched a large body of armed men to the hôtel of St. Pol, which they surrounded with a line three deep;

and having given their orders how they were to act, they waited on the king, the queen, and the dauphin, who were perfectly ignorant of their proceedings.

There was at this time a grand assembly of nobles in Paris, namely, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Lorrain, and duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, who was on the morrow to marry, at the hôtel de St. Pol, the sister of the count d'Alençon, the widow of the lord Peter de Navarre, count de Mortain. The counts de Nevers, de Charolois, de St. Pol, constable of France, and many more great barons and prelates, were likewise present. They there ordered a carmelite friar, call friar Eustache, to harangue the king, who, having taken for his text "Nisi Dominus custoderit civitatem suam, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam," discoursed well and long upon it, and made some mention of the prisoners, of the bad state of the government of the kingdom, and of the crimes that were committed.

When he had ended his speech, the chancellor of France bade him say who were his protectors, when instantly the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs acknowledged him. But as there were but few people present, and as they did not speak loud enough, according to the will of the chancellor, some of them descended to the court to call those of the greatest birth and weight that had remained armed below. The principal leaders returned with them to the king's apartment, and with bended knees avowed that what father Eustache had said was conformable to their sentiments; that they had the sincerest love for him and for his family, and that their sole wish was to serve his royal majesty with clean and pure hearts; that everything they had done had been for the welfare of himself and his kingdom, as well as for the preservation of his person and family.

While this was passing, the duke of Burgundy, noticing the line of armed men that were drawn up three deep, and surrounding the king's hotel, went down and earnestly entreated of them to retire, demanding of them what they wanted, and why they were thus come armed; for that it was neither decent nor expedient that the king, who was so lately recovered from his illness, should thus see them drawn up, as it were, in battle array. They replied, they were not assembled with an ill intent, but for the good of the king and his kingdom: they concluded by giving him a roll, and said, they were on no account to depart thence until those whose names were therein inscribed should be delivered up to them, namely, Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, and the following knights: Charles de Villers, Courard Bayer, Jean de Neelle lord d'Ollehaing, the archbishop of Bourges, master William Boisratier, confessor to the queen, Jean Vincent, Colin de Pieul, Jeannet de Cousteville, Mainfroy, treasurer to the duke of Aquitaine, and a courier of the duke of Orleans, who happened accidentally to be in Paris, having brought letters from his master to the king; the lady Bona d'Armagnac, lady of Montauban*, la dame du Quesnoy, la dame d'Avelays, la dame de Noyon, la dame du Chastel, and four other damsels.

When the duke of Burgundy found that everything he could say was in vain, he went to the queen, and showed her the list they had given to him, telling her what they required. She was much troubled thereat, and, calling her son the dauphin, bade him return with the duke of Burgundy, and entreat them most affectionately in her name to desist for only eight days from their present demands, and that on the eighth day she would without fail deliver up her brother, or suffer them to arrest him, and carry him a prisoner to the Louvre, to the Palace, or whithersoever they should please. The duke of Aquitaine, hearing these words from his mother, retired to a private chamber and wept bitterly,—but was followed by the duke of Burgundy, who exhorted him not to weep, which he complied with, and wiped away his tears. They descended to the Parisians, and the duke of Burgundy explained in a few words the request of the queen; but they positively refused to grant it, and declared they would go up to the queen's apartment,—and should those contained in the list be refused to be given up, they would take them by force, even in the king's presence, and carry them away prisoners.

The two dukes, hearing this answer, went back to the queen, whom they found in conversation with her brother and the king. They reported their reception from the Parisians, when the duke of Bavaria, seeing he could not escape, full of bitterness and distress, descended down to them, and desired that he alone might be taken into custody; that if he were found

* Bona, eldest daughter of the constable d'Armagnac, afterwards married to Charles duke of Orleans.

guilty, he might be punished without mercy,—otherwise that he might instantly have his liberty, and go to Bavaria, never more to return to France. The others also, with the ladies and damsels, were forced to surrender themselves, but it was not without great lamentations and effusion of tears. They were directly put two and two on horseback, each horse escorted by four men-at-arms, and carried, some prisoners to the Louvre, and others to the Palace, followed by a large body of the Parisians under arms. When this was done, the king went to his dinner, and the queen with her son retired in great grief to their apartments.

Within a short time, the courier was set at liberty,—and so was the lord d'Ollehaing, who was reinstated in the office of chancellor of Aquitaine, from which he had been dismissed. The duke of Burgundy had under his guard his cousin-german the duke of Bar, sir Peter and sir Anthony des Essars, with other prisoners confined in the Louvre, whom he caused to be attended by his servants, and for whose security he had pledged himself. But he acted quite contrary, and returned them to the Parisians, who imprisoned them closely, and caused twelve knights to be nominated by the king as commissaries, and six examiners, to inquire into their offences, and to condemn and punish them according to the heinousness of their crimes and the exigence of the case. In consequence of this, a statement was drawn up by directions of the duke of Berry, uncle to the duke of Bar, the countess de St. Pol, and others his friends, and given to the Parisians, who sent it to the university of Paris for their advice and approbation of what they had done. The university replied, that they would no way intermeddle nor advise in the business; and they moreover declared, in full council before the king, that so far from having advised the arrest of the duke of Bar and the other prisoners, they were much displeased that it had taken place.

The Parisians, therefore, seeing that the university was disunited from them, and fearing that their conduct would, in after-times, be examined into, obtained from the king and his council a royal edict, as an indemnity and excuse for their actions, the tenor of which was as follows.

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting, on the part of our dear and well-beloved the provost, sheriffs, citizens, and inhabitants of this good town of Paris.

"We make known, that for our urgent profit and welfare, also for that of our very dear son the duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Viennois, and for the public welfare, for the security of our good town of Paris, and to obviate inconveniences that might have arisen from the malversation of some of our ministers, as well those of justice as others, and in order to prevent such malversations from increasing, certain arrests have lately taken place on divers men and women, as well of our blood and household as of those of our very well beloved consort the queen, of our son, and our very dear daughter the duchess of Aquitaine, and countess of Charolois, for the effecting of which arrests a large assemblage of men-at-arms was thought expedient, considering the rank and power of those to be arrested, who are now confined in our prisons of the Louvre, of our Palace, and in different prisons in our good town of Paris. The crimes alleged against them are for treasonable practices committed against us, our said son, the welfare of the kingdom and that of our good city of Paris, and also concerning the government of our person, of our son, and of the police of our said town and kingdom, for all of which sufficient judges have been appointed, who will examine into their various delinquencies, and punish in such wise as the public good may require, so that our good city of Paris, which is the head of our realm, may not again suffer any alarms through their fault, or that of their accomplices, who, fearing the consequences, have escaped out of the city.

"For these causes, and from the great love and loyalty they bear to us, who are their sovereign and natural lord, as well as to our said eldest son, the aforesaid provost, sheriffs, and citizens of Paris, have requested these presents in order that good government may be restored, the security and welfare of our person and state be provided for, and that such arrests and imprisonments may be considered as solely done out of the purity of their loyal intentions towards us, our family, and the public good of the realm. We will, therefore, that such arrests and imprisonments be so considered, and that they be regarded as done for the true honour and profit of us and of our crown; and that all who have been abettors or

aiding in the above arrests and imprisonments, noble or not noble, shall be deemed praiseworthy; and by the advice of some of our kindred, as well as by that of our great council, we do approve of and avow such acts.

"By the tenor of these presents we acknowledge and hold them for agreeable, and forbid that for these causes, or for any others that may be connected with them, those who have thus acted be any way harassed or molested in body or estate, or any suit be preferred against them in our courts of justice, by any means or pretext whatever, but that they shall be held acquitted in perpetuity. We give this, therefore, in command to all our beloved and faithful counsellors, who now hold or shall hereafter hold our courts of parliament at Paris, all masters of requests in our household, and those holding similar situations in our royal palace, all officers in our exchequer, and all commissaries named to inspect our finances and domain, as well as those lately appointed to examine into the charges brought against the prisoners in our castle of the Louvre, and elsewhere in our prisons in Paris, to the provost of Paris, to all our seneschals, bailiffs, provosts, judges and other officers of justice at present and in times to come, and to each as in duty bound, that they do proclaim these presents in the accustomed public places, and that they do see that the commands herein contained be not infringed or disobeyed, so that the engagements we have entered into with the parties demanding these presents may be punctually observed.

"And as the parties may wish hereafter to renew the publicity of these presents, we will that there be exact copies made of them under the seal of the Châtelet, or other royal seals, to make them as authentic as the original, and that they may be of equal efficacy. Given at Paris the 24th day of May, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d."

It was thus signed by the king in council; at which were present the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the constable of France, the archbishop of Bourges, the bishop of Evreux, the bishop of Tournay, the grand-master of the household, the lord de la Tremouille governor to the dauphin, sir Anthony de Craon, sir Philip de Poitiers, the chancellor of Burgundy, the abbot of St. Jean, master Eustace de la Chere, the lords de Viefville, de Mont-Beron*, and de la Rochefoucault †, the provost of Paris, sir Charles de Savoisy, the hermit de Faye, Jean de Courcelles, the lord d'Allegrez ‡, master Mille d'Orgemont, Raoul le Saige, Mille d'Angeul, Jean de Longneux, and many others.—"P. Naucron."

CHAPTER CIV.—THE COUNT DE VERTUS AND SEVERAL OF THE NOBILITY LEAVE PARIS.—OTHER REGULATIONS AND EDICTS OBTAINED FROM THE KING BY THE PARISIANS.

During these melancholy times, the count de Vertus, indignant at the arrest of the duke of Bar and other nobles, secretly left Paris, attended by two persons only, without the knowledge of the king or the duke of Burgundy, and hastened to his brother the duke of Orleans, at Blois, to whom he related all the extraordinary events that had passed in Paris, as well in the hotel of the king as in that of the dauphin, and elsewhere, to the great displeasure of the duke of Orleans. The duke of Burgundy was much vexed at the departure of the count de Vertus, for he had hopes to accomplish the marriage that had been for some time agreed on between him and his daughter. Many other noblemen quitted Paris from fear of the changes that were taking place, namely, sir James de Chastillon, eldest son to the lord de Dampierre, the lords de Croy and de Roubaix, Coppin de la Viefville, master Raoul, head provost of St. Donas at Bruges, Pierre Genstiere, who had lately been provost of merchants, and many more. Several were particularly remanded by the duke of Burgundy, who returned in great alarm, and not without cause; for of those who had been imprisoned, many were

* Called before "Mouberon;" but Montberon is right. James, son of Imbert, lord of Montberon, in Angoumois, was made mareschal of France in 1422, in the place of John de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam.

† Guy, eighth lord of la Rochefoucault, was one of the first lords of Guienne, who did homage to the crown of France after the peace of Bretigny. Froissart mentions a duel which took place, in 1380, between this nobleman and William lord of Montferrand, at which he was attended by two hundred gentlemen of his own family. He married Margaret de Craon, lady of Marsillac and Montbazon, by whom he had two sons, Foucault, third lord of la Rochefoucault, mentioned hereafter, and Aymar, lord of Montbazon and Saint Maure.

‡ Called "Allaigre" in the original. Alegre is the name of a noble and ancient family of Auvergne.

daily, without regard to sex, drowned in the Seine, or miserably put to death, without any form of law or justice.

On the 26th day of May, the king went to the parliament, and, at the instance of the duke of Burgundy and the Parisians, held a royal sitting, and caused several edicts to be published respecting the reformation of abuses. These, and other regulations for the government of the kingdom, were sent to the different bailiwicks, and other usual places, for proclamation. One of them was directed against sir Clugnet de Brabant, who in company with other captains had assembled in great force on the river Loire, to be ready to march to Paris,—the tenor of which was as follows.

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.—Whereas it has come to our knowledge, that notwithstanding the very great oppressions which our subjects have suffered in various parts of our realm from the assembling of large bodies of men-at-arms, which the princes of our blood, and other barons, have thought proper, at different periods, to raise on their own authority,—there are still several who now continue such practices, to the great grievance of our faithful subjects. We have caused to be published and proclaimed throughout our realm, as well by messages as by sealed letters, our strict prohibition of such acts, under very heavy penalties; and we have ordered, that none, of whatever rank he may be, subject or foreigner, shall have the boldness to raise any men in future on their own sole authority, whether by way of companies or otherwise, without our special orders, or in obedience to our summons to come to serve us.

"Several of our kindred, however, contrary to these our orders, and in opposition to the treaty of peace lately concluded at Auxerre by us, to put an end to dissentions which had arisen in our family, and which they solemnly swore to observe, are now preparing to assemble large bodies of men-at-arms without any authority or licence from us, and to unite them with a numerous army of English and foreigners, to carry into effect their damnable purposes, which they have plotted against us and our government, according to the information we have received.

"We have been repeatedly assured that they are favoured and supported by many in an underhand manner; and to force others to join them, they harass and despoil all who have served us, more especially those who assisted us in our late expedition to Bourges, when we considered them as enemies of the state, and marched thither with the intent of correcting them sufficiently for their outrageous conduct. They at this moment, as we have had sufficient information, commit every sort of violence, by killing our subjects, violating damsels, setting fire to houses and villages, and despoiling churches, and many other atrocious crimes, such as the bitterest enemies of the country would commit, and which are such bad examples that they must not longer be suffered.

"In consequence, therefore, of the lamentations and heavy complaints that have been made to us, we are resolved to remedy these grievances, which are so highly displeasing to us, in the most effectual manner: we therefore most expressly enjoin and command you, by these presents, that you instantly make public proclamation, by sound of trumpet, of this our prohibition, for any knight, esquire, or others accustomed to bear arms, of whatever rank they may be,—and we order them, on pain of our severest anger, and on the loyalty they owe us, not to arm themselves, nor to join any bodies that may have assembled in arms within our kingdom without our special authority, nor to obey the summons of any one related to our person or not, on any occasion whatever, unless they be particularly ordered by us to join them for the good of our service.

"All whom you shall hear of having such intentions, you will command, in our name, to desist, and peaceably to return to their dwellings, or whither else they may please, without doing any harm to our subjects. Should they refuse to obey your orders, and persist in their wicked intentions, you will instantly take possession, in our name, of all their castles, dwellings, and possessions, causing an exact inventory to be made out, of the real and annual value, which you will place in the hands of safe persons to administer such estates, to render us an exact account of their amount, and to relinquish them whenever we may see good. You will also proceed against them as rebels; for we abandon them to you to imprison and punish according as you shall judge expedient. You will likewise, should they have quitted

their dwellings, pursue them by every means in your power, shutting them out from all towns, and depriving them of provisions, and harassing them in every way deserving of their disobedience, and to serve as an example to others.

"It is not, however, our intention that such of the princes of our blood as are now near our person, and in our service, should be prevented from ordering their vassals to come to them, or from employing them for our welfare, as they shall specify in their summons; but they must not, on their march, live on the country, or despoil the inhabitants. Should any of them do the contrary, we command you to proceed against them as against the aforesaid; and you will inflict on them such punishments as their demerits require, without paying regard to any letters of protection they may show to you.

"To enable you to execute these our orders, we give you full authority to call upon and assemble all our vassals and subjects to your aid, and as many as you shall think necessary for the occasion, and to lead them to any parts of your bailiwick where you shall hear of any robberies or other rebellious acts being done. And we strictly enjoin, by these presents, all our vassals and subjects, on the faith and loyalty they owe us, and under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods, to obey your orders, and to assist you heartily to accomplish the above commands. That no one may pretend ignorance of them, you will cause these presents to be proclaimed in all the different parts of your bailiwick, or wherever else you shall judge proper. We also command all our officers of justice, and others having authority under us, and we entreat all our friends and wellwishers, to aid and support you on this service, and diligently to keep up a good understanding with you thereon, and to show you every favour, even allowing their dwellings to be turned into prisons, should the exigency of any case require it,—for we delegate to you full and complete authority, notwithstanding any opposition or appeal made to the contrary. Given at Paris the 6th day of June, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d."

Then signed by the king, on the report of his council,—at which were present my lords of Berry, Burgundy, the constable, the chancellor of Burgundy, Charles de Savoisy, Anthony de Craon, the lords de Viefville, de Montberon, Cambrilach, d'Allegrez, and many others. —"P. Naucron."

This edict was sent to the different bailiwicks and seneschalships in the kingdom of France, and proclaimed in the usual places.

CHAPTER CV.—KING LADISLAUS OF NAPLES ENTERS ROME WITH A POWERFUL ARMY.—THE DEATH OF SIR JAMES DE LA RIVIERE.—THE DISMISSION OF THE CHANCELLOR,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

This year, Ladislaus king of Naples and Sicily, at the instigation of some false and disloyal traitors, marched a very large army to Rome, which he entered without resistance, and began to pillage the whole of it,—at the same time making prisoners the most powerful and rich citizens, who were forced to ransom themselves by paying heavy sums of money. Pope John and his cardinals witnessing these transactions, took flight in the utmost fear, and escaped from castle to castle, until they at length reached Bologna, where the pope fixed his court. The greater part of their estates were despoiled by this army of Ladislaus, who for a long time reigned in Rome; and when, in consequence of certain accommodations he departed, he carried away many precious jewels from the churches and palaces.

Sir James de la Riviere, brother to the count de Dampmartin, was taken prisoner with the duke of Bar, in the hôtel of the duke of Aquitaine, and carried to the palace-prison, where it was reported, that from indignation at this treatment, he had struck himself so roughly with a pewter-pot on the head as to beat his brains out. His body was thence carried in a cart to the market-place of Paris, and beheaded. But the truth was otherwise; for sir Elion de Jacqueville, knight to the duke of Burgundy, visiting him in prison, high words passed between them, and he called him a false traitor. Sir James replied, that he lied, for that he was none such,—when Jacqueville, enraged, struck him so severe a blow on the head with a light battle-axe which he had in his hand, that he killed him. He then

spread abroad this rumour of his having put an end to his life himself by means of a pewter pot, which was propagated by others through the town, and believed by very many.

Shortly after this event, Mesnil Berry, carver to the duke of Aquitaine, and a native of Normandy, was led to the market-place, and there beheaded. His head and that of sir James de la Riviere were affixed to two lances, and their bodies hung by the shoulders on the gibbet of Montfaucon. On the Thursday in Whitsun-week, Thomelin de Brie, who had been page to the king, was, with two others, taken from the prison of the Châtelet to the market-place, and beheaded: their heads were fixed on three spears, and their bodies hung at Montfaucon by the shoulders. These executions took place at the request of the Parisians. And because sir Reginald * de Corbie, a native of Beauvais, though an old and discreet man, was not agreeable to them, he was dismissed from his office of Chancellor of France, and sir Eustache de Lactre †, at the solicitation of the duke of Burgundy, appointed to succeed him.

On Tuesday, the 20th of June, Philip count de Nevers espoused, at the castle of Beaumont, the sister of the count d'Eu, in the presence of the duchess of Bourbon, her mother, and the damsel of Dreux, who had been principally instrumental in forming this marriage.

After the festivities of the wedding, the new-married couple were conducted by the duchess of Bourbon and the damsel of Dreux to Maizieres, on the Meuse, which belonged to the count de Nevers. The count d'Eu, who had been of the party, soon after returned to his country, where he collected a large body of men-at-arms, to the amount of two thousand combatants, under the pretext of making war on the lord de Croy, in revenge for an attack made upon him some time since, as has been mentioned, by his eldest son sir John de Croy; but it was not so, for he marched his army across the Seine, at Pont-de-l'Arche, and thence Verneuil in Perche, where were assembled king Louis of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans, Brittany, and Bourbon, the counts de Vertus and d'Alençon, with many other great barons, lords, and knights, not only on account of the imprisonment of the dukes of Bar and Bavaria, or of the other prisoners, but for the deliverance of the duke of Aquitaine, who had informed them by letters, which had been confirmed by the count de Vertus, that he himself, the king, and the queen, were kept as prisoners under the control of the Parisians, and that they were not allowed any liberty, which was highly displeasing to them, and disgraceful to royalty. This had caused so large an assembly of these great lords, who, after mature consideration, wrote letters to the king, to his great council, and to the Parisians, desiring them to allow the duke of Aquitaine to go whithersoever he pleased, and to set at liberty the dukes of Bar and of Bavaria, and all other prisoners. Should they refuse to comply, they declared war against the town of Paris, which they would destroy to the utmost of their power, and all within it, except the king and such of his royal blood as may have therein remained. With regard to those that had been murdered, they said nothing of them; for as they were dead, they could not have them back. These letters were laid before the king in council, where it was determined to send ambassadors to these lords to negotiate a peace, who were kindly received by them.

On Saturday, the first day of July, after his trial had been concluded, sir Peter des Essars, lately provost of Paris, and son to the late Philippe des Essars, a citizen of that town, was beheaded in the market-place, his head fixed on the market-house, and his body hung at Montfaucon in the usual manner. His brother, sir Anthony, was in great danger of being also executed; but through the activity of some friends, a delay of his trial was procured, and he afterwards obtained his full liberty.

In these days, as the king was in good health, he went to the cathedral of Paris to say his prayers and hear mass. When it was over, he visited the holy relics: he departed and returned to his hotel, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy and the constable of France, and followed by crowds of people who had assembled to see him. On the morrow, the 6th of July, it was ordered in the king's council, presided by the duke of Aquitaine, that John de Moreul, knight to the duke of Burgundy, should be the bearer of letters and royal summons to the two bailiwicks of Amiens and of Vermandois, and to all the provostships within

* Called "Ernault" a little after, which agrees with Moreri's Arnold.—See *ante*, p. 208, note.

† In Moreri's list, Henry de Marle succeeds Arnauld de Corbie in 1413, and is succeeded by Eustache de *Laître* in 1418.

them. He was commanded to assemble all the prelates, counsellors, and magistrates of these districts, and then, in full meeting, to read aloud these letters from the king, sealed with his great seal, and dated this 6th day of July. Countersigned "John Millet," according to the resolution of council, at which had been present the duke of Burgundy, the constable of France, the chancellor of Aquitaine, the chancellor of Burgundy, and several others.

These letters contained, in substance, an exhortation that they would remain steady and loyal in their duty to the king, and be ready to serve him or the dauphin whenever and wherever they should be summoned to march against the enemies of the kingdom and the public weal; that they should place confidence in his knight, counsellor and chamberlain, sir John de Moreul, according to the instructions given him under the king's privy seal, which he was to show and give them to read. When he had visited many towns and provostships in these bailiwicks, he came on Monday the 16th day of July, from Dourlens to Amiens, and there, in the presence of the nobles, prelates, and principal inhabitants of the great towns within the district, he read his letters and instructions with a clear and loud voice, for he was a man of great eloquence. He explained how much the peace and union of the kingdom had been and was troubled; how the trials of those who had been beheaded at Paris were carried on before a sufficient number of able and honest men, as well knights as advocates of the parliament, and other lords and discreet men, who had been nominated for this purpose by the king; and how sir James de la Riviere, in despair, had killed himself with a pewter pot in which he had had wine, as well as the manner in which he had done it.

The charges which were brought against those who had been beheaded occupied each sixty sheets of paper,—and he assured them, that good and impartial justice had been administered to all who had been executed, without favour or hatred having any concern in their just sentences. He asserted, that the duke of Aquitaine had never written such letters to the princes of the Orleans party as they had published; and he concluded,—"Know then, all ye present, that what I have just being saying are notorious truths." After this, he asked whether they were loyal and obedient to the king, and desired they would tell him their intentions. The nobles and prelates, and the rest of the assembly, instantly replied, that they had always been obedient to the king, and were ready to serve him, believing that he had told them the truth. In confirmation of this, he required letters from the provost, with which he returned to Paris. In like manner were other knights sent, in the king's name, with similar letters and instructions to the different bailiwicks and seneschalships within the realm, who, being equally successful, returned with letters of the same import.

While these things were passing, the English appeared off the coast of Normandy with a large fleet of ships, and landed at the town of Treport, where having plundered all they could find, and made some prisoners, they set fire to it, and burnt the town and monastery, and also some of the adjoining villages. When they had remained about twenty-two hours on shore, they re-embarked and made sail for England with their booty.

CHAPTER CVI.—THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE RETURN WITH THOSE FROM THE PRINCES TO PARIS.—THEY ARE JOINED BY OTHERS, WHO NEGOTIATE A FOURTH PEACE AT PONTOISE.

On Wednesday, the 12th day of July, the ambassadors whom the king and the dukes of Aquitaine, Berry, and Burgundy, had sent to the princes of the blood, namely, the bishop of Tournay, the grand-master of Rhodes, the lords d'Offemont, and de la Viefville, master Peter de Marigny, and some others, returned from their embassy. The answer they had brought having been soon after considered in council, the king ordered the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to go with the aforesaid ambassadors to Pontoise, when the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and d'Eu, came to Vernon, and thence sent their ambassadors to Pontoise, to explain to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the other ambassadors, the causes of their griefs, and the great miseries that must ensue should the war take place that was on the point of breaking out.

One of their ambassadors harangued well in clear and good French on the above subjects: the substance of what he said was as follows. "To explain what has been intrusted to us by our lords, namely, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the counts

Pontoise, as it appeared in the Sixteenth Century.—From a print in Chastillion's Topographie Françoise.

d'Alençon and d'Eu, to you, my very redoubted lords of Berry and Burgundy, and to the gentlemen of the great council of the king and of my lord of Aquitaine, now in their company, since it becomes me to speak the words of peace, trusting in Him who is the sole author of peace, and in the good will of my hearers, I shall take my text from the 33d Psalm, 'Oculi mei semper ad Dominum;' that is to say, My eyes are always turned to the Lord; and continue my discourse from what the wise Plato says, among other notable things, that all princes or others intrusted with the affairs of government should obey the commands of their sovereign in all they shall do for the public welfare, laying aside every private consideration for their own advantage, and regard themselves as part of a whole, the smallest member of which being wounded, the effect is felt by the head or chief lord.

"I consider, therefore, the kingdom of France as a body, of which our sovereign lord the king is the head, and his subjects the members. But in what degree shall I place my lords the princes who have sent us hither, or you, my lords, who hear me? for we know of no other head but our sovereign lord.—I can neither liken you to the head nor to the aforesaid members, on account of your rank; but I think I may compare you to the members nearest to the head, for among them may be counted the eyes, which are of the greatest use to it. I shall consequently compare you to the eyes, and for three singularly good reasons.

"First, the eyes ought to be well placed and formed alike; for should one be placed differently from the other, half closed or awry, the whole person is disgraced and acquires the name of Blind or Squinter. Now, it seems to me, that as my lords who have sent us, and you, my lords, who hear me, have persons handsomely made, you ought to be of one mind, and tending towards good; for you have eyes of a clear understanding, and of real affection, 'Oculi sapientis in capite ejus.'—Secondly, the eyes are the most striking parts of the human body, and have a full view over every part of it, as the prophet Ezekiel says, in his 33d chapter, 'Speculatorem dedi te domui Israel.' Just so are our princes of the blood, for from their singular and strong affection to their sovereign lord and his kingdom, they constantly watch over and guard him.—Thirdly, from the nobleness of the eye, which is of a circular form, and of such sensibility that when any other member of the body is hurt, or

struck with grief, it weeps, as the prophet Jeremiah says in the 19th chapter, 'Plorans, plorabit, et educet oculus meus lachrymam quia captus est grex Domini.' In like manner Valerius Maximus relates, in his 8th book, that when Marcellus the tyrant saw his city despoiled by the enemy, who had taken it by storm, he could not refrain from weeping, which was becoming a real eye. Certainly it ought to bewail the pain of its members, as Codrus, duke of Athens, did, who caused himself to be slain to gain a victory over his enemies, as is related by Julius Frontinus, and this same Valerius Maximus in his 8th book. And because all our lords are and ought to be of the same stamp, I have compared them thereto by saying, 'Oculi mei semper ad Dominum.'

"As for me, being the spokesman of those who have been charged to come hither by our lords, we do not think of comparing ourselves to eyes, but solely to the very humble servants of the eye, being no greater parts of the members than the nail on the little finger, ready at the calls of our superiors; and from their commands have we been led to speak of such high concerns, which was matter of great grievance to us; but it is for the sake of peace, and in obedience to the eye, 'Oculi mei semper ad Dominum;' for in all times, every one should obey his lord, more especially when he is in adversity,—as Tully says in his Treatise on Friendship,—Come to thy friend in prosperity, when he calls thee; but when he shall be in adversity, wait not to be called. I apply this to all landholders who are not the immediate ministers of a king, or of the Lord, according to the apostle St. Peter, who says in his second chapter, 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme,' &c. And again, 'Be obedient in the fear of our Lord, not only to the good and just but to the ignorant.' Thus may every one repeat the text I have chosen, 'Oculi mei semper ad Dominum.'

"Notwithstanding my lords who have sent us hither having the eyes of clear understanding, and affected with a true love to their sovereign as the head of the whole body of this Christian kingdom, are fearful that what Isaiah says in his 8th chapter may be applied to them; 'Speculatores ejus cæci omnes;' and that they may be said to resemble the hog who devours the fruit that falls from the tree, without ever looking up to the tree whence it falls. Nevertheless, they having considered the events that have lately taken place in Paris, are full of grief lest the whole body of the kingdom should consequently suffer such destruction, as from its continuation, may be mortal to it, which God, out of his gracious mercy, avert!

"In the first place, they have heard of the arrests and executions of the servants of the king, queen, and duke of Aquitaine, to whom alone belongs the cognizance of any offences committed by them, and to none others. They have also been informed that the same conduct has been followed in regard to the ladies and damsels of the queen and the duchess of Aquitaine, which things, from honour to the queen their mistress, as well as for the respect due to the female sex and to modesty, ought not to have been done. The laws declare and command, under heavy penalties, that modest women shall not be publicly handled; and the honour of their families would seem to assure them of not being so treated, for which they make loud lamentations. Notwithstanding that the cognizance of any crime committed by a prince of the royal blood belongs solely to the king, the duke of Bar has been imprisoned, who is cousin-german to the king our lord, which causes much sorrow to our lords, more particularly to the king and queen of Sicily (who is his niece), who loudly cry out for his deliverance, as well as for that of duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen. They are more hurt at the form and manner in which they were arrested; for, according to what has been told them, they were seized by those who were not king's officers, nor had any authority for so doing from him, but merely by a mob of common people, who forcibly broke down the doors of the king's and the duke of Aquitaine's apartments, saying to the latter many rude and impudent things, which, as is reported, have greatly displeased him; and they are particularly anxious to know why such disgraceful acts were done, as they are ignorant what could have caused them.

"Could any just reasons be alleged, they would not be so much astonished as they now are. But to continue: it has been told them that my lord is even deprived of his liberty, and that he cannot leave his hôtel, or at least that he is not suffered to go out of Paris; and that no one of his kindred, or of any high rank, are suffered to converse with him, but only

those who guard him, as is done to common prisoners in many cases. This is matter of as serious grief to him and to my said lords, thus to be deprived of the conversation and sight of their sovereign lord on earth, as it would be to be debarred the vision of God in another life.—Item, they complain, that since these events, letters have been sent by the town of Paris to the aforesaid lords, and to others, and also to the chief towns in the kingdom, to declare that these arrests, imprisonments, and executions, have taken place with the approbation of the duke of Aquitaine. They therefore lament such letters being sent; for none but the princes of the blood ought to be made acquainted with the acts of government, or with such charges as are made against different lords. There was, beside, no pretence for these letters, for no one had ever interfered with the government of the duke of Aquitaine; and it should seem to have been done solely with a view to inflame and instigate the people to some acts prejudicial to the king, to my lord of Aquitaine, his whole family, and even against these lords now present.

"They also complain, that through the importunity of these same Parisians, orders have been sent to their barons, knights, esquires, and vassals, not to obey any summons they may receive from them, but to remain at home until the constable, or some other of the lords within Paris, shall send for them; and at this grievance they feel very indignant, for they have never done anything, or had intentions of so acting, as to deserve to be deprived of the service of their vassals; and when the king should have occasion for them, they should have served in their company, &c.—Item, they likewise complain of many expressions, and other orders, by which several officers take possession of castles and forts, and place in them new governors, dismissing very able captains, noble and valiant knights, who have loyally served their whole life without reproach, and still intend to serve the king.

"These things are very unusual and extraordinary, and create much uneasiness, by the bad example they afford as well to the head as the other members, to the producing of subversion and total ruin. This good kingdom has long been prosperously governed, chiefly by its regular police and strict justice, which are founded on three things, and have caused it to excel all other kingdoms.—Firstly, by its great learning, by which the Christian faith has been defended, and justice and equity maintained.—Secondly, by its noble and gallant chivalry, by which not only this kingdom, but the whole of the faith has been supported and encouraged.—Thirdly, by the numbers of loyal subjects, who, by their subordination and obedience, have given strength to the government.

"But now these three things, by the present perverse mode of acting, will be completely overturned; for all seems running to disorder, and one fills an office suited to another, so that the feet which ought to support the body, head, and arms, now want to take the place of the head; and thus everything will fall into confusion, and all the members quit the situations they were naturally designed for, as the civil law says, 'Rerum commixtione turbantur officia.' For these reasons, my lords have sent us to supplicate the king, the queen, and my lord of Aquitaine, and to request of you, our very dear and redoubted lords, and of you gentlemen of the great council of the king and the duke of Aquitaine now present, that each of you would, according to the exigence of the case, apply a sufficient remedy. It seems to my lords, that, according to the opinion of physicians, abstinence is the grand preservative of the body natural from sickness: we therefore pray you, that all such acts as have lately taken place may be put an end to, and that all extraordinary commissions may cease; that honour and justice may have due attention paid to them, and that liberty and the accustomed prerogatives be restored to the king and the duke of Aquitaine, as to the eyes of justice; and that they may be preserved from all offence from churchmen, nobility, and people, as the body, the arms, and the legs are bound to guard and defend the head; for this will be the only and secure means of establishing peace, and as the Psalmist says, 'Quia justicia et pax osculatæ sunt.'

"St. Augustin declares, that every one wishes for Peace in his house; but Justice, who is her sister, lodges in the house of another; and all who wish for true Peace must have also her sister Justice. Should any one say, that abstinence would be dangerous from fear of two different things, such as war and rigorous justice, we reply, in the name of our lords, that they will eschew both to the utmost of their power, and will employ themselves heartily.

in following this abstinence, and in the expulsion of all such men at arms as shall injure the country by every means they can use. In regard to rigorous justice, they intend to follow in this the manner of all princes, keeping in mind the sentence of Plato, that when a prince is cruel to the commonwealth, he resembles the guardian who unwisely chastises his ward, whom he had undertaken to watch over and defend. They will carefully imitate the conduct of their predecessors of the most noble house of France, who have been accustomed to show nothing but good humour and kindness, laying aside all rancour against the good city of Paris, and all other towns that may have been guilty of improper acts; and they supplicate the king, the queen, and my lord of Aquitaine, that an entire oblivion may be passed over what may have been done on one side as well as on the other.

"My lords are particularly desirous that the king, the queen, and the duke of Aquitaine should have full liberty to make their residence at Rouen, Chartres, Melun, Montargis, or at any other place more suitable than Paris, for their loyal subjects to have access to them; not through any malevolence toward this town, or against its inhabitants, but to avoid any sort of riot that might take place between their servants and some of the citizens. And I beg the lords now present to consider on the most secure means for the meeting of my lords with their majesties and the duke of Aquitaine, and to obviate all pretence of suspicion or alarm, when my lords shall attend at any proper place to provide for the better government of the kingdom, and for the establishment of a solid peace. Let this matter be well weighed, for our lords and ourselves are perfectly well inclined to attend to the honour and advantage of the head and of all its members.

"Should I have said too little, my lords and companions will be eager to amend it; and should I have said too much, or anything that may have angered any of my lords here present, they will be pleased to attribute it to my simplicity and ignorance, and to the strong affection I bear to the king, and my earnestness that a firm and lasting peace may be concluded. I am naturally bound to this by my oath of fidelity, and also from the anxiety my lord the king of Sicily has to promote this desirable end. Should I therefore have said more than was necessary, you will not of course attribute it to any rashness, or disaffection that I may feel; for such has never entered my thoughts, or those of my lord of Sicily or his companions."

After this, several propositions for peace were made on each side, that tranquillity might be restored to the kingdom, and an end put to the present disorders. Some articles were drawn up, of the following tenor.

"First, there shall be perfect union and love between the princes of the blood, which they will keep, and swear to observe, like affectionate relatives and friends, and shall mutually interchange letters to this purpose; and, for a greater confirmation of the above, the principal officers and servants of each lord shall do the same.—Item, the princes of the blood who have sent ambassadors will cease from all acts of warfare, and will not summon any more men-at-arms; and if any summonses should have been issued, they will instantly annul them.—Item, they will do everything in their power to recal those who form the companies of Clugnet, Louis Bourdon, and others their adherents, by every possible means. Should these companies refuse to comply, these lords would then unite themselves with the king's forces, and compel them to obedience, or destroy them, and all others the king's enemies, who might wage war against him or his kingdom.—Item, they will promise that they will not bear any malice or revenge for whatever things may have been done in the city of Paris, nor do by themselves or others any mischief to that town, or its inhabitants, under pretext of justice, or any other cause whatever; and should any security be required for the observance of this article, they shall suffer it to be given, and even afford every assistance thereto to the utmost of their power.—Item, these princes will make oath upon the true cross of God, on the holy evangelists, and on the word of honour of a prince, that they will strictly observe every article of this treaty, without any fraud or subterfuge, and will give to the king letters containing the above oath, signed with their seals.—Item, on the accomplishment of the above, the ambassadors from the aforesaid princes require, that the king would be pleased to annul and revoke all his summonses for assembling men-at-arms, and order all warfare to cease in the realm, except against the above-mentioned companies.—Item, he will

also revoke all orders lately issued, to take possession of different castles and forts, and to dismiss from them the governors appointed by the princes, placing others in their room; and all such castles and forts shall be delivered up in the same state in which they were taken possession of; and, after a certain time, all who for any act by them committed, in opposition to the king's ministers, may have been imprisoned or banished, shall have their liberties, and be recalled home; and this shall take place in the course of the king's ordinary justice, without any commissioners being appointed, or interfering therein.—Item, when all these things shall have been done, the king, the queen, and my lord of Aquitaine shall, on an appointed day, come out of Paris to a fixed place of meeting, where the princes of either party shall meet, to confirm the good union among them, and to advise on the necessary business for the welfare of the king and his realm; and should any one suspect that these princes, or any of their party, have the intention of instigating the king, the queen, or my lord of Aquitaine, to take vengeance on the town of Paris, or, in revenge to any of its inhabitants, seize on the government, or to carry off the king and my lord of Aquitaine, or that this meeting was proposed with any evil design, they are willing to give whatever security may be thought advisable."

These propositions having been reduced to writing, and agreed to by the different lords who had been commissioned for that purpose, each party returned to the places they had come from. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, with their companions, reported to the king the points of their embassy, as contained in the memorial which had been drawn up for the good of the kingdom.

When this matter had been well considered, in a council to which the members of the university and of the municipality of Paris had been admitted, it was agreed on by the king and the duke of Aquitaine, that what had been settled by the commissioners on each side should be confirmed. In consequence, various ordinances were drawn up, to be transmitted to the bailiwicks and seneschalships in the realm, in order to their promulgation at the usual places, of which copies follow underneath.

During this melancholy time, Clugnet de Brabant, sir Louis de Bourdon, and other captains of that party, advanced with sixteen thousand combatants, wasting and despoiling the country of the Gâtinois, and giving out that they were on their march to make war on the Parisians. These latter were much angered thereat, and despatched sir Elyon de Jacqueville with sixteen hundred helmets, and a large body of other combatants, to meet them as far as Montereau-faut-Yonne; but the two armies did not meet,—and that of the Parisians was disbanded without fighting.

At this time, the constable and admiral of France were, with the bishop of Tournay, sent by the king to Boulogne-sur-mer, to meet ambassadors from the king of England, namely, the earl of Warwick, the bishop of St. Davids, and others, who had arrived at Calais. They met at Leulinghen, and, after some negotiations, agreed on a truce between the two kingdoms, to last until the ensuing Easter, which was proclaimed throughout both realms.

Here follows a copy of those royal ordinances before mentioned.

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, and to each of the inhabitants of that town, greeting.—We make known to you, that on account of the improper and unjust imprisonment of our very dear and well-beloved cousin and brother-in-law, the dukes of Bar and of Bavaria, with other of our officers, as well as of the households of our dear companion the queen, and of our well-beloved son the duke of Aquitaine, and other ladies and damsels attached to them; our very dear cousin and nephew, the king of Sicily, the duke of Bourbon, the counts of Alençon and of Eu, have made heavy complaints, as well respecting the manner in which these imprisonments were made, as likewise regarding the disgust which these events, and others that have taken place in our good town of Paris, have caused to our very dear son; and on this occasion the disaffected princes have lately come to the town of Verneuil, whither we sent, on our part, properly-instructed ambassadors, and also with them our very dear uncles the dukes of Berry and of Burgundy.

"Some of the inhabitants of Paris went by our orders to Pontoise; and our aforesaid cousin and nephews the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans, of Bourbon, and the counts d'Alençon and d'Eu, came to the town of Vernon, and thence sent their ambassadors to

explain and signify to our aforesaid uncle and cousin the dukes of Berry and of Burgundy, and to our ambassadors, the cause of their complaints, and to remonstrate on the perils of the war that would speedily ensue unless their grievances were redressed.

"These matters having been fully discussed, proposals of peace and union between all parties were brought forward, to avoid the miseries of a civil war. Many articles were agreed on: the first was, that a solid peace should be established between the princes of the blood-royal, which they were solemnly to swear to observe, and mutually to exchange deeds to this effect; but every one was to have the same liberty as before of declaring his opinion. The whole of the articles seemed very reasonable to the members of the university of Paris and of our court of parliament, as well as to many of the good citizens of our town of Paris, who were ready to examine them more fully, and report their opinion to us on the Thursday following. But notwithstanding this approbation, there were some of low degree and narrow minds, who by their own authority had seized on the government of the city of Paris, and who have been the cause of the war continuing so long, in order the better to keep their authority. These persons excited some of the princes of the blood and others to war by their false machinations, with the hope that their murders and robberies would remain unpunished, and that they should escape the vengeance due to their crimes. In consequence, by persevering in their wickedness, they practised so effectually that the meeting which had been appointed for Thursday was put off to Saturday the 5th of the month, in the expectation that they should before that day be enabled, by their base intrigues, to prevent peace from being agreed to,—the truth of which, under the pleasure of God, shall shortly be made public. But through the grace of God, the university of Paris, our chambers of parliament and of accounts, the different religious orders, and the principal inhabitants of Paris assembled,—and having many fears of the ill-intentioned preventing that peace which they most earnestly wished for, by every attempt to obstruct so great a blessing as peace and union throughout the kingdom, came to us at our hôtel of St. Pol in the afternoon, and desired an audience for the purpose of remonstrating on the happy effects that would ensue from the establishment of peace. They demonstrated the blessings of peace and the evils of war, and the necessity there was for proceeding instantly to the completion of the articles that had been agreed to by the ambassadors on each side,—and demanded, that the Saturday which had been fixed on should be anticipated, by naming the ensuing Friday, and that proper regulations should be made for the security of the city.

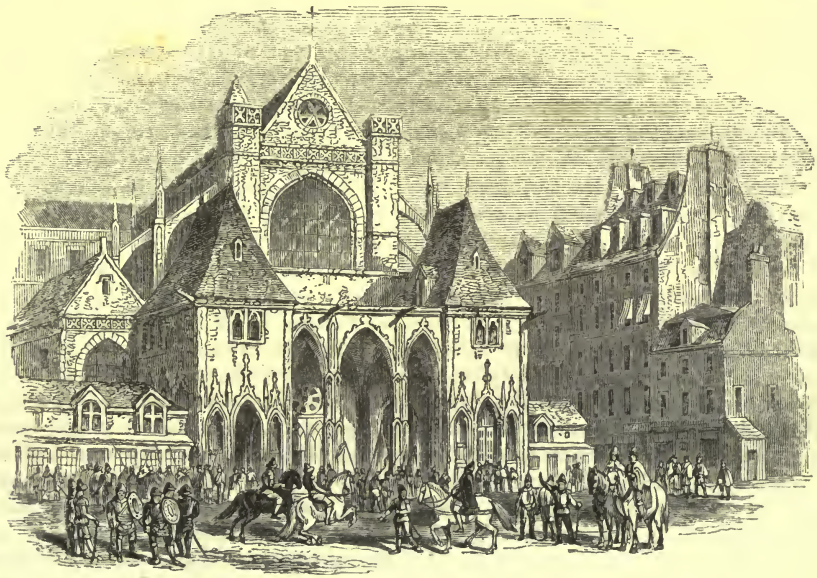
"On the Friday, those who were desirous of peace went to the town-house in the Grève, thinking to meet their friends, and come with them to us in our hôtel of St. Pol; but they were prevented by those ill inclined to peace, who, though of low degree, had before come to our said hotel, and with them some varlets, all armed under authority of the government which they had usurped over the city of Paris.—On this account, therefore, these prudent wellwishers to peace assembled in the square of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois in Paris, and in other places, in great numbers and with firm courage; and though the others did everything in their power to throw obstacles in their way, in all their attempts they were baffled.

"This assembly, on breaking up, left St. Germain in regular order, as they had determined on; and on appearing in our presence, as well as in the presence of our son, our uncle and cousins, the dukes of Aquitaine, Berry, and Burgundy, with others of our council, a peace was agreed on, and the articles ordered to be carried into execution. Punishment was at the same time, to the great joy of the sober citizens, ordered to be inflicted, according to reason and justice, on all who had any way attempted to prevent a peace being made. Immediately after this had been done, and our will declared, our son, our uncle and our cousin aforesaid, mounted their horses, and went to set at liberty our cousin and brother-in-law the dukes of Bar and of Bavaria, who had for a long time been confined in the Louvre, and also many other knights and officers of our own and our son's households, who had been imprisoned for some time in the dungeons of the Palace and of the Châtelet, by force of the aforesaid evil-minded and low persons, who, now perceiving that good government was likely to be restored, according to reason and justice, hid themselves like foxes, or fled,—and since that time, it has not been known where they may be found or arrested. This inclines us to fear that they may seduce others to follow their wicked example, by their

dangerous and false lies, as they have before done, and that events more pernicious may ensue than what we have lately experienced, and which it concerns every one, through the grace of God, to prevent with all diligence.

"This peace is considered so advantageous to all parties that the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans, of Bourbon, and the counts of Alençon and of Eu, have since sent their ambassadors to Paris, who daily attend to the due execution of all the articles of it, having fully approved of it and of everything that has been done by us; and the rupture of this peace at this moment would cause the destruction of us, our kingdom, and of all our faithful and good subjects. For this cause, we expressly enjoin and command you not to give credence to anything you may hear to the contrary,—for what we have assured you above is the real truth,—by any of these evil-minded persons who are inimical to the peace, nor to show them any manner of favour,—but, on the contrary, to throw them into prison, and send them to us, that we may inflict such punishment on them as the heinousness of the case may require. And you, bailiff, will cause the above to be proclaimed in all the considerable towns and villages within your jurisdiction; and you will also require from the clergy of the different churches, collegiate and others, within your bailiwick, that they do make processions, and offer up devout prayers to Heaven, for the effecting of the above peace, and that our Lord through his grace, would incline to make it perpetual. You will also personally be careful that there be no failing on your part in the due execution of this our will and pleasure.

"Given at Paris the 12th day of August, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d." Signed by the king and his council, present the dukes of Aquitaine, of Berry, and of Burgundy, the marshal Longny.—"FERRON."



ST. GERMAIN-L'AUXERROIS, PARIS.—From an original drawing.

Another edict was published by the king against men-at-arms and other warriors, and to secure the people against their inroads, which was sent to all the bailiwicks and seneschalships in the kingdom, of the following tenour.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

"It has come to our knowledge, that within a short time many men-at-arms, archers and cross-bowmen, and other warriors, without any license from us given, either by written orders or otherwise, have unlawfully assembled, and continue so to do, in very many places and towns of our kingdom, with the intent of marching toward our good city of Paris, and

pillaging and murdering our poor subjects, and committing other ruinous acts and excesses, by which our faithful subjects are sorely oppressed, in addition to what they had before suffered, as well from the effects of the late war as from the epidemic disorder and mortality which ensued in consequence, causing the country to be deserted, whence great and irreparable evils may fall on us and our kingdom, if not speedily prevented. We therefore, desirous of guarding and preserving, to the utmost of our power, our people from such like plunderings and ill treatment, as we are bounden so to do,—and beside seeing a probability that the discords which have taken place between several of our blood and kindred are likely to be put an end to,—shall use (with God's good pleasure) every means in our power to have it accomplished.

"We therefore command and strictly enjoin you, that on the receipt of this letter, you lay aside all other business whatever, and instantly cause our commands to be publicly proclaimed with a loud voice, and with sound of trumpet, in such places where proclamations have been usually made. You will also make this our pleasure known to all our captains, governors, and men-at-arms within any fort, castle, or forming any garrisons within your said bailiwick; and you will strictly enjoin, that no person shall dare to assemble in arms without our especial license first had and obtained, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods. And should any such assemblies have taken place within your bailiwick, they must, on hearing the proclamation of this our pleasure, instantly disperse and return to their homes. Should any bodies of men-at-arms have taken possession of a town or fortress within your district, you will command them, in our name, instantly to surrender it to you, and depart thence; and you will renew the garrison with such persons as you shall judge expedient, and take the command of such town or fort yourself, until you shall receive further orders. Should they refuse to surrender themselves to you, you will make them your prisoners, and execute such justice upon them as their case may require; and should it seem necessary, you will employ force against them to reduce them to obedience, and summon to your aid all the nobles resident within your bailiwick, taking care to have a superior force to those you are about to attack, and keeping it up so long as you shall judge it right for the maintaining tranquillity in the country. And we order all our nobles, on the fealty they owe to us, to obey your orders whenever the case shall require it. Should it happen, that during any engagements that may take place between you and our rebellious subjects, any of them be killed or wounded, we will not that such murders be prejudicial to any one employed under your orders, but that they be acquitted and freed from all pursuits for the same hereafter, as we grant them our full pardon. We will likewise, that all arms, horses, or baggage that may be taken from any of our rebellious subjects, shall be converted toward paying the expenses of those who shall have taken and imprisoned such disobedient rebels.

"We therefore give full license and authority to all our subjects, should they be constrained to employ force against these rebels, to seize and hold possession of any parts of their territories without ever being called to account hereafter for so doing. And we especially command all our civil officers and subjects to afford you every aid in their power, and to obey your commands. We also direct, that our well-beloved members of the courts of justice, all masters of requests, as well of our hôtel as of the parliament, all bailiffs and sergeants, and every other dependant on the courts of law, do suspend all processes that may have been proceeding against any of the nobles employed in executing our orders, from the day they shall have set out until fifteen days after their return, without their suffering anything prejudicial to themselves or their possessions, or to those who may have been securities for them. Should any such acts have taken place, you will order everything to be replaced on the same ground as before the nobles had set out on the expedition; for such is our pleasure, according to the tenor of this present letter,—a copy of which, under our royal seal, we shall send you, because the original cannot be exhibited in all places where there may be occasion for it; and to this copy you will give equal credence as to the original letter.

"Given at Paris, the 5th day of August, in the year of grace 1413, and of our reign the thirty-third." It was signed by the king in council,—present the dukes of Aquitaine, Berry, Burgundy, Bar, the duke Louis of Bavaria, and others. Countersigned, "Ferron." These two edicts were carried to Amiens, and proclaimed the 20th day of the same month.

CHAPTER CVII.—THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE ORDERS THE PRISONERS TO BE LIBERATED.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY LEAVES PARIS.—SEVERAL PRINCES ARRIVE THERE.—THEIR ACTIONS.

On the 4th day of September, the duke of Aquitaine, in consequence of the king's commands, caused all the prisoners confined within the Palace to be set at liberty; and, shortly after, the whole of the furniture of John de Troyes, then keeper of the Palace, and who had gone abroad for some private affairs, was carried out of the same, in pursuance of the orders of the duke of Aquitaine, by those Parisians who had usually accompanied him. His office of keeper of the Palace was taken away, and restored to him who had before holden it. In like manner were several offices in Paris restored to their former holders, namely, to Anthony des Essars, to the two dukes of Bar and of Bavaria; the former being reinstated in his government of the Louvre, and the other in that of the Bastile. When the prisoners had been set at liberty, the duke of Aquitaine ordered all the bells of the churches to ring together, and two days and nights were passed in the utmost joy and revelling throughout the town, for the re-establishment of peace, which was a delightful sight.

The lord de Viefville and sir Charles de Lens, brother to the châtelain de Lens, were arrested in the hôtel of the duke of Burgundy; but sir Robinet de Mailly, for fear of being taken, fled,—and the lord de Viefville, at the entreaty of the duke of Burgundy and his daughter, the duchess of Aquitaine, obtained his liberty. Sir Charles was confined in the prison of the Châtelet,—and the other, who had fled, was banished the realm. The lord de Jacqueville, during his absence, was deprived of his government of Paris; and, hearing of this while he was at Montereau-faut-Yonne with some of his principal supporters among the butchers, they all fled to Burgundy: at the same time, Jean Caboche, master Jean de Troyes and his children, with many others of the Parisians, hastened into Flanders. Master Eustace de Lactre, the new chancellor of France, fled like the rest from Paris,—and in his place was appointed master Arnold de Corbie, who had before been chancellor of France, but, at his own request, on account of his age, had been deprived of it, when the first president of the parliament of Paris was nominated in his stead. Master John Jouemel, king's advocate, was made chancellor of Aquitaine.

Very many knights, particularly those who had been appointed commissioners to try the late prisoners, quitted Paris; and the duke of Burgundy, observing the conduct of his son-in-law the duke of Aquitaine, began to be apprehensive that he was not well pleased with his former conduct, and that he would remember the outrages which had been committed personally against him, as well in his hotel as elsewhere, as has been before related, and would have him arrested. He daily saw the most faithful of his adherents quit Paris privately, and without taking leave of him: some of them were even made prisoners,—and he was told that there had been guards placed round his hôtel of Artois, and that great numbers of those who had been enemies to the duke of Aquitaine were now reconciled to him. To prevent any dangerous consequences, and to avoid the perils that might ensue, he prevailed on the king to hunt in the forest of Ville-neuve. The lord de St. George accompanied him,—and when he found the opportunity favourable, he took leave of the king, saying, that he had received such intelligence from Flanders as would force him to return thither instantly, on account of the important business which he would have to transact. On saying this, he set off, and passed the wood of Bondis in much fear: he continued his road without stopping, and attended by a small company, to St. Maixence, where he lay that night. On the morrow, very early, the lord de Ront came thither to meet him, with two hundred men-at-arms, and thence escorted him in a few days to Lille in Flanders.

When his departure was known, the Parisians and others attached to the Orleans party began loudly to murmur against him, saying that he had fled for fear of being arrested. Those of his party who had remained in Paris were in great alarm; for daily some of them were imprisoned, and summary justice done upon them. Even the two nephews of Jean Caboche were executed, after having been for some time dragged through the streets; and the host of the hotel of the "Huis de fer," named Jean de Troyes, cousin-german to master

Jean de Troyes, the surgeon, of whom mention has been made, suffered in like manner. In respect to the queen, the dukes of Aquitaine, Berry, Bar, and Bavaria, they were perfectly pleased and happy that the duke of Burgundy had quitted Paris, as were many of the great lords: in short, the whole town was now turned against him both in words and deeds.

It was not long before the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon, de Vertus, d'Eu, de Vaudemont, and de Dammartin, the archbishop of Sens, friar Jacques le Grand, and the borgne Foucault, came in handsome array to Paris; and the dukes of Berry, Bar, and Bavaria, the bishop of Paris, with many nobles and citizens, went out on horseback to meet them, and escorted them, with every sign of joy, to the Palace, where the king, the queen, and the duke of Aquitaine, were waiting to receive them. Their reception by the royal family was very gracious, and they all supped at the Palace, after which they retired to their different hotels in the town. On the morrow, the lord Charles d'Albreth came to Paris, when the office of constable was instantly restored to him. On the 8th day of September following, the king, at the instance of the aforesaid lords, held a grand council in the usual chamber of parliament, and issued the following edict, which was proclaimed throughout his realm.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

"Whereas, during the discords and dissentions that took place between several of our blood and kindred, many damnable falsehoods have been reported to us; under pretext of which our council have been very much constrained, and our city of Paris did not enjoy its usual freedom, and ourself was not advised so loyally as we ought to have been for the honour and general welfare of the public, as it has since appeared, for several acts have been done that were partial and irregular. Others of our subjects were under the greatest alarm (and this happened to some of tried courage), for they saw that those were in danger of losing everything dear to them who should utter the truth. In fact, several of our prelates, nobles, and members of our council, were wrongfully arrested, robbed of their wealth, and forced to pay ransoms for their liberty, which caused many of our well-wishers to absent themselves from our council, and even to fly from Paris. Many letters-patent were unjustly and damnably obtained in our name, sealed with our seal, and sent to our sovereign father, the head of Christian princes, at the holy college of Rome, and to other monarchs, declaring that these letters were sent with our full knowledge and approbation.

"We have lately been well informed from papers that have been discovered, and laid before us in council, of a fact of which indeed we had our suspicions, that envy and malice were the grounds on which our uncle John de Berry, our nephews Charles of Orleans and his brothers, John de Bourbon, John d'Alençon, Charles d'Albreth, our cousins, and Bernard d'Armagnac, with their accomplices and supporters, were charged with the wicked and treasonable design of depriving us and all our descendants of our royal authority, and expelling us our kingdom, which God forbid! and also with the design of making a new king of France, which is an abominable thing to hear of, and must be painful even in the recital to the hearts of all our loyal subjects. In regard, therefore, to such charges, those who have made them are guilty of iniquitously imposing upon us, and are culpable of enormous crimes as well treasonable as otherwise. Very many defamatory libels have been written and affixed to the doors of churches, as well as distributed to several persons, and published in different places, to the great dishonour and contempt of some of the highest of our blood, such as our very dear and well-beloved son, our well-beloved nephews and cousins, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the counts de Vertus, d'Alençon, d'Armagnac, and d'Albreth, constable of France, and against other nobles and barons, our well-wishers, consequently against ourself and our government.

"We, therefore, for these causes, do by these letters-patent give permission to our said uncle, nephews, cousins, and to their adherents, to seize on and destroy the lands and property of all who may have been guilty of the aforesaid acts, declaring them to have forfeited to us both their bodies and estates. We the more readily consent to their being thus sorely oppressed, because they, under pretence of an ancient bull which had been issued against the free companies forty years ago, without any permission and authority, did raise

and assemble companies of men-at-arms against us and against our realm. This bull could not any way refer, as the simple inspection of it would show, to our said son, uncle, nephew, or cousins, but was applied to them, through wicked counsel, without any authority from our said sovereign father the pope, without any deliberations holden on the subject,—nor was any suit instituted, as was usual in such cases; but without any forms of proceeding that should have been observed, or any preceding admonitions, they were illegally, through force and partiality, condemned as excommunicated, with all their adherents and friends,—which sentence was, in defiance of truth, publicly proclaimed throughout our kingdom.

"They were likewise declared traitors and wicked persons, banished our kingdom, and deprived of all their possessions and offices. On this occasion, many injurious reports were industriously spread abroad against them, and they were themselves treated with the utmost inhumanity. Several of them were put to death without any attention being paid to their souls, like to outlaws and beasts, without administration of the sacraments of the holy church, and then thrown into ditches, or exposed in the fields, like dogs, to be devoured by the birds. Such acts are damnably wicked and cruel, more especially among Christians and true Catholics, and have been done at the instigation of seditious persons, disturbers of the peace, and ill-wishers to our said uncle, nephews, and cousins, by means of their abominable fictions, in order to gain their false and wicked purposes, as we have since been more fully and truly informed.

"We therefore, desirous, as is reasonable, that such false accusations as have been brought against those of our blood and their adherents, should not remain in the state they are now in, to their great disgrace, and earnestly wishing that the real truth should be published, and reparation made for these illegal proceedings, make known that we are fully persuaded, from the information we have received, that our said uncle, son, nephews, cousins, prelates, barons, nobles and others their partisans, have ever had loyal intentions toward our person, and have been good relatives and obedient subjects, such as they ought to be in regard to us, and that all which has been done has been treacherously, and wickedly, and surreptitiously contrived against truth and reason, at the instances and importunities of these aforesaid seditious disturbers of the peace, by whom all letters and edicts, that any way tend to tarnish their honour, have been procured under false pretences.

"We declare, by these presents, that such edicts and letters-patent have been wrongfully and surreptitiously issued, and are of no weight, having been procured by those rebellious disturbers of the peace, authors of the evils that have afflicted our city of Paris, and whom we also declare guilty of high treason. Being desirous that the truth of these crimes should be made public, and that all may be acquainted with the real facts, to prevent any evil consequences that might ensue to us and to our realm, were they to remain in ignorance, as may happen to any prince who has subjects to govern, we therefore make known, and assert it for truth, that we being at our usual residence in Paris, in company with our very dear and well-beloved consort the queen, our very dear and well-beloved son the duke of Aquitaine, our uncle the duke of Berry, with several others of our kindred, and such of our servants and councillors as were accustomed to attend on us,—it happened that on the 27th day of April last past, sir Elion de Jacqueville, Robinet de Mailly, Charles de Recourt, called de Lens, knights, William Bareau, at that time a secretary, a surgeon named Jean de Troyes, and his children, Thomas le Goys and his children, Garnot de Saint Yon, butcher, Symon de Coutelier, skinner of calf-skins, Bau de Bordes, Andrieu Roussel, Denisot de Chaumont, master Eustace de Lactre, master Pierre Canthon, master Diusque François, master Nicolle de Saint Hilaire, master Jean Bon, master Nicolle de Quesnoy, Jean Guerin, Jean Pimorin, Jacques Laban, Guillaume Gente, Jean Parent, Jacques de Saint Laurent, Jacques de Rouen, Martin de Neauville, Martin de Coulonniers, master Toussaints Bangart, master Jean Rapiot, master Hugues de Verdun, master Laurens Calot, Jean de Rouen, son to a tripe-woman of Puys Nôtre Dame, Jean Maillart, an old-clothes-seller, with many others, their accomplices, of divers ranks and conditions, (who had, before this time, held frequent assemblies, and secret conspiracies in many places, both in the day and night-time) appeared in a very large body armed, with displayed standard, by way of hostility, before our said residence of Saint Pol, without our having any knowledge of such their disorderly intent.

" They proceeded thence to the hotel of our son the duke of Aquitaine, which they would forcibly enter, and broke open the gates of it contrary to the will of our said son, his attendants and servants. Having done this, they entered his apartment in opposition to his expostulations and prohibitions; and when there, they seized by force and violence our cousin-german the duke of Bar, the chancellor of our said son, with many other nobles our chamberlains and counsellors to our son, and carried them away whithersoever they pleased: some of them they confined in close imprisonment, where they detained them so long as they were able. These excesses raised the anger of our son in so violent a degree that he was in danger of suffering a serious disorder from it. The said seditious rebels, persisting in their wicked courses, came to us in our hotel of St. Pol, when they proposed, or caused to be proposed, whatever seemed good to them, positively declaring, however, that they would have certain persons, whose names were written down in a small roll, which they had with them, which persons were then in our company. Among the number were Louis duke of Bavaria, brother to our consort the queen, and many other nobles, our knights, counsellors, the master of our household, with numbers of our servants of different ranks and conditions. These they arrested by force against our will, and carried them to prison, or wherever else they pleased, as they had done to the others. After this, they entered the apartments of the queen our consort, and in her presence, and contrary to her will, they seized many ladies and damsels, several of whom were of our kindred, and carried them away to prison, as they had done to the others. This disloyal and indecent conduct so greatly alarmed our dear consort the queen, that she was in great danger of losing her life from the illness that ensued.

" After the imprisonment of these several persons of both sexes, the insurgents proceeded against them, contrary to all law and justice, by very severe tortures, and even put to death many of the nobility in the prisons, afterward publishing that they had killed themselves. Their bodies they hung on gibbets, or flung them into the Seine. Some they beheaded privately while in prison. With regard to the ladies whom they had arrested, they treated them most inhumanly; and although they were urgently pressed to allow the laws to take their course, in regard to these prisoners, and that the court of parliament, as was reasonable, should take cognizance of them, they positively refused every request of the sort, and had letters drawn up as seemed good to them, and to which they had the great seal of our chancery set by force, and, besides, constrained our son to sign all their acts with our seals-manual, as approving of their deeds. That they might have the chancellor the more under their command, to seal whatever edicts they should please to have proclaimed, they dismissed from that office our well-beloved Arnold de Corbie, who had so long and so faithfully served us, and put in his place master Eustace de Lactre, by whom letters were sealed and issued contrary to all truth, but conformable to the acts of these wicked men. We were deceived by them, from want of able counsellors, and from freedom of speech not being permitted, as has before been noticed.

" All these letters, therefore, and edicts mandatory that have been published to the dishonour of our said uncle, nephews, cousins, and their friends and adherents, we holding a bed of justice in our court of parliament, in the presence of many of our blood-royal, prelates, churchmen, as well members of the university of Paris, our daughter, as from elsewhere, several great barons, and other able persons of our council, and many principal citizens of Paris, do now annul, condemn, and for ever annihilate. And we forbid all our subjects, under pain of incurring our highest indignation, to act, by word or deed, any way hereafter contrary to the strict tenor of this our will and pleasure. Should any of these disgraceful acts be produced in courts of justice, we forbid any faith to be placed in them, and order them to be torn and destroyed wherever they may be found. In consequence whereof, we command our beloved and faithful counsellors of our parliament, our provost of Paris, and all others our bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, and officers of justice, or their lieutenants, each and all of them, to cause this our present edict to be publicly proclaimed by sound of trumpet in the usual places where proclamations are made, that none may plead ignorance of this our will. And we also command, that it be publicly read by all prelates and clergymen, or such as have usually preached to the people, that in time to come they may not again be seduced by similar evil machinations.

"We also order, that as full obedience be paid to all copies of these presents, sealed with our seal, as to the original. In testimony of which, we have set our seal to these presents. Given in our great chamber of the parliament of Paris, at a bed of justice holden the 12th day of September, in the year 1413.

"By the king, holding his bed of justice in his court of parliament." Countersigned, "BAYE."—This ordinance was, consequently, proclaimed in Amiens* on the 15th day of December following.

CHAPTER CVIII.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY COMES TO PARIS.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HOLDS A COUNCIL AT LILLE.—THE ACTIONS OF THE COUNT DE ST. POL,—AND OTHER MATTERS THAT HAPPENED AT THIS TIME.

AT this period, John duke of Brittany, son-in-law to the king, came to Paris, with his brother the count de Richemont. The duke d'Evreux† and the earl of Rutland arrived there also from England, to treat of the marriage of their king with Catherine daughter to

JOHN DUKE OF BRITTANY, FROM A STATUE IN THE CATHEDRAL OF NANTES; AND HIS BROTHER, ARTHUR COUNT DE RICHEMONT.
From the MS. of Berry, engraved in Montfaucon, Vol. III.

the king of France, and to prevent the alliance which the duke of Burgundy was desirous of forming between the king of England and his daughter‡. These ambassadors, having explained to the king of France and his ministers the cause of their coming, returned to England.

* The name of the city of Amiens is inserted in this and in most of the former state-papers merely by way of example. It was probably the nearest bailiwick to Monstrelet's place of residence, and the edicts, &c. which he inspected, were those directed to this particular bailiff.

† There was clearly no such person as the duke d'Evreux; but the earl of Rutland himself was also duke of Aumerle; and, both being Norman titles, Monstrelet might have confounded them. But I can find no mention of an embassy in which the earl of Rutland was concerned.

‡ Monstrelet must have mistaken the names of these ambassadors; for in the Fœdera mention is made of a promise from the king of England, by his commissioners, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Warwick, and doctor Ware§, "De non contrahendo, citra certum diem, cum aliqua alia muliere, nisi cum Katerina Franciæ, matrimonio."—Dated Westminster, 28th January, 1414.

§ This, however, seems to refer to the second embassy mentioned after.

The duke of Burgundy, during this time, was holding a grand council at Lille, which was attended by deputies from Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, the Quatre Mestiers, and by many nobles: among the latter was count Waleran de St. Pol, constable of France, who had just concluded the negotiation with the English at Boulogne and Leulinghen. The envoys from England were the earl of Warwick and the bishop of St. Davids, and others, who were commissioned to treat of a truce between the two kings, which was agreed on to last until the feast of St. John the Baptist next ensuing. The count de St. Pol, when on this business, received letters from the king of France, ordering him to come to Paris and surrender the constable's sword. Finding that it was intended to deprive him of his office, he came to ask advice of the duke of Burgundy, who counselled him not to obey these orders; and in consequence he went to his castle of St. Pol-en-Ternois, where his lady resided, and thence to Amiens, and there tarried four days. From Amiens, he sent to Paris, as ambassadors to the king of France, his nephew the count de Conversen and the vidame of Amiens, attended by master Robert le Jeusne, advocate at Amiens, to harangue the king on the subject of their embassy. On their arrival, the advocate opened his harangue in full council before the king, the chancellor, and the other members of it, saying, that the constable, the count de St. Pol, his lord and master, had never been of any party which had disturbed the realm; that he had never raised any troops, nor had attacked any of the king's castles, as several others had done. When he had finished his speech, he was required to produce those who would vouch for what he had said, as had been done in similar cases; but the ambassadors would not support him, and he was instantly arrested and confined in the prison of the Châtelet, where he remained for two days; and it was with great difficulty that the duke of Bar, brother-in-law to the count de St. Pol, by his entreaties obtained his liberty. On Saturday, the day after the feast of St. Mor*, the count de St. Pol left Amiens, and returned dispirited and melancholy to his own county.

Other royal edicts were now published at Paris and sent to all parts of the kingdom for proclamation, complaining of the great disorders that had been committed in the capital by the Parisians, to the great displeasure of the queen and the duke of Aquitaine.—I shall not particularise these edicts, for the atrocious acts of the Parisians have been already sufficiently declared. Soon after these proclamations, the duke of Orleans, conformably to the articles of the peace, demanded of the king restitution of his castles of Pierrefons and Coucy, which the count de St. Pol had refused to surrender to him. His request was granted, and orders were sent to sir Gasselins du Bos, bailiff of Sens, to go thither and receive the homage due to the king,—and thus they were restored to the duke of Orleans.

On the following Saturday, the count d'Armagnac, and Clugnet de Brabant, knight, came to Paris with a numerous company of men-at-arms, and were received by the king, lords, and barons, with great joy. All, or the greater part of those who had followed the faction of the duke of Orleans, now came to Paris,—and the affairs of the nation were governed according to their good pleasure, for the king and the duke of Aquitaine were at this time under their management. With regard to the Burgundy faction, they were kept at a distance, and could scarcely ever obtain an audience, how high soever their rank might be; insomuch that such as had remained in the town were forced to hold down their heads, and to hear many things that were neither pleasant nor agreeable to them.

CHAPTER CIX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HOLDS MANY COUNCILS TO CONSIDER OF HIS SITUATION, FEARING THAT HIS ENEMIES WOULD TURN THE KING AGAINST HIM, WHICH THEY AFTERWARDS DID†.

The duke of Burgundy, while these things were passing, resided in the town of Lille, where he had assembled many great lords to consult and have their advice respecting the

* St. Mor. Q. St. Maur?

† At the head of this chapter, in the edition of Monstrelet in Lincoln's-inn Library, (which is the black letter of Anthoine Verard,—I can find no date,) is a curious wood-cut, representing, perhaps, the duke of Burgundy and his lords in council; but I do not understand what the figures of dead bodies in the back ground are meant for.

I should suspect that the print is misplaced, and is meant to describe the bloody entry of the duke into Paris some time after.

situation he was then in. He received almost daily intelligence from Paris, and learnt how his enemies governed the king and the duke of Aquitaine, and were labouring to keep those of his party at a distance from the royal presence, in order to prevent their receiving any marks of favour or benevolence. The duke formed various opinions on this intelligence, and suspected, what indeed afterward happened, that his adversaries would succeed in setting the king and the duke of Aquitaine at variance with him, and in the end making war upon him. He was, however, prepared to meet whatever events might befal him.

At this period, the earl of Warwick, the bishop of St. Davids, and others, waited upon him, to treat of a marriage between the king of England and a daughter of the duke, notwithstanding the embassy that had been sent to the king of France on a similar subject. These ambassadors and the duke of Burgundy could not agree on the terms of alliance, and they consequently returned to England. On the 4th day of October, the lords d'Offemont and de Moy came to St. Pol-en-Ternois, by orders from the king of France, to demand from the count de St. Pol, that he would surrender to them, or send to the king, his constable's sword. The count replied, that he would never willingly, nor without the advice of his friends, comply with such a request, but that he would refer the matter to the counsel of his friends, and would shortly send such an answer that the king should be satisfied therewith. These lords, having heard this, returned to Paris, after having been honourably entertained by the constable, and related to the king and council what they had done, which was not any way agreeable to those who had sent them.

This same day, another royal edict was published against all who should not strictly keep the peace, forbidding every one to spread abroad any evil reports that would tend to create discord and commotion, and to call any one by such sirnames as should engender strife, and renew the mischiefs that had so lately desolated the kingdom. It was proclaimed throughout France, and was of the following tenor.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

"It has come to our knowledge, that whereas by great and mature deliberation of council, and by the aid and diligence of many of our blood, and other discreet men of our realm, we have, by the grace of God, established a peace between several of our kindred, among whom disputes and discords had arisen and continued for a considerable time. We have first shown all the points of the treaties that had been proposed, after mature counsel, as well to those of our blood and great council, as to the prelates, barons, and knights of our different courts of parliament, and to other officers of justice in the court of the Conciergerie, and also to our well-beloved daughter the university of Paris, the clergy and citizens of our capital, who have been all delighted therewith, and have unanimously supplicated us to complete the peace, which, through the mercy of God, we have done. For the greater security of its observance, our very dear and well-beloved eldest son, nephews, uncle and cousins,—that is to say, Louis duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orleans, Brittany, Bourbon, and of Bar,—the counts d'Alençon, Vertus, Richemont, d'Eu, Vendosme, and many others of our blood,—have promised and sworn in our presence, on the word of a son to a king and a prince, on part of a piece of the true cross, and upon the holy evangelists of God touched corporally by them, never more in any respect to misbehave toward us, but to pay a due regard to their own honour and rank, and henceforward to act toward each other like to kind relations and friends. This they declare they have done without any fraud, deception, or mental reservation, and promise most faithfully to observe this union, and to deposit in our hands their several letters-patent.

"In like manner have the different ranks of our faithful subjects promised and sworn to the due observance of that affection, loyalty, and service they owe to us, and that they will most strictly keep this aforesaid peace concluded between the princes of our blood,—and that they will, to the utmost of their power, prevent it from being in any way infringed, as is more fully explained in others of our letters-patent. Nevertheless, there are, as we learn, several within your bailiwick full of evil intentions, who, believing that no proceedings will take place against them for any commotions they may excite, and that they may remain unpunished in body or goods, do daily spread abroad reports injurious to the said peace, and

by wicked murmurings endeavour to raise discontents against it, and also to make use of such odious sirnames as have been by this peace strictly forbidden, and by other acts and speeches urge on the people to dissentions that may produce fresh warfare; which things are highly, and not without cause, displeasing to us. We will, that the aforesaid peace be most strictly kept, and such is our firm intention, that all means of future dissentions may be put an end to, and that every kind of warfare cease in our kingdom, so that each person may henceforward live in peace and tranquillity. We therefore command, that you do instantly cause these presents to be most solemnly proclaimed by sound of trumpet in every part within your bailiwick wherever any proclamations have been or are usually made.

"Our will and purpose is, to preserve this peace most strictly inviolate, and to observe it in the manner that has been so solemnly sworn to in our presence, without suffering it to be infringed by any person whatever. And we expressly command that you do most attentively regard its preservation, and that you do make very exact inquiries after all who may in any manner attempt its infringement. We rigorously forbid any factious sirnames to be used, and all other words and expressions that have a tendency to revive past dissentions, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods. And any such whom you shall find disobeying these our commands you will punish in such wise that he or they be examples to deter others from committing the like,—and see that there be no failure in this through any fault or neglect of your own. For the due fulfilment of these our commands, we give full powers, as well to yourself as to your deputies and under officers, notwithstanding any letters, edicts, prohibitions, oppositions, or appeals to the contrary. Given at Paris, the 6th day of October, 1413."——Signed by the king in his great council, in the presence of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, the counts de la Marche, d'Alençon, d'Eu, Vendosme, Armagnac, the constable, the count de Tancarville, the grand-master of the household, the master of the cross-bows, the admiral, the chancellors of Aquitaine and of Orleans, the lords d'Oyrront,* de Torcy, de Ray de Boyssay, de Bauquille, l'hermite de la Fayette, and many more.—Countersigned, "P. Naucron."

This edict was afterwards proclaimed at Amiens, and in that bailiwick, on the 3d day of November in the same year.

CHAPTER CX.—DUKE LOUIS OF BAVARIA MARRIES AT PARIS.—OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN BANISHED ON ACCOUNT OF THE DISCORDS BETWEEN THE DUKES OF ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY,—AND OF MANY OTHER INCIDENTAL MATTERS.

In these days, duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen of France, espoused, at the hotel of St. Pol, the widow of the lord Peter de Navarre, formerly count de Mortain. At this wedding, the king and many others of the princes tilted, for there were very grand feasts on the occasion. On the morrow, sir Robinet de Mailly, sir Elyon de Jacqueville, les Goys, namely, father and son, master John de Troyes, Denisot de Chaumont, Caboche, and others who have been before mentioned as having suits brought against them in parliament, were for ever banished from Paris. The duke of Burgundy very soon received information of this, as he was at St. Omer, where he had assembled the nobility of Artois, to deliberate on the subject of taxes, and they had granted him one equal to what the king annually levied. He was not well pleased with this intelligence, for the greater part of those who had been banished were then with him; and they daily urged him to march a powerful army to Paris, assuring him, that if he would appear before it, the Parisians would instantly declare for him, and drive his enemies out of the town. The duke, however, being otherwise advised, would not comply with their request.

About this time there was a violent quarrel between the dukes of Orleans and Brittany, on the subject of precedency, insomuch that it came to the ears of the king, who decided for the duke of Orleans. On this, the duke of Brittany left Paris in ill humour; but before he departed, he had some high words with his brother-in-law the count d'Alençon, in

* D'Oyrront. Q. D'Orgemont?

consequence of his telling him that he had in his heart a lion as big as a child of one year old, which greatly angered the duke, and caused a hatred between them. At this period, the borgne de la Heuse was, by the king's order, dismissed from the provostship of Paris, and master Andrieu Marchant, advocate in the parliament, appointed in his stead. Sir Guichart Daulphin, grand-master of the king's household, the lord de Rambures, master of the cross-bows of France, and sir Anthony de Craon, were also dismissed, by order of the duke of Aquitaine, and commanded not to return to Paris until the king should send for them. In like manner were three hundred persons, as well men as women, driven out of Paris because they were attached to the party of the duke of Burgundy. The count de Vendosme was made grand-master of the cross-bows, and several were restored to their former offices.

About this time, sixteen hundred horse, whom the duke had sent for from Burgundy, marched through Champagne, the Cambresis, and thence into Artois. The duke was at Lille, and with him the count de St. Pol, who had come thither to consult him whether or not he should surrender the constable's sword. The duke advised him to retain it, and said that he would support him to the utmost of his power. In consequence, the count sent the vidame of Amiens again to Paris, to inform the king and his council of his intention to keep the constable's sword.

Another edict, to forbid any persons whatever from bearing arms, was now published, the tenor of which was as follows.

" Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

" Since, through the Divine Grace, we have succeeded in establishing a peace between some of our kindred, among whom discords and dissentions had taken place,—on which we ordered, that all foreign men-at-arms and archers should instantly quit our kingdom, and no longer live upon and harass our subjects, as they had been accustomed to do, and which was highly displeasing to us,—Know ye, that we will that this our order be most strictly obeyed, and that nothing be done to the contrary, to the oppression of our said subjects, or to their hindrance in living under us in peace and tranquillity. For this, and other sufficient reasons which move us, we expressly command you to cause this our pleasure to be publicly proclaimed by sound of trumpet, in all places within your bailiwick where proclamations have been usually made, that no knight or noble esquire, of whatever rank he may be, shall put on arms or attend to the commands of any superior lord whatever, to begin and carry on a warfare in any part of our realm, under pain of forfeiture of his goods and estate, unless he shall have our especial commands for so doing. All such as you shall find acting contrary to this our order you will punish, so that they may be examples for others: and you will seize on all their goods and chattels for our use, because they have been guilty of disobedience and disloyalty towards us their sovereign lord, without having received our commands. Be careful that this order be obeyed, and not neglected through any fault of yours.

" Given at the Bois de Vincennes, the 22d day of October, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d."

It was signed by the king in his great council,—present the lord de Preaulx*, the count de Tancarville, the lords de Montenay and de Cambrillac, Pierre de l'Esclut, and several others. This edict was proclaimed in Amiens the 12th day of November following.

On the Monday preceding the feast of All-saints, the duke of Burgundy gave a grand entertainment at Lille. The Monday and Tuesday, the knights and esquires tilted, namely, the duke himself, his son the count de Charolois, the duke of Brabant, and the count de Nevers, his brothers. Soon after this feast was over, and the company departed, the lord de Dampierre, admiral of France, the bishop of Evreux, and others, came to Lille as ambassadors from the king of France, and commanded the duke, in the king's name, by virtue of their royal orders, not to enter into any treaty or agreement with the king of England, for the marriage of his daughter or otherwise, under pain of having his estates confiscated. They summoned him to surrender to the king three castles which were garrisoned by his

* James de Bourbon, grand butler of France, son to James I., count de la Marche, and uncle to the present counts de la Marche and Vendôme, and lord of Carency.

men, namely, Cherbourg, Caen, and Crotoy,—and ordered him, on his allegiance, to maintain the peace he had so solemnly sworn to observe with the duke of Orleans, his brothers, their friends and adherents. The duke, on hearing these commands, made no reply whatever to the ambassadors, but called for his boots, and rode off instantly for Oudenarde. The ambassadors returned to Rolaincourt-le-Chatel, which belonged to the admiral, on the eve of Saint Martin, and thence came to Paris.

CHAPTER CXI.—THE KING OF FRANCE, FEARING THE PEACE WOULD BE BROKEN, PUBLISHES OTHER EDICTS FOR ITS PRESERVATION THROUGHOUT THE REALM, AND ALSO RESPECTING THE COIN.

THE king of France, suspecting that the peace lately concluded at Pontoise would be broken, by several who were endeavouring to excite fresh disturbances by their seditious speeches, published the following edict.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to all those to whom these presents may come, greeting.

"Since it is a duty appertaining to our royal majesty, as well as to all princes who have subjects to govern, and consonant to the establishment and ordinance of God, appointed by the divine, canon, and civil law, that a good and strict police should be observed and supported for the well governing and keeping in peace our people, and to avoid all wars and intestine divisions, which we have always had most earnestly at heart, and are determined to prevent as much as shall lie within our power. It has, however, happened, that quarrels and dissentions have arisen between some of the princes of our blood, whence have sprung intestine warfares, to the great detriment of our subjects residing within towns, as well as of those employed in rural affairs.

"We have, through the wholesome advice of many discreet and wise persons of our blood and council, as well as of our daughter the university of Paris, and several of its citizens, concluded a peace between the contending parties, which each has most solemnly sworn, on the holy relic of the true cross, most faithfully to preserve, and not invalidate in the smallest trifle. On this occasion, we have overlooked and pardoned the crimes that have been committed during these divisions in our good city of Paris. We have also given our letters of pardon, tied with silken cords and sealed with green wax; and this peace, so sworn, we have had proclaimed throughout our kingdom, and wherever else we have thought it necessary, so that no one may plead ignorance of it, and carry on a warfare from partiality or attachment to either of the late contending parties, or by murmurs or seditious words endeavour to infringe this peace, and renew the dissentions that have so much distressed our realm, by any means, or in any measure whatever.

"It has, notwithstanding, come to our knowledge, that many evil-disposed persons, as well within our town of Paris as elsewhere, and of various ranks and conditions, do privately murmur, and use many seditious expressions in their secret meetings, in order to overturn this peace, and attempt to excite the commonalty of Paris to second their damnable ends and intentions,—to stir up a mortal war to our evident disadvantage, to the peril of our realm and government,—to put an end to all legal justice, and to the destruction of all good and loyal subjects who are desirous of peace. This conduct imperiously demands an efficient and speedy remedy, to prevent the dangers that might otherwise ensue. Know ye, that we have held divers councils on the above with the princes of our blood, and with our wisest and most prudent counsellors, to provide and to determine on the most effectual means to check such treasonable practices. We therefore order and enjoin, by these presents, that whoever may have knowledge of any person or persons, who, since the signature of the peace at Pontoise, have murmured, or do murmur, or spread abroad any factious words or expressions, to excite the populace against the said peace, or shall have knowledge of any conspiracy or damnable secret meetings, and will denounce them to any of our officers of justice, so that legal cognizance may be taken of the same, shall, on the conviction of such persons, receive one third part of the goods and estates that may, in consequence of the

sentence or sentences passed on them, be adjudged to ourself. And we further will that this our edict be published throughout the realm, that all diligence may be used to discover such traitors as are seditiously active in disturbing the peace, so that punishment may be inflicted upon them according to the heinousness of their offences, as violators of the peace, and to serve for an example to others. We will that full credit be given to the copies of these presents, the same as if they were the original.

"We therefore give it in command to our bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, and to all others our officers and subjects within our realm, each as it may behove him, to see that the above ordinance be duly and diligently put into execution, and that it be no way neglected. In witness whereof, we have to these presents affixed our seal.

"Given at Paris the last day but one of October, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d." Signed by the king in his great council,—present the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, the counts de Vertus, d'Eu, de Richemont, de Vendosme, the constable of France, the archbishop of Sens, and several others. Countersigned, "Gontier."

This edict was proclaimed in Amiens the 15th day of December, in the same year.

The king was at this period busied in making some regulations respecting the coin, and in consequence issued an edict, which he ordered to be promulgated throughout the kingdom: the tenor of it was as follows:

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

"Know ye, that in order to provide for the security of the public welfare of our kingdom, and to obviate the great varieties of coins that for some time have had currency in our realm, we do ordain, after mature deliberation with our council, that a coin be struck of the form of deniers, called Gros, which shall be current for twenty deniers tournois, and of five sols to five deniers, the fourth part of a denier of the poids de marc of Paris,—and coins of half a gros, and half a quarter of a gros, twenty sols six deniers tournois being the value of each,—also small crowns, of the value of fifteen sols tournois each. Those gros, half gros, quarter gros, which have been formerly coined, and blancs of ten deniers, and of five deniers, shall have currency with the new money. We therefore command and enjoin you to make this our will, respecting the regulation of our coin as public as possible, so that no one may plead ignorance of it,—and you will cause this edict to be proclaimed in all the usual places of your bailiwick. You will observe its regulations without favour or affection to any one, and punish such as may act contrary thereto, that they may be examples to others.

"Given at Paris, the 13th day of November in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d." It was thus signed by the king on the report of the council held in the chamber of accounts,—present the archbishop of Bourges, the bishop of Noyon, the members of the chamber of accounts, the officers of the treasury, the master and monoyers of the mint, and countersigned, "Le Begue."

It is true, that the king was fearful beyond measure of the peace being interrupted; and, anxiously desirous of preventing it from being infringed, he issued another edict much stronger than the preceding ones, to all the bailiffs and seneschals in his kingdom.

"Charles by the grace of God king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

"Whereas during the time we were last at Auxerre, through the Divine Providence, and great deliberation of council, we succeeded in the establishment of peace between some of the princes of our blood, and between our subjects, which was afterward confirmed in our good town of Paris. Our princes then faithfully promised to keep this peace without any way infringing it, or suffering it to be infringed by others. We, considering that peace is advantageous to us, our realm, and our subjects, and reflecting upon the manifold and numberless evils that would result should it be broken, are desirous to preserve it with our whole heart, and to prevent it from being in the smallest degree infringed.

"For these and other considerations that move us, we strictly charge you to have these presents publicly proclaimed with sound of trumpet in all the accustomed places within your bailiwick; and that you forbid all persons to obey any summons or proclamations that may have been issued by any of the princes of our blood, in their own or in our

name, of whatever rank or condition he may be,—or whether any such shall be issued under pretext of serving us, or on any colour or pretence whatever. And you will strictly charge all vassals not to obey any such summons, or to bear arms accordingly, under pain of forfeiture of body and estate to us, and of suffering such punishment as may be adjudged for their disobedience to us and to our crown. Should any vassals be already set out to join their respective lords, or about to do so, you will command them to return instantly to their homes, and not to depart thence until they shall receive our letters-patent, under our great seal, to that purpose, signed in our great council subsequent to the date of these presents. You will also make proclamation, that for this occasion only we do exempt all our loyal subjects, vassals to any lord, from obeying his summons; and we will that for this their disobedience they do not suffer in body or estate, or be pursued in any courts of justice: but our intention is to guard and preserve them from all oppression by every legal means, or, should it be necessary, by force of arms.

"You will hasten to all places within your jurisdiction where you shall know there are any assemblies of men-at-arms, and forbid them to proceed any further, commanding them to return to their homes, under the penalties aforesaid. Should they refuse to obey you, and become rebellious to your commands, you will force them to obedience by every means in your power; by placing within their mansions, and on their estates, men who shall destroy and waste them, by uncovering their houses, or by any the most rigorous means, even by force of arms, should there be occasion, calling to your aid our good and faithful subjects, so that you may have sufficient power to make yourself obeyed; and we command all our subjects to pay due respect to your orders, so that the end proposed may be obtained. Should any who disobey you be killed or wounded in the conflict, we will that no legal steps be pursued against you or your supporters; and should any horses, baggage, or other effects, be taken from these rebellious subjects, we will that they remain in full possession to the captors, or to those who shall have assisted you. In regard to such as you shall have had due information of being disobedient to these our commands, you will arrest them anywhere but in places of sanctuary, and have them conveyed, under sufficient escorts, to our prison of the Châtelet in Paris. Should you not find them out of sanctuary, you will leave a process of citation at such of their houses as may be within your jurisdiction; otherwise you will summon them with a loud voice, and with sound of trumpet, at the places in which they usually assemble, to appear before us on a certain day at our court of parliament in Paris. Should it happen to be the vacation of parliament, when there are not any pleadings, they must appear at the next sittings, under pain of confiscation of their goods, their fiefs and tenements, for having committed treason against us, and of being proceeded against by our attorney-general in suchwise as he in his judgment shall think fit. You will take possession of all the effects, moveable and immoveable, of such as you shall have served processes upon, making out a just inventory of the same, and placing them in such safe hands, that, should it be judged expedient, they may be faithfully restored, notwithstanding any opposition or appeals to the contrary, until our faithful counsellors, holding our courts of parliament, shall have determined on what you have done, according to the report which you shall deliver to them under your seal. We shall order these our counsellors, after having heard the parties, not to delay doing strict justice on such as shall have been disobedient to our commands, and to use such diligence that you may not suffer; for should there be any neglect on your part in the execution of these our commands, we shall have you punished for the same, that you may serve for an example to others.

"We have noticed that you have not been active in carrying into effect different orders which we have sent to you on this subject since the peace concluded at Auxerre, from which many inconveniences have arisen, which have given us, and not without cause, much displeasure against you. We therefore command you to report to us what you shall have done in the execution of these our orders, the days and places where you shall have proclaimed them, that we may have due information of the measures which you shall take; and you will likewise report to us whether any princes of our blood, or others, are assembling men-at-arms, and at what places. Instantly on such intelligence coming to our knowledge, we will give you further orders, and full powers to carry them into effect; and we shall command all our

officers of justice, in the most express manner, to obey and assist you therein to the utmost of their power. They will give you counsel, aid, and the use of their prisons, should need be, and should you call on them for assistance; for such is our pleasure, and thus we order it, notwithstanding any letters and ordinances surreptitiously obtained to the contrary.

"Given at Paris, the 11th day of November, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d." Signed by the king in his great council; present, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Orleans, the counts d'Alençon, de Vertus, the duke of Bar, Louis of Bavaria, the counts d'Eu, Vendosme, and de Richemont, the constable, the chancellor of Aquitaine, and several more.

This edict was proclaimed in Amiens the 13th day of December, in the same year.

Here follows another edict of the king of France, to forbid knights or esquires to obey the summons of any lord, under certain penalties.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

"It has come to our knowledge, that although the restoration of peace has put an end to all those assemblies of men-at-arms, and obviated the great inconveniences that usually ensued from them; and that although we have caused it to be proclaimed in our good town of Paris, and elsewhere throughout the realm, that no persons whatever should in future hold such assemblies, but that all persons should retire to their own homes under pain of incurring our displeasure, and forfeiting life and estate, yet our subjects, whether in Picardy or in other parts, instead of showing due obedience to this our command, have assembled in arms without our licence in the aforesaid country, and elsewhere in the kingdom, as we have had information, disturbing and infringing the peace, and thus acting expressly contrary to our positive commands, to the injury of our subjects and kingdom; and greater would ensue, were we not provided with a suitable remedy.

"We therefore, after due deliberation of council, do most strictly order and enjoin you, by these presents, that you positively forbid, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods, all nobles or others within your bailiwick, of whatever condition or rank they may be, to arm themselves or to attend any congregations of men-at-arms, under pretence of serving us, or in consequence of summons from others, without our especial order and licence so to do, by letters from our council of a subsequent date to these presents. Should any such assemblies have actually taken place, you will order them instantly to depart in peace, without injuring the country, and return to their homes.

"In case any one should prove rebellious, and refuse compliance with your orders, you will instantly arrest him, and take possession in our name of all his goods, estates, fiefs, and every article of his property, making out an exact inventory of all, which you will intrust to the care of persons sufficiently responsible, so that the whole may be restored, should we see occasion for the same. You will place in their fortresses and castles such persons as shall be wealthy enough to keep them in a proper state, until the matter shall be decided by our great council. You will arrest, imprison, and punish all who shall act contrary to these our commands; and that you may have sufficient force to effect this, you will call to your aid all our loyal subjects and our faithful allies, as well within as without your jurisdiction, and in such numbers as you shall judge expedient.

"We therefore command all our vassals, on their faith and loyalty, and under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects, that they do instantly obey your summons, and arm themselves to support you in the carrying these presents into complete execution. You will be careful that there be no failure on your part, for we shall call you severely to account for any neglect. To accomplish this our purpose, we delegate to you full power and authority, and we command all our officers of justice, and others our allies and well-wishers, to attend diligently to your orders, and to afford you every assistance of which you may be in need. We also enjoin all our well-beloved counsellors of our parliament, masters of requests in our household, those employed in the courts of request of our palace in Paris, the provost of Paris, you bailiff, and you lieutenant, and all other officers of justice within our realm and their lieutenants, and each of them as the case may happen, that you do withhold all legal proceedings for quarrels, debts, or other suits that may any way attach such

persons, noble or otherwise, as may be in your company for the better executing these presents, for the space of fifteen days after their return home from assisting you, and that you keep an exact account of the time, without suffering any injury to be offered to them or their sureties; and should anything prejudicial to them be attempted, you will see that all things be replaced precisely in the state they were in at the time he or they came to your aid, for such is our pleasure according to the tenor of these presents,—to the copy of which (for the original cannot be carried everywhere), under our royal signet, we will that the same credence be given as if it were the original.

"Given at Paris the 14th day of November, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d." Signed by the king in his great council,—present the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and of Bar, the counts d'Alençon, de Vertus, d'Eu, de Vendosme, de Tancarville, the constable, the chancellor of Aquitaine, with others. Countersigned, "P. Naucron." It was proclaimed in Amiens, the 13th day of December of the same year.

CHAPTER CXII.—THE KING OF SICILY SENDS BACK THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE DUKE WRITES LETTERS TO THE KING OF FRANCE, CONTAINING REMONSTRANCES, AND OTHER MATTERS.

On the the 20th day of November, in this year, the king of Sicily sent back to the city of Beauvais, Catherine daughter to John duke of Burgundy, who had been betrothed to Louis, the king of Sicily's eldest son, according to treaties that had been entered into between the two parties, and in consequence of which the duke had caused her to be most honourably escorted to Angers. But the king afterwards sent her back, attended by the lord de Longny, marshal of France, and others, to the amount of six score horse, knights, esquires, ladies, and damsels, belonging to the duke of Burgundy, who had sent them for that purpose. By them she was conducted in great sorrow to Amiens, and thence to her father at Lille, who was much vexed on the occasion, and conceived thereat a mortal hatred to the king of Sicily, which lasted all their lives.

Shortly after this, lady Catherine of Burgundy, who was, for her tender years, a very gracious lady, died in Ghent, without ever having been married.

In this same month, the duke of Burgundy sent letters to the king of France at Paris, containing his respectful salutations, his complaints, and his accusations against his enemies, the contents of which were as follow.

"John duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, of Artois, and palatine of Burgundy: my most-redoubted and dear lord, I recommend myself most humbly to you, being perpetually desirous, as is right, to hear of the good estate of your health,—and may God, in his gracious pleasure, continue it to you in the best possible manner, according to your good desire and wishes! I most earnestly supplicate you, my most-redoubted and beloved lord, that I may as often as possible be ascertained of this from yourself, for God knows how much I wish your prosperity; and I cannot have greater joy in this world than to hear satisfactory news of you,—and may God, out of his holy grace, grant that I may always hear such as may be agreeable to you, and such as I may wish for myself! Should it please you, my most redoubted and dear lord, to know how I am, I was in excellent health on the departure of these letters, thanks to God,—and may he always continue you in the same! Most dear and redoubted lord, I presume that it is in your good remembrance, that by your proclamation, issued by advice of my most redoubted lord the duke of Aquitaine, your son, and by my advice also, and by that of many lords of your blood, and of your grand council, and at the earnest and humble request of your daughter the university of Paris, and of the clergy of the said city, of the provost of merchants and the sheriffs, and in general of other good people of your said city, were notified certain ordinances, as well of your grand council aforesaid, as of many other great lords and counsellors, of myself, of the university aforesaid, and of the clergy of the aforesaid city of Paris, for the effecting of peace and union among the lords of your blood, as the only means for the reparation of the miseries the whole kingdom suffered under, which was in thorough desolation, and must have been destroyed if

God had not inspired you with a desire of peace. By these means, each loyal subject of your realm may have the hope of sleeping in peace and tranquillity, as was most notably said and explained in your presence, and before many of the princes of your blood and others, by a very able knight, counsellor to my very dear lord and cousin the king of Sicily.

"Nevertheless, my most redoubted lord, although I had sworn to observe this peace in your presence, with a loyal faith and the most upright intentions, as several who attended might have noticed; and notwithstanding, because I did suspect that after my departure some persons might imagine various strange matters, tending to the infraction of the peace, I sent to you, as soon as I could, letters, to assure you of my cordial intentions of maintaining the object of your ordinance,—and in greater confirmation, I sent to you some of my confidential servants, principally on this account, as it may please you to remember; yet notwithstanding this, my most dear lord, and that I have not committed any act to infringe your ordinance, whatever accusations have been brought against me by some people, who (saving the honour and reverence always due to you) have spoken contrary to truth: many things have, in like manner, been done against the sense of your ordinance, to the contempt, prejudice, and scandal of myself and mine, who have been pointed out in the aforesaid ordinance. I am, therefore, the less bound to proceed according to your will and that of your very dear son, my redoubted lord, and of the princes of your blood, and members of your grand council; but I am pressed thereto from the instigations and extraordinary importunities of some who have for a long time been contentious, and are still the same, in very strange manner,—whom may God, out of his holy grace, reclaim, and bring to a proper sense of duty, as there is great need, and which I most earnestly desire.

"For a fuller declaration of the above, it is true, my most redoubted lord, that at the instigation of some persons, shortly after I had sworn to the observance of the peace, several skirmishes with armed men were made in Paris, near to my hôtel, which seemed to have been conducted and done in contempt of me, to the prejudice of my character and of the persons of my adherents; for since I quitted Paris, no such things have taken place, nor have any congregations of armed men been heard of; but what is worse, if I were to believe what some have told me, it was intended to lay hands on my person before I departed from Paris, which is no sign of good peace or union. It is a fact, that before and since I left Paris, several of your good and faithful servants, and some of mine, have been arrested and imprisoned without having done anything to deserve such treatment, and others have been obliged, by force and treacherous conduct, to quit Paris. It is also known, that all who had shown any affection or attachment to me were deprived of their offices, honours, and estates, without anything being proved to their prejudice, excepting that they were too good Burgundians, and this is now daily continued. Should they declare, that such things were done by me during the time I was at Paris in the service of your majesty, and that I was constantly in the habit of making such changes, to this a good and true answer may be given; for supposing this were so, if the terms of your ordinance be considered, they will appear founded particularly on peace, union, and affection; and these late changes that have taken place have been caused by a spirit of revenge, which is the reverse of love and peace, and a strong mark of division. It would therefore have been more conformable to the meaning of your ordinance, and more to the advantage of your realm, if such offices had been filled by persons fairly selected, and not through any spirit of revenge. By reason of this same spirit, scarcely any of your servants, my most redoubted lord, or those of my lady the queen, or the princes of your blood, or the university, could venture to speak with those known to be attached to my person and honour, for fear of being severely punished.

"There have also been many assemblies holden, in which harangues have been made highly prejudicial to my honour and contrary to truth, (saving the honour and respect due to you,) and in which expressions have been uttered as having been said by me, but too confusedly for their meaning to be well understood, and positively contradictory to the peace made at Chartres as well as at Auxerre, and against the terms so lately sworn to, which may be of very bad example, and contrary to the doctrine of Cato, tending to provoke dissentions and warfare, which may ultimately, which God forbid, prove of the greatest detriment and destruction to your kingdom. Many letters have been published in various

places, as well within as without your realm, making very light, to all who shall peruse them, of your honour, my most redoubted lord, of that of my lord of Aquitaine, of several princes of your blood, of the university, and of many of the principal inhabitants of Paris. If it should be advanced by some of the writers of these letters, that they have been published to clear their own honour, which had been stained by other letters, they ought at least to have kept to the truth, and not have laid the blame on those who were well inclined to keep the terms of your edict.

"I have likewise been charged, contrary to the truth, with having entertained men-at-arms in direct violation of your ordinance, and with having by such means greatly injured and harassed your subjects. The fact is, what I have before told you, and of which I have sent you information, that by your orders I had a command of a thousand men-at-arms with my lord and uncle of Berry and others, to whom you had given orders to oppose several enterprises that were undertaken by some of the free companies even at the gates of Paris, to your great disgrace and scandal. Instantly after the proclamation of your edict, I countermanded them, nor have I ever since summoned any, or quartered them on the country. Should any bodies of men-at-arms throughout the realm say that they belong to me, they have neither had my summons nor are they under my command, and I am perfectly ignorant of their intentions; but as there are yet several free companies that still keep harassing the country, they may perhaps have assembled to drive them out of it.

"It is a well-known fact, my most redoubted lord, that there are some who have for a long time maintained, and do so still, large bodies of men-at-arms, between the rivers Loire, Seine, and Yonne, and elsewhere, directly contrary to your ordinance, to the utter ruin of your people, for they make in their pillage no distinction between churchmen and others; and this also is laid to my charge, as they allege that they keep these bodies under arms for fear lest I should raise a large force and march it against Paris, in direct violation of your ordinance: but this, saving the reverence due to your majesty, is a falsehood; for I have not done this, nor ever thought of doing what would be displeasing to you, in any manner whatever,—nor will I alter this conduct, but, so long as I shall live, will remain your true and loyal relation and obedient subject. It is a fact, that several, as I have been informed, have publicly declared, contrary to truth, that I maintained in Paris murderers and assassins, ready to put them to death. In answer to this, my most dear lord, I affirm for truth, that I not only never did so, but that I never thought of such a thing; but these are not the first aspersions they have cast upon me.

"Many have been banished merely from hatred to me, who declare that they were not deserving such punishment, and are ready to prove it, if they be assured of personal security, and of having fair justice done them. I do not say this from any desire to screen from punishment the wicked or such as may have displeased you, my most redoubted lord, my lady the queen, or my lord of Aquitaine, but in behalf of those who have been so ill treated from contempt to me. I must also complain, that several persons have gone to the houses of my poor servants in Paris, which are adjoining to my hotel of Artois, and have ransacked them from top to bottom, under pretence that letters had been sent thither by me, to be delivered to different persons near to the market-place, to excite them to raise a commotion in your city of Paris, and particularly in the markets,—for which cause many of the wives of my faithful servants have been very harshly treated, and examined at the Châtelet on this subject. May it please you to know, most redoubted lord, that I never have written myself, nor caused to be written by others, any thing that was contrary to your ordinance. Those who make such accusations against me act wickedly, for they may give you and others a bad opinion of me; and those who know Paris are well aware that neither the inhabitants of that or any other quarter would, for their lives, act any way that would be to your dishonour. With regard to me, may God no longer grant me life, when I shall act contrary to your good pleasure!

"I now come to the heaviest charge against me. It is reported, but contrary to truth, saving your reverence, that I have entered into a treaty of marriage with England, and that as the marriage-portion of my daughter, I am to transfer the castles of Cherbourg and Caen, with other places mentioned in the said treaty, to the great prejudice of you and your

kingdom. Such things I have neither done nor even thought of; and I wish to God that all within your realm had always been as loyal in the preservation of your person and progeny, your crown and dignity, as I have been, and shall ever be, during my life. Other acts, that shall at a proper opportunity and place be declared, have been done contrary to your edict, prejudicial to my own honour and to that of my friends,—but those are already touched upon, and what remain are not only directly against the spirit of your edict, but tend to throw upon my person the utmost possible dishonour; and they are the most effectual means of depriving me not only of your good graces, but of those of my lady the queen, and of my lord of Aquitaine, whose happiness and prosperity I have ever desired and shall anxiously promote above all earthly blessings."

"However, my most redoubted lord, I do not write these things to you, as meaning in any way to infringe your ordinance, or to violate the peace of the kingdom, which has of late been so sorely harassed, in various ways, that the most perverse mind should feel compassion for it. Should any persons now affirm, that I have intentions of avoiding or disobeying the true meaning of your ordinance, I positively declare, that I have never had such thoughts, nor have ever wished to give any opposition to its being carried into full effect; but on the contrary, I have supported it as much as any of your kindred or subjects have done throughout the realm. It is nevertheless very true, that I have sought for the means of keeping this peace firm and inviolate in your whole kingdom, foreseeing events that might possibly happen should it be infringed. I therefore most humbly supplicate you, my most redoubted lord, that you would be pleased to redress the above causes of complaint in such wise that those who have been injured may not have further reason to grieve, and that your ordinance may be fulfilled to your own welfare and honour, as well as to the good of your realm, so that every one, as has been before said, may sleep in peace and tranquillity,—to the accomplishment of which I am ready to offer all my corporal and worldly effects, together with those of my friends, and every power that God may have granted to me, according as it shall be your good pleasure to dispose of them.

"And, my most dear and redoubted lord, I beseech the blessed Son of God to have you in his holy keeping, and to bless you with a long and happy life. Written in our town of Ghent, the 16th day of November."

These despatches were presented, by Flanders king-at-arms, to the king, who received them very kindly; but those who governed him were not well pleased thereat, and would not suffer the king to make any answer in writing. The chancellor of France told the herald, that the king had very favourably received what his lord the duke of Burgundy had written, and would consider of it and send an answer at a proper time and place. After this, the king-at-arms left Paris, and returned to his lord in Flanders. Notwithstanding the letters which the duke of Burgundy had written to the king of France in his justification, those who had the management of the king did not in the least abate the rigour with which they were proceeding against the duke. A few days after the departure of Flanders king-at-arms, there was a great assembly of theologians holden at Paris, by the bishop of Paris and the inquisitor of the faith, to consider on certain propositions maintained before some of the princes of the royal blood and the duke of Burgundy, and by him supported, against the late Louis duke of Orleans, through the organ of master John Petit, and to declare whether such propositions be not heretical and erroneous.

Many were much troubled at this meeting, lest the duke of Burgundy should be displeased with them for attending it, and that in time to come they might suffer for it. Here follows the form of a schedule that was delivered to some of the doctors in theology.

"On the part of the bishop of Paris, the inquisitor and council of faith duly assembled,—reverend doctors, be it known, that we have sent to you a schedule containing certain propositions, with their reprobations; and we require from you, under pain of forfeiture, that you deliver your opinions thereon publicly, in writing or by speech, whether these assertions, which have brought notorious scandal on the king's council and on the catholic faith, are erroneous and damnable, that we may proceed thereon as the canon law requires. On Wednesday, the 20th day of this month of December, will the first proposition be considered, namely, 'Any tyrant legally may and ought to be put to death by any vassal or subject,

even by lying in wait for him, by flatteries and adulations, notwithstanding any confederation entered into between them, and after oaths having mutually passed, and without waiting for the sentence of any judge whatever.' This proposition, thus stated generally for a maxim, is, according to the common acceptance of the word 'tyrant,' an error in our faith, contrary to the doctrine of good morals, and contrary to the commandments of God: 'Non occides propriâ auctoritate;' Thou shalt not kill of thy own authority; and in the 26th chapter of St. Matthew, 'Omnes qui accipiunt gladium gladio peribunt.' This doctrine tends to the subversion of all public order, and of each prince and sovereign, and opens a road for all licentiousness and every consequent evil, such as frauds, violations of oaths, treasons, lies, and general disobedience between vassals and lords, distrust of each, and consequently perdurable damnation. Item, he who shall pertinaciously affirm this error, and the others which follow, is a heretic, and ought to be punished as such, even after his death. 'Notatur in decretis questione quinta,' the other proposition.—St. Michael, without any orders or command from God, or others, but moved solely by his natural affections, slew Lucifer with everlasting death, for which he is receiving spiritual riches beyond measure.

"This proposition, however, contains many errors of faith,—for St. Michael did not slay Lucifer, but Lucifer slew himself by his sin, and GOD put him to an everlasting death. Besides, St. Michael did receive orders from GOD to thrust Lucifer out of paradise: 'Quia omnis potestas est a Deo; et hoc sciebat Michael, quia constitutus erat a Deo princeps, quem honorem non sibi assumpsit. Nota, quomodo Michael non est ausus inferre auditum blasphemiæ, sed dicit, imperet tibi Dominus:' in epistola Judæ. God might also have given him more spiritual riches, and the power of receiving them: therefore he did not obtain such riches through his natural affection.

"With regard to the other proposition,—Phineas killed Zimri without any command from GOD, or from Moses, and Zimri had not committed idolatry. This proposition is contrary to the book containing this history, according to the reading of learned doctors, and according to reason and the nature of things. You will see in the 25th chapter of the book of Numbers, 'Dicit Moyses ad judices Israel, Occidat unus quisque proximos suos, qui initiati sunt Beelphegor et ecce unus,' &c. glosa. Josephus dixit, 'quod Zimri et principes in tribu Symeon duxerant filias,' &c. Again, Moses, without any orders, slew the Egyptian, so that this assertion is contrary to the text of the Bible, Actorum vii. according to the explanation of learned doctors, and according to reason. Textus,—'Estimabant, autem intelligere fratres, quoniam Deus per manum ipsius daret salutem Hierusalem,' &c. Judith did not sin in flattering Holofernes, nor Jehu by falsely saying that he would worship Baal. This is favourable to the error of those who have declared that lies may be lawful on some occasions. St. Austin writes thus against such doctrine to St. Jerome, 'Si, inquit, admissa fuerint vel officiosa mendacia, tota scripturæ divinæ vacillabit auctoritas.' The other case brought forward to support the proposition, that Joab killed Abner after the death of Absalom, is contrary to the text expressed in the holy Scriptures, 1 Regum iii. cap. where it is said, that long before the death of Absalom, Joab slew Abner. The assertion, that it is not perjury to commit such actions, although oaths of fellowship may have been given on both sides, is false, for it is gross perjury, and unprofitable to such as may swear to treacherous alliances: it is fraud, deception, and clear perjury; and to maintain that such actions are lawful is an error of faith."

When these propositions had been fully discussed, they were condemned as heretical opinions, and errors against the faith.

CHAPTER CXIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY GOES TO ANTWERP.—THE ARREST OF SIR JOHN DE CROY,—AND OTHER REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED ABOUT THIS PERIOD.

NEARLY about this time, the duke of Burgundy held at Antwerp a very confidential council of his most tried friends, on the state of his affairs, at which were present his brother of Brabant and his two brothers-in-law, namely, duke William, and John of Brabant bishop

ANTWERP, FROM THE SCHELDT.—From an original drawing.

of Liege, the counts de St. Pol and de Cleves. He had assembled them particularly to know whether they would support him in the war which France was silently meditating against him. They all promised him their aid against his adversaries, excepting the persons of the king of France and his children.

When the council broke up, the duke of Burgundy returned to Artois, in his country of Flanders, and the other lords to the places whence they had come. On the feast of the circumcision, a sergeant-at-arms came to St. Pol-en-Ternois, and presented to the count letters from the king of France, containing positive orders, under pain of his highest displeasure, not to bear arms nor to assemble any men-at-arms to accompany the duke of Burgundy or others into his kingdom without his especial licence; and that he should give an acknowledgment of the receipt of this royal command, which the count did.

While these things were passing, the duke of Aquitaine resided in the Louvre with his state, and the duchess and her attendants at the hôtel of St. Pol. On Wednesday, the 12th day of January, the queen, attended by the duchess, went to visit her son. A short time before, by the advice of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and other princes of the blood, she had caused four knights and many other servants belonging to her son of Aquitaine to be arrested and carried away from the Louvre, which had so much enraged the duke that he wanted to sally out to call the populace to his aid in rescuing these prisoners. The princes, his relatives, would not permit him to do this; and the queen his mother appeased his anger in the best manner she could, and then went to the king in the hôtel de St. Pol, leaving with her son the before-mentioned princes, who pacified his anger by gentle and kind words. The four knights who had been arrested were sir John de Croy, the lord de Broy, sir David de Brimeu, sir Bertrand de Montauban, and some others, who very soon after, on promising not to return to the duke of Aquitaine, were set at liberty. Sir John de Croy was detained prisoner, and carried as such to Montlehery.

Although the duke of Aquitaine pretended to be satisfied, he nevertheless secretly sent one of his servants to the duke of Burgundy to desire that he would hasten to Paris with all his forces: he afterward wrote to him several letters with his own hand, and without the knowledge of the queen or the princes. When the duke of Burgundy received this intelligence, he was well pleased, as he wished for nothing more than such a pretext to march to Paris, and instantly issued a summons to men-at-arms from all countries, appointing a day for them to meet him at Espelry, near St. Quentin in the Vermandois. For his exculpation, and that the cause of this armament might be known, he wrote letters to all the principal towns in Picardy, a copy of which is as follows:

"Very dear and good friends, you must have it in your remembrance how that last year, in the month of August, my lord the king, returning from his city of Bourges, and tarrying in the town of Auxerre, was desirous that peace should be established for ever between the princes of his blood, and commanded that it should not only be sworn to be observed by them, but likewise by the prelates, nobles, universities, and principal cities in his realm. You likewise know that all present at Auxerre did most solemnly swear to its observance, as well for themselves as for those on whose part they were come thither. My lord the king did afterwards issue letters throughout his realm for the more strictly keeping of this peace, and that it might be sworn to; and you also know that we ourself, and others of the princes of the blood, did, by the king's command, take a solemn oath to maintain this peace, according to the schedule drawn up for this purpose at Auxerre, in which, among other things, it was ordained that a good and perfect union should subsist between these lords, and that henceforth they should live in a manner becoming good relatives and friends.

"Now although this peace has been much wished for by us, and that we have never infringed it, or suffered it to be infringed by others in any degree, nevertheless offensive conduct has been holden toward us by the detestable injuries which many have attempted to do to our most redoubted lady and daughter the duchess of Aquitaine, as is notorious to the whole kingdom, without farther entering into particulars. Very contemptuous conduct has been used toward ourself, and personal injuries have been done us, in banishing from Paris every person that was known to be attached to us or to our aforesaid lord of Aquitaine; in defaming our honour in several public assemblies and in various places, by sermons and harangues, which, notwithstanding the pain it has cost us, we have patiently borne, and should have continued to do so from our love of peace, which is the sovereign good to this kingdom, and to avert all the miseries and distress that must otherwise ensue, had not our most redoubted lord and son, the duke of Aquitaine, made known to us, that, after many injurious excesses which had been committed towards him, to his infinite mortification, he was confined in the Louvre like a prisoner, with the drawbridge of the said castle drawn up, which is an abomination that ought not only to be displeasing to us but to every good subject and wellwisher to our lord the king.

"In consequence of this treatment, my most redoubted lord and son has several times, by messengers and letters, requested our aid and succour to free him from the perilous situation in which he is held; and since we are so intimately connected by blood, marriage, and other confederations, with our said lord the king, and our beloved lord the duke of Aquitaine, his son, the loyalty and affection we owe to both will prevent us from failing to comply with his demand of assistance and support. We have, therefore, determined to advance to Paris with as large a body of men-at-arms as we can muster, for the security of our person, and that it may please God that we may see in all good prosperity my aforesaid lord the king, my lady the queen, my much redoubted lord of Aquitaine, and my well-beloved daughter his duchess; and likewise that we may deliver them from the danger they are in, and set them, as is but reasonable, at full liberty, without having the smallest intentions of violating the peace of the kingdom. We signify this to you, very dear and good friends, that you may be acquainted with our object, and act accordingly, as becometh well-wishers, and truly obedient subjects, to my said lord the king. Know, therefore, for a truth, that our intentions and will are such as we have said, and none other; and we therefore entreat you most earnestly, from our heart, that in this business, which is of such consequence to my said lords, and for the tranquillity and peace of the realm, you will come forward to our assistance

as speedily as possible, that it may be accomplished to our honour and that of my lords the king and the duke of Aquitaine, and for the common good of the realm, and that you will so bear yourselves, that your excellent loyalty may be visible toward my lord the king, the duke of Aquitaine, to the public welfare, and in like manner to ourself, who are only desirous of peace. We have a perfect confidence in you, very dear and good friends,—and may God have you in his holy keeping!

"Written in our town of Lille, the 23d day of January, in the year of our Lord 1413*, on the eve of our departure."

The superscription was, "To my very dear and well-beloved the resident burgesses and inhabitants of the town of Amiens."

These letters thus sent by the duke of Burgundy, and also the levy of men-at-arms which he was making, were immediately known at Paris; and to counteract the enterprises of the duke, a reconciliation took place between the duke of Aquitaine and the king's ministers, in consequence of which the duke was prevailed on to write letters to different towns to put an end to the intended expedition of the duke of Burgundy. These letters were of the following tenor:—

"Louis, eldest son to the king of France, duke of Aquitaine, and dauphin of Vienne, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting. Whereas it has lately come to our knowledge that our very dear and well-beloved father-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, has for a short time past begun to raise a large body of men-at-arms, and still continues to do the same, with the intent, as it is said, of marching them to us, which may be very prejudicial to my lord the king, his realm and subjects, and more especially so to the peace which has been so lately concluded at Auxerre between many princes of our royal blood: we have therefore very fully explained ourself to our aforesaid father-in-law by a letter, the contents of which are as under:—

"'Louis, eldest son to the king of France, duke of Aquitaine and dauphin of Vienne, to our very dear and well-beloved father the duke of Burgundy health and affection. You know how often my lord the king has repeated his commands to you, both by letter and by able ambassadors, not to raise any bodies of men-at-arms that might be hurtful to the welfare and profit of his kingdom. You know also what oaths you took, as well at Auxerre as at Paris. It has, nevertheless, come to the knowledge of our lord the king, that, contrary to the terms of the peace concluded between our said lord and yourself, and sworn to at Auxerre, you have raised, and continue to raise, bodies of men-at-arms, with the design, as it is said, of coming to us; and, as a pretence for the levying these men-at-arms, you have published letters, as from us, desiring that you would come to our aid with a large force, which thing we have neither done nor thought of doing. Because we are truly sensible, that your coming hither at this time would be very prejudicial to the said peace and welfare of the realm, our said lord the king sends you a sergeant-at-arms of the parliament, with his positive commands not to come hither. We therefore require, and also command you in his name, and on the loyalty and obedience you owe him, as well as for the love and affection you bear to him and to us, and for the good of the realm, which you say you have had always at heart, that notwithstanding any letters or messages you may have had from us, you do for the present lay aside all thoughts of coming to us, otherwise you will incur the anger of our lord the king; and that you do disband any bodies of men-at-arms which are already assembled, and instantly countermand such as have not yet joined. Should you have any causes of complaint, or should anything have happened likely to violate the peace, make them known to my lord or to us; for we know for a truth, that my said lord will provide such remedies for them as shall give you satisfaction. Given at Paris, the 24th day of January, in the year 1413.'

"We also require and command you, the bailiff of Amiens, in the name of my aforesaid lord, to have these presents publicly proclaimed in all usual places where proclamations have been made, within your bailiwick, forbidding, in the king's name, all his vassals and

* This, according to modern computation, would be 1414; but we are here to understand the year as computed either from Lady-day or from Easter. Both methods are indifferently used in ancient documents, which frequently causes very great confusion.—Ed.

subjects, as has been before notified to them, to obey the summons of our said father the duke of Burgundy, either on the pretext stated by him or any other, without his especial order and licence, as may appear in his letters patent, subsequent to the date of these presents.

"Given at Paris the 24th day of January, in the year of Grace, 1413."

Signed by the duke of Aquitaine, and countersigned 'J. de Cloye.'

The duke of Burgundy, however, in spite of these commands from the king and the duke of Aquitaine, would not desist from his enterprise; and the king then issued a summons for men-at-arms to oppose him, and published the following edict:

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, health and greeting.

"It has come to our knowledge, that our cousin the duke of Burgundy, in opposition to the articles of the peace concluded by us, between him and others of our blood, and sworn to at Auxerre and at Paris, has raised, and continues to raise, large bodies of men-at-arms, notwithstanding our positive orders to the contrary, as well by letters as by especial ambassadors sent to him for this purpose; and has already quitted his country, and is on the march, as he declares, to come to Paris, by which the said peace will be destroyed, and would cause numberless evils and irreparable injuries to our realm and subjects, unless a speedy and effectual remedy be provided against it. Having, therefore, deliberately weighed the consequences, and the probable means of opposing the enterprises of the duke of Burgundy, we have determined to exert our whole power against him, and all others who shall in any way attempt to infringe the said peace, and to call for the aid and support of all our loyal subjects. We therefore do command and expressly enjoin you, under pain of incurring our displeasure, to proclaim these presents in a solemn manner, with a loud voice and sound of trumpets, in all towns and other accustomed places within your jurisdiction, commanding all our vassals and liege subjects, on the faith they owe us, to appear in arms on the 5th day of February next, in our town of Mondidier *, ready to follow us to our town of Paris, or wherever else it may please us to lead them. They will find in the town of Mondidier sufficient persons authorised by us to receive them, with orders to allow such pay as shall content them; and at the same time, they will inform them whither they are to direct their march.

"You will make this known to all our said vassals and subjects, and forbid them, under the heaviest penalties of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects, and of being counted as traitors to our crown, to comply with any summons, prayers, or entreaties, of the said duke of Burgundy, or others, whether of our blood or not, under any pretence or colour of aiding us, to bear or assemble in arms, or in any way to obey them without our especial leave and licence, in letters-patent, of a later date than these presents. Should any have joined the duke of Burgundy or others, you will order them instantly to depart home, even supposing they should be of the kindred or vassals liege of the said duke or others, and had, in consequence of their fiefs, been summoned to assemble in arms; for in this instance we do exempt them not only from obeying such commands, but do promise to guarantee and defend them from any ill consequences that may ensue from their disobedience. Should it happen, that after the proclamation of these our commands, any of our vassals within your bailiwick shall set out to join the duke of Burgundy in arms, or should those who have joined him not return to their homes, but remain in arms with the said duke, or with any others who may have summoned them, we most strictly order and enjoin, that with the least possible delay, and without any excuse or dissimulation whatever, you do seize, in our name, having had a just and true inventory made, all their moveables and immoveables, estates, houses and all other effects whatever; and that you do put the same under the management of sufficient persons as may, at a fit time and place, render a good account of them, proceeding at the same time to the extremity of the penalties incurred by such for their disobedience.

"You will also arrest and imprison all persons whom you shall discover within your bailiwick endeavouring, by lies and false reports, to sow discord among our loyal subjects, or in any way attempting a breach of the peace; and for this purpose we delegate to you, by these presents, full power and authority for the punishing of all whom you shall find

* Mondidier, a town in Picardy, nine leagues from Amiens, twenty-three from Paris.

guilty of such disloyal conduct. We likewise command all our other bailiffs, governors of towns, castles and bridges, and all our officers of justice, diligently to assist you in obeying these our commands; and we also enjoin these our aforesaid officers to permit all our loyal subjects to pass free and unmolested with their horses and baggage when travelling to join us, on showing only a certificate from you under the royal seal of your bailiwick, that they are on their march to us, or elsewhere on our service, notwithstanding we may before have ordered them not to suffer any men-at-arms to pass or repass, whatever may have been their rank or condition, without our especial licence contained in letters patent of a prior date to these presents.

"Given at Paris the 26th day of January, in the year 1413." Signed by the king, on the report of a grand council held by the queen,—present the duke of Aquitaine. Countersigned, "MAUREGARD."

This ordinance was sent to Amiens, and to other towns of France,—and with it the king inclosed other letters to many towns on the line of march which the duke of Burgundy would probably take, forbidding him, or any of his people, to pass the frontiers of the realm, under pain of incurring his indignation.

CHAPTER CXIV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES A LARGE FORCE TOWARD PARIS.—HE FIXES HIS QUARTERS AT ST. DENIS.—THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THIS MARCH, AND IN CONSEQUENCE OF IT.

THE duke of Burgundy, to accomplish his expedition to Paris, on leaving Arras, made for Peronne, intending to enter France; but the inhabitants, who had before received the king's orders not to let him pass, sent to him the lord de Longueval, their governor, to excuse them for denying him entrance into their town. Although the duke was far from being pleased, he, however, pretended indifference to their conduct, marched his forces beside the town, and crossed the Somme at Esclusieu *, and went to Roye in the Vermandois. He thence sent forward his brother the count de Nevers, who had joined him with a handsome company, to Compiegne.

The count treated so successfully with the townsmen of Compiegne, that, notwithstanding the commands of the king, they consented to permit him to pass. The principal reasons for their assenting were the copies of the correspondence between the duke of Aquitaine and the duke of Burgundy, which were shown to them, and which contained the express wishes of the duke of Aquitaine for the duke of Burgundy to come to his aid.

The tenor of the above and of the certificate were as follows.

"To all who these presents shall see, Jean Clabault, esquire-keeper for the king of the seal of the bailiwick of Vermandois established at Roye, greeting. Know ye, that on the 23d day of February, of the present year 1413, the most puissant and noble prince my lord duke of Burgundy has exhibited to us, and shown three letters sealed and signed by the most excellent and puissant prince the duke of Aquitaine, which we have held, seen, and read, word by word,—the contents of which are as follow. 'Very dear and well beloved father, we order, that on the receipt of this letter, you lay all excuses aside and come to us, well accompanied for your own proper security; and as you fear our anger, do not fail coming. Written with our own hand, at Paris, the 4th day of December.' Signed, 'LOUIS.' The address was, 'To our very dear and well beloved father the duke of Burgundy.'

"Another letter was in these terms: 'Very dear and well-beloved father, I wrote to you some time since, to desire you would come to me very well accompanied. I therefore entreat and order, that you hasten hither as speedily as may be, but well accompanied, for good reasons: do not fail, for I will bear you through the whole matter, as shall be seen. Written with my own hand, in Paris, the 13th day of December.' Signed by himself, 'LOUIS.' The superscription was, 'To our very dear and well-beloved father the duke of Burgundy.'

"The third letter contained,—'Very dear and well-beloved father, I have twice written to you to come hither, and you have not complied: I, however, write again, to order that

* Esclusieu, a village in Picardy, near Peronne.

you lay all other considerations aside, and come to me well accompanied for your own security: do not fail to come to me with all possible speed, notwithstanding any other letters you may receive from me to the contrary. We trust that you will instantly obey from the love you bear to us, and from the fear of our displeasure. We have certain causes to desire your company, which affect us in the strongest manner possible. Written with my own hand, this 22d day of December,' and signed by himself, 'Louis.' The superscription was the same as the foregoing.'

"As a testimony that we have seen and read the above letters, we have affixed the seal of this bailiwick (saving the rights of the king and others) to this copy, which we have faithfully collated with the original, in the presence of Jean Billart, esquire-warden for the king in the provostship of Roye, and of the exempted lands of Charmy, and of the jurisdiction of Roye; and in the presence of Pierre de la Beane, comptroller of salt in Roye, of Nicholas d'Ardelchanons, of Roye, Jean Pellehaste, master Guillaume de la Garde, master Godefroy Baudun, Brissart, royal notary, on the day and year aforesaid; and thus signed, Brissart."

On the third day, the duke of Burgundy left Roye, and went to Compiegne, where, having prevailed on the principal inhabitants to support his party, he took the road for Senlis, whither he had sent forward the lord de Robaix, to know if the townsmen would admit him. This they positively refused to do, in consequence of the orders from the king,—and the duke then took the road by Baron* to Dampmartin†, whither the lords of Burgundy had advanced with a powerful force to meet him.

News was daily carried to Paris, to the duke of Aquitaine and the other princes of the blood, of the duke of Burgundy's march and approach to the capital. When the last intelligence came, the duke of Aquitaine was dining with a canon in the cloisters of Nôtre-Dame in Paris; and the moment it was known, the king of Sicily, the duke of Orleans, the counts de Vertus, de Richemont, d'Eu, d'Armagnac, with many other great lords, attended by a numerous body of men-at-arms, assembled in the cloisters, where the duke of Aquitaine mounted his horse. This force was divided into three battalions, the van, centre, and rear,—which done, they advanced to the front of the church of Nôtre-Dame, and thence marched to the town-house, where they halted. The van was commanded by three counts, namely, those of Vertus, of Eu, and of Richemont, who rode together in front, followed close by their attendants, and at a little distance by the battalion. In the centre division were the king of Sicily and the dukes of Aquitaine and of Orleans, followed by a very considerable body of men-at-arms. The rear battalion was commanded by the count d'Armagnac, Louis Bourdon and the lord de Gaule, who, like the other commanders, rode all three in front of their men. The whole was estimated at eleven thousand horse. On their coming to the town-house, a trumpet was sounded, when the chancellor of Aquitaine made his appearance, and, by orders of the duke, told the people of Paris, who were following them, that he, the eldest son and heir to the king and kingdom of France, thanked them for their loyalty and affection, which they had now shown to him, and that he hoped they would exert themselves to the utmost of their power to oppose the duke of Burgundy in his wicked projects, who, in defiance of the king's positive commands, and in violation of the peace, had marched an armed force into the heart of the realm; that he affirmed and assured them, that he had never sent for him, nor written to him to come to Paris, notwithstanding he had declared he had received letters from him to the above purport.

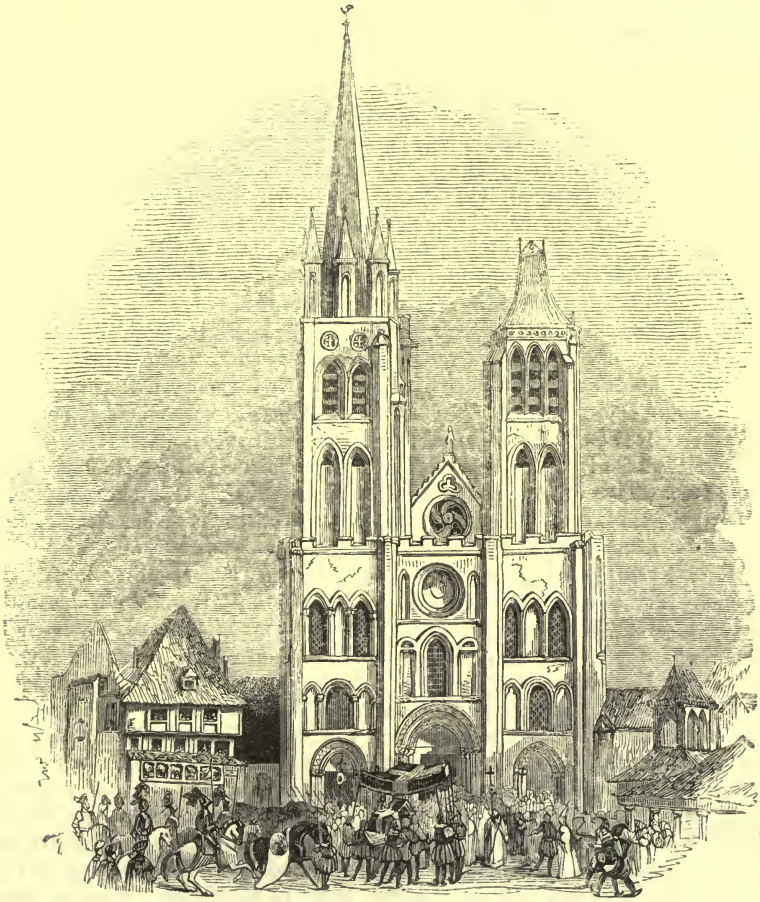
The chancellor then asked the duke if he would vouch for what he had said, who replied, that he would vouch for it, as he had spoken nothing but the truth. After this had been said, they marched away in the same order as before, to the Place du Croix du Tiroir, where they again halted, when the chancellor from horseback, in front of the duke of Aquitaine, repeated to the numerous populace there assembled what he had before said in the Place de Grève,—which speech was again avowed by the duke of Aquitaine, after which he retired to the Louvre. The duke of Orleans went to the priory of St. Martin-des-Champs, the king of Sicily to the bastile of St. Anthony, the count of Armagnac and Louis Bourdon to the hôtel d'Artois, and the others elsewhere. Shortly after, the duke of Berry came from

* Baron, a town in Picardy, diocese of Sens.

† Dammartin, a town in the Isle of France, nine leagues from Paris.

his hôtel de Neelle to visit the duke of Aquitaine in the Louvre, and thence retired to the Temple, where he and his men had their quarters. The different lords went diligently about the streets of Paris to check any tumults that might arise,—and they had all the gates closed excepting those of St. Anthony and of St. James. Notwithstanding they were so numerous in men-at-arms, they were very fearful of the populace rising against them, in favour of the duke of Burgundy, more especially those who lived in the quartier des Halles.

The duke of Burgundy advanced from Dampmartin to St. Denis, which was open to



St. Denis.—From an original drawing.

him, for the inhabitants had fled. He there quartered his whole army, and lodged himself at the hotel of the Sword. His force might consist of full two thousand helmets, knights and esquires, from Artois, Picardy, Flanders, Rethel and Burgundy, with from two to three thousand combatants, archers, cross-bows and armed varlets. He was accompanied by sir John de Luxembourg, with all the vassals of his uncle the count de St. Pol. On the third day after the duke of Burgundy's arrival at St. Denis, he sent his king-at-arms, Artois, to Paris, bearing letters to the king, the queen, the duke of Aquitaine, and the commonalty of the town,—in which he requested that they would permit him to wait on them, to explain the cause of his thus coming to St. Denis, which, he said, was only with good intentions, no way to make war, nor to demand redress from any person, but solely in obedience to the commands of the duke of Aquitaine, whom he was bound to serve and obey.

When the king-at-arms arrived at the gates of Paris, he was led to an hotel,—when shortly after, a man came to him, whom he did not know, and told him to make haste to quit the town, or his person would be rudely treated. Perceiving that he should not be heard, nor allowed to deliver his letters, he was mounting his horse, when the count d'Armagnac advanced and said to him, that should he or any others come again to Paris from the duke of Burgundy, he would have their heads cut off. Upon this, he returned to his the lord duke of Burgundy, at St. Denis, and related to him all that had passed, and how rudely he had been dealt with, which so much displeased the duke that he resolved, by the advice of his council, to march thither in person with his whole force.

On the morrow morning, therefore, the army was drawn up in the fields in battle-array as if they were about to engage an enemy, and thus marched to the gate of St. Eustache, which was closed; and there they remained in battle-array for a considerable space, which was a handsome sight. The duke again sent his king-at-arms to the gate of St. Honoré, which was also closed, to demand from those stationed over the gate that four of his most confidential knights, who were near at hand to the king-at-arms, might be admitted with him, to explain the causes of his coming, which tended to nothing but a solid peace. He was answered by those above the gate, that if he did not speedily withdraw, they would discharge bolts and arrows at him,—adding, that they would have nothing to say to the duke of Burgundy nor to his knights. Upon this, they retired to the army. During this time, Enguerrand de Bournouville, with about four hundred combatants, had dismounted, and, with the standard of the duke, had advanced to the gate of St. Honoré, to see if he could do anything; for they had great hopes that the populace would rise in sufficient force to give them entrance through one of the gates, which, however, did not happen. Enguerrand, nevertheless, said a few words to Bourdon, who was over the gate, but who made him no reply; and, finding nothing was to be done, he retreated to the main body. In his retreat, some cross-bows were discharged at him, and one of his men was wounded, although neither himself nor any of his companions had shown the least offensive intentions, by arrows or otherwise, against those of Paris,—for it had been forbidden them by the duke out of respect to the king and the duke of Aquitaine.

The duke, seeing the matter hopeless, marched his army back to St. Denis, and caused letters to be written, which, during the night, some of his partisans affixed to the doors of the church of Nôtre Dame, of the palace, and elsewhere in Paris. He sent copies also to the principal towns in France, the tenor of which was as follows.

"We John duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders and Artois, palatine of Burgundy, lord of Salines and Mechlin, make known to all, that by virtue of several letters written and signed by the duke of Aquitaine himself, we came toward Paris, to employ ourselves for the welfare of the king, by command of my lord of Aquitaine, and withal to aid and deliver him from the servitude in which he is held at this moment; in which cause we shall cheerfully exert every power and influence which God may have granted to us in this world; and we signify to all the well-wishers of the king and of my lord of Aquitaine, that they shall be set (if we be able) at full liberty to exercise their free will and pleasure,—and those who have thus confined them shall be banished, that it may be known to all that we do not come hither on any ambitious schemes to seize the government of the kingdom, and that we have no desire to hurt or destroy the good town of Paris, but are ready to fulfil and maintain every article which we had sworn to observe in the king's edict. We are also willing to return to any of our territories, provided others who have sworn to the same ordinance do so likewise,—but they act contrary to it: and we will, that God and all the world know, that until we shall be sensible that my lord the king and my lord of Aquitaine enjoy their full liberty, and that those who now manage public affairs have retired to their several countries, and my said lord the king is provided with honest, able, and notable counsellors and knights, as well as my lord of Aquitaine, we will never desist from our enterprise, nor quit the kingdom of France; for we had much rather die than witness my lord the king and my lord of Aquitaine in such subjection.

"We cannot help being astonished that the citizens and loyal subjects of his majesty can be so hard of heart as to suffer him to remain in this disgracefnl slavery; and we are the

more surprised that, knowing how nearly we are related to him, they have refused to receive either our knights or our herald, or to permit any one from us to present our letters to my lord the king, my lady the queen, my lord of Aquitaine, or to the good town of Paris. And although we came before the walls of Paris without committing any hostile act whatever, by the command aforesaid, in order to treat of matters touching the peace and welfare of the kingdom, our men have been killed and wounded, without listening to any proposals which they might have made. The count d'Armagnac even told our king-at-arms, that if he should return again, his head would be struck off,—which is an insult hard to be borne, when we have come hither with our company, paying for all our expenses, as the near relation and neighbour of my lord the king and my lord of Aquitaine, requiring the aid of all good and loyal subjects against those who have kept in servitude and in peril my said lord of Aquitaine, signifying to them, at the same time, that we should, in proper time and place, charge them with treason against their sovereign. Of this you need not doubt,—for, by the aid of God and our just cause in this quarrel, we will pursue and maintain it, with the utmost of our powers, and with the assistance of very many of the principal towns in the realm, who have attached themselves to us.

"Given at St. Denis, under our privy seal, in the absence of the grand council, the 11th day of February, in the year 1413."

When these letters were found posted in several of the public places of Paris, those who were disaffected to the duke of Burgundy had stronger suspicions of his conduct than before; and they took such precautions in the guard of the town that no inconvenience happened.

During the time the duke of Burgundy remained at St. Denis, the lord de Croy, who had accompanied him, sent twenty of his most expert and determined men-at-arms, well mounted, to cross the Seine near to Conflans; thence they rode as secretly as they could, with lance in hand, to the town of Montlehery, where they lodged themselves in two inns near to each other, pretending to be of the Orleans party. Sir John de Croy, son to the lord de Croy, was prisoner, as has been before said, in the castle of that town, and had received intimation of their coming by a chaplain who had the care of him. He made a pretence of going to hear mass in the church that was hard by the castle, when these men-at-arms, who were ready prepared, and on the watch, mounted their horses, hastened toward sir John, whom they instantly set on a led horse, and thence galloped briskly to Pontoise: they afterward took the road to the ford where they had before crossed the Seine, and made such good haste that they brought sir John safe to his father in St. Denis. This enterprise was highly praised by the duke of Burgundy and the lord de Croy: the principal leaders of it were Lamont de Launoy, Villemont de Meneat, Jenninet de Molliens, Jean Roussel,—the whole amounting to the number aforesaid. They were, however, sharply pursued by the garrison of Montlehery, but they could not overtake them by reason of the variety of roads they took.

The duke of Burgundy again sent Artois, king-at-arms, to Paris, with letters to the king of Sicily and to the dukes of Orleans and Berry, to notify to them the causes of his coming, and to request that they would suffer him, or at least some of his people, to speak with the king and the duke of Aquitaine; that he was come with good intentions, for he was willing punctually to keep all he had promised and sworn to, provided they on their part would do the same; adding, that they must allow the king and the duke of Aquitaine to rule and govern the kingdom, without keeping them in servitude, more especially the duke of Aquitaine, whom they detained to his great displeasure. But when the king-at-arms came to the gate of St. Anthony, he was told that he would not be admitted, nor any letters received from him, and that if he did not hasten away, they would treat him disrespectfully. On hearing this, he considered for a few minutes, and then placing the letters at the top of a cleft stick which he stuck in the ground, made off as fast as he could to St. Denis, when the duke was more discontented than ever. Perceiving that he could no way succeed in his object, he deliberated with his council whether he should return to his own country, and within a few days retreated to Compiegne by the way he had come. In this town, and in that of Soissons, he left strong garrisons of men-at arms and archers. He appointed sir Hugh de Launoy governor of Compiegne, with the lords de Saint Ligier and de Forez, Hector

and Philippe de Saveuse, Louvelet de Mazaheghen, and other expert men-at-arms, to the amount of five hundred combatants or thereabout. In Soissons he placed Enguerrand de Bournouville, sir Colart de Phiennes, Lamon de Launoy, Guoit de Boutilliers Normant, sir Pierre de Menault, and many more warriors.

It was resolved by the aforesaid duke and his chivalry, and by the good towns above mentioned, that until the king and the duke of Aquitaine should be at full liberty, and until they should regulate their conduct by the counsel of such good men and true as they themselves should approve, and until the lords aforesaid, who thus kept them under restraint, and the troops in their pay should retire each to his own territory—as he, the duke of Burgundy, and those of his party, offered to return to their estates and countries—they would never change their resolution, and would yield no obedience to the command of the king, as issued by the advice of his present counsellors or their abettors. This resolution the duke was to signify to the principal towns, and to all the well-disposed persons in the kingdom, and even to summon them in the names of the king and the duke of Aquitaine to unite themselves to his party for the more effectually accomplishing so desirable an object; for by so doing each person would acquit himself of his loyalty, and gain renown for life; and the duke promised to aid and support them to the utmost of his power, for the security of which he issued his especial letters.

After this, he departed from Compiegne, and returned to Arras. He sent his Burgundians, to the amount of about seven hundred lances, to quarter themselves in the Cambresis, and in Tierache, in contempt of the king of Sicily, whom he did not love, any more than sir Robert de Bar,* who had refused to assist him in this expedition, although he was his liege-man. He issued orders from Arras for the three estates of Artois to meet him the 2d day of May, more particularly the nobles, when a great parliament was holden on the state of his affairs. He there caused to be displayed by the lord d'Ollehaing the three letters the duke of Aquitaine had written to him, which being read, he declared on his faith, in the presence of all the lords, that they were written and signed by the duke of Aquitaine's own hand.

When those present had promised to serve him against all but the king of France and his children, he ordered his ministers to write to many of the principal towns letters of the following import, which were sent to Amiens. He then departed from Arras for his county of Flanders, to do the same.

"Very dear and good friends, being ever desirous that you and all other loyal subjects of my lord the king, the well-wishers of the duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, should be advertised of whatever may affect his honour and estate, that of his realm and the public good, that efficient remedies may be provided according to the exigency of the case, we in consequence signify to you the very singular request of my said lord of Aquitaine, duly made to us by three different letters, written and signed by his own hand, containing in substance, that on the pleasure and service we were ever willing to do him, we should incontinently come to him as well and greatly accompanied as possible. We obeyed these his orders, as in duty bound, knowing the bondage and danger he was and still is in, from his confinement in the castle of the Louvre by certain persons, contrary to justice and reason, and to his sore and bitter displeasure. We marched an armed force in consequence, not through any ambition or lust of having any part in the government of the kingdom, nor to break or any way infringe the peace we have so lately promised and sworn to keep, which we are above all things desirous of preserving, but solely in obedience to the good will and pleasure of my lord the king and of my said lord of Aquitaine, and to obtain for him his just freedom. For this cause did we peaceably advance to the town of St. Denis, without molesting or despoiling any person, but paying courteously for all that we had need of; and instantly on our arrival there, we sent by our herald, Artois, king-at-arms, sealed letters, addressed to my lord the king, my lady the queen, my lord of Aquitaine, and to the good town of Paris,—in which we notified our coming, not with any intent of warfare, or to infringe the peace, but by the orders of my lord of Aquitaine, and to obey his good pleasure (as the saying is), requesting at the same time to have audiences of my lord the king and of

* Count of Soissons, mentioned above.

my lord of Aquitaine, to the performance of our duty, and to the accomplishment of their will and pleasure, to which we are bound.

"Notwithstanding this, the presentation of our said letters was most rigorously prevented by the count d'Armagnac and his adherents, without any reasonable cause, and through contempt and malice to us and our friends. The said count even told our herald, that if he did not instantly depart, or if any of our people should again return on this errand, he would have their heads cut off. In consequence, we marched in person from the town of St. Denis, grandly accompanied by men-at-arms and archers, on the Saturday, the 10th of this month, February, to the walls of Paris, without doing harm to any person, but with the intent of amicably explaining the reasons for our thus appearing in arms, and with the expectation of receiving a more gracious answer than was given to our herald; but when we had arrived before the town, and had sent to the gate of St. Honoré, which was the nearest to us, our herald, and after him four of our principal knights, to request a hearing, they were told, that if they did not immediately retire, the guards would shoot at them; and without hearing or saying any more, some cross-bows were discharged, which was, and not without reason, highly displeasing to us. Although all these disorderly acts were done without the knowledge or consent of the king, or of the duke of Aquitaine, and although several of our officers were made prisoners, we most patiently bore the whole, from our love of peace; and from our affectionate duty to the king and my lord of Aquitaine, we quietly returned to St. Denis, where, during our stay, we permitted all sorts of provision to pass free to Paris, the same as before our arrival there. We have nevertheless had information, that through malicious instigations, contrary to the honour and interest of my lord the king, my lord of Aquitaine, and the public welfare, and against their will and intention, very many letters have been unjustly and wickedly issued, by which the king has, as we are told, banished from his kingdom us and all who attended us before the walls of Paris,—notwithstanding that neither we nor they have at present, or at any other time, neglected our duty to him, nor are we of those who formerly besieged him in the town of Paris, and who have, in many parts of his realm, damnably set fire to houses, slain his subjects, forced women, violated maidens, pillaged and destroyed churches, castles, towns and mansions, committing at the same time unheard-of cruelties and mischiefs.

"The advisers of this measure, proceeding in their wicked projects from bad to worse, keep my lord the king and my lord of Aquitaine under their subjection and control. On this account, therefore, my very dear and good friends, and because such things are contrary to the articles of the peace concluded at Auxerre, and confirmed at Pontoise, we, who are of so great importance, cannot longer suffer them, more especially when we consider the dangerous state in which the king and my lord of Aquitaine are held. Deputations have been likewise sent from many of the great towns, such as Paris, Rheims, Rouen, Laon, Beauvais and others, who have solemnly sworn to support and assist all who shall maintain this peace, and strenuously to oppose those who shall infringe it. We affirm these things to you for truth, so that should you hear the contrary you may not give credit to it, but ever remain faithful and loyal subjects to my lord the king and my lord of Aquitaine, such as you have ever been, and aid and assist us in the part we have taken, for we have the utmost confidence in your zeal. In truth, we expect, through the help of God, and other assistance, for the relief of my lord the king and my lord of Aquitaine, that we may obtain for them full and free liberty of government, such as they ought to possess, and that those who now keep them in bondage may be dismissed from their presence, to reside in their own countries, as we are ready to do, for the due observance of the said peace, and the common good of the kingdom, objects of which we are very desirous.

"Should there be any things which you may wish to have done, that are within our power, know for certain that we will, with God's pleasure, do them with a hearty good-will,—and may he have you in his holy keeping! Written in our town of Arras, and sealed with our privy seal, the 27th day of February, in the year 1413."

There was also written on the margin, "The duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders and Artois; and that you, my very dear and good friends, may be fully assured of the authenticity of the letters from my lord of Aquitaine, mentioned in this paper, we send you with

these presents true copies of the originals, under an official seal," and signed "Vignier." This letter was drawn up on sealed paper, and had for its address, "To our very dear and well beloved, the resident burgesses and inhabitants of the town of Amiens."

CHAPTER CXV.—ON THE RETREAT OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FROM SAINT DENIS, THE KING OF FRANCE ISSUES ORDERS THROUGHOUT HIS KINGDOM TO RAISE FORCES TO MARCH AGAINST HIM.

When it was known to the king of France, the duke of Aquitaine, the princes of the blood then in Paris, and to the members of the council, that the duke of Burgundy, on his retreat from St. Denis, had left large garrisons in the towns of Compiegne, Soissons, and other places belonging to the king, or at least under his government, they were greatly surprised, thinking he had no just cause for so doing. To obviate the consequences of this conduct, certain royal edicts were instantly despatched throughout the bailiwicks and seneschalships in the realm, commanding them to raise forces to resist the future proceedings of the duke of Burgundy, which edicts, and particularly that addressed to the bailiff of Amiens, were as follows.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

"To check the many great and numberless evils that have befallen our kingdom, to the prejudice of ourself and of the public welfare, from the quarrels and wars that have arisen between some of the princes of our blood, and that our subjects may live in tranquillity under our government, and that henceforward they may be ruled with justice, which cannot take place but in times of peace,—we have, after mature deliberation, effected a union between these said princes of our blood, which they have most solemnly promised and sworn in our presence to keep inviolate. Although it be not lawful for any of our subjects, whether of our blood or not, and even contrary to our express orders, to assemble any bodies of men-at-arms within our realm, yet it has come to our knowledge that our cousin of Burgundy has complained of certain acts done, as he says, to his prejudice, and contrary to the articles of the said peace,—and for this cause he has occupied, or caused to be occupied, several castles and fortresses belonging to us, and against our will; that he has received in his country, and admitted to his presence, several evil-doers who have been guilty of treason against us. In consequence, we sent able ambassadors to our said cousin of Burgundy, to admonish him to keep the peace, to offer him every legal means of redress, and to cause such reparation to be made him for any infringement of the peace, as the case might require. At the same time we summoned him to surrender the castles to us, as he was bound to do; and we commanded him not to receive any such evil doers in future, enjoining him to send those whom he had admitted to us, that they might undergo such punishments as justice should order.

"These commands he has not obeyed, nor sent any satisfactory answer. Having learnt that after this our said cousin of Burgundy was assembling a large body of men-at-arms, we sent one of the sergeants-at-arms of the parliament with sealed letters to him, to forbid him to raise any forces whatever. Notwithstanding this, in defiance of the treaty of peace and of our positive orders, our cousin of Burgundy continued to assemble men-at-arms and archers from all parts; and with this army he has marched from his own country, and, by fraudulent and traitorous means, has, against our will, gained possession of our towns of Compiegne and Soissons, which he still holds, and has placed therein garrisons of men-at-arms. He also attempted to gain by force our town of Senlis, and has refused to surrender our castles and fortresses aforesaid, which he detains contrary to our commands: he admits to his country and to his presence every person guilty toward us, without ever sending them to us, as we had commanded him to do. He has likewise detained by force our sergeant-at-arms of the parliament and other messengers from our dearly-beloved companion the queen, and from our very dear and well-beloved son the duke of Aquitaine, bearing letters from them to forbid him to do any acts contrary to the said peace, and without sending to us or to them any answers whatever.

"Our said cousin of Burgundy, in defiance and contempt of these our orders and prohibitions, has marched a numerous army near to Paris, accompanied by all or the greater part of those criminals who have been found guilty of treason against us, and therefore banished our realm. All these said things have been done, committed, and perpetrated by our said cousin of Burgundy, his adherents, and allies, contrary to our royal will and pleasure, in opposition to the articles of the said peace, against the tranquillity of our subjects and the public good of our kingdom. Great inconveniences may therefore arise, unless a speedy remedy be applied to this disloyal conduct. Wishing to obviate these evils, and to reduce to obedience those of our subjects who may have joined our said cousin the duke of Burgundy, whose enterprises we will no longer tolerate, but are determined to repress them with the aid of those of our blood, and our other good and faithful subjects, in such wise that it shall be an example to all others.

"We therefore command and strictly enjoin, that on receiving these presents, you do, with a loud voice and with sound of trumpet, in our name, proclaim the arriere-ban*; and that you do repeat this proclamation throughout your bailiwick, so that no one may plead ignorance of it, enforcing obedience to the same from all nobles and others within your jurisdiction who have been used to arms, or in a state to bear arms, and from all who may hold fiefs or arriere-fiefs of the value of twenty livres tournois. You will see that prompt attention be paid to our command by all nobles, citizens, and inhabitants of the towns within your bailiwick, on the faith and homage they owe to us, and under pain of confiscation of estates and goods, should they not join us in all diligence with the greatest possible number of men-at-arms and archers, without any excuse or denial whatever. You will enjoin the inhabitants of your principal towns to send instantly to our good city of Paris men-at-arms and archers, mounted on horseback and sufficiently accompanied,—and we command them thus to do for our service in this matter, and wherever else we may employ them, forbidding them at the same time, under the severest execution of the penalties aforesaid, to obey, in any manner whatever, the summons, orders, or requests of our said cousin of Burgundy, or under pretence of serving us, or under other pretexts, to aid or promote his designs. Should any persons within your jurisdiction have joined him, let them instantly return, and not give him either support or advice. You will arrest all whom you shall know to be favourable to him, or who have joined him, whenever you can lay hands on them. Should you not be able to do this, summon them, under pain of banishment; and take possession, in our name, of all their effects, moveable and immoveable, whatever, which you will administer on our behalf.

"You will also make public proclamation in our name, for all prelates, abbots, priors, chaplains and other churchmen, who are bound to supply us with carts, sumpter-horses, and other services from their fiefs, instantly to perform them and send them to us. You will, in case of their neglecting the same, seize their temporalities, or use such other measures as are customary in such like cases. At the same time, you will strictly forbid in our name under the aforesaid penalties, all labourers, tradespeople, or others, excepting those before mentioned, to assemble in arms, or to collect together in companies, after the manner of the pillagers in former times, but give orders that they do apply to their labour or trades. Should any be found to act contrary, you will imprison them, and inflict on them such punishment as justice may ordain, to serve as examples to others.

"We likewise command and enjoin you to suffer all men-at-arms and archers, whether from our kingdom or elsewhere, that may be on their march to join us, to pass freely through your bailiwick, without any let or hindrance whatever, notwithstanding any letters or orders from us to the contrary, unless of a subsequent date to these presents, and signed by ourself in council; and you will afford to such person or persons every aid, encouragement, and advice, should need be, in any of our towns, castles, bridges or passes, that may tend to obstruct them on their march. This we order to be done without refusal or contradiction, for such is our will and pleasure; and you will certify to our faithful chancellor your proceedings in this

* *Arriere-ban*,—"a proclamation, whereby those that hold of the king by a mesne tenure are summoned to assemble and serve him in his wars; different from *ban*, whereby such are called as hold immediately of him; also the whole troop of those mesne tenants or under-vassals so assembled."

Cotgrave's Dict.—See "*Ban*" and "*Arriere-ban.*"

business, that your diligence may be the more apparent; and be careful, under pain of deprivation of office, and of the aforesaid punishments, that there be no neglect on your part. We will beside, and command you by these presents, that in regard to all quarrels, suits, debts, or prosecutions for any matters in litigation that may have been brought before you within your bailiwick against those who may have set out to join us in obedience to our summons, you do defer pronouncing any sentence or sentences thereon, until fifteen days be expired after the return home of the parties serving us, and that you do order all provosts, judges, or officers under you, to do the same; and should any sentences have been passed, or further proceedings thereon, you will stay the same, and without delay make every possible reparation.

"For the carrying our said will into execution, we, by these presents, do give you full and ample authority; and by them also we command all officers of justice, and others our subjects, diligently to attend to and obey your orders, issued for the above purposes, and to afford you aid and advice, and even the use of their prisons, should it be found necessary.

"Given at Paris, the 8th day of February, in the year of grace 1413, and of our reign the thirty-third." Signed, on the report of the grand council held by the queen, the duke of Aquitaine, and others, "Jean du Chastel."

This edict was sent to Amiens, and there proclaimed. It caused great distress to all who had joined the party of the duke of Burgundy, as well within Paris and its neighbourhood as elsewhere, for very many were arrested and beheaded: others were imprisoned, and their fortunes confiscated.

Another edict was soon after issued, after great deliberation in council, and published throughout France, by which the duke of Burgundy was deprived of all the favours that had formerly been done him, and he and all his partisans were banished the kingdom. This was the tenor of the edict.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

"Whereas, after the very cruel and damnable murder lately perpetrated by the order and instigation of John our cousin of Burgundy, on the person of our very dear and well-beloved only brother Louis, duke of Orleans, of good memory, whose soul may God pardon! the said duke of Burgundy came to our good town of Paris, attended by a numerous body of men-at-arms, against our will and in defiance of our commands to the contrary, and there endeavoured to justify himself from this atrocious murder, by means notoriously false, and by many arguments scandalous and offensive to our majesty and to the public weal. We, considering the very many evils that might ensue, in consequence of this murder, to our subjects and kingdom, and being desirous to obviate the same, did order our very dear son and beloved nephew, the present duke of Orleans, with our very dear and well-beloved nephew the count de Vertus, his brother, children to our late brother, and minors, to meet us in our own of Chartres, where we formed a pacification between our said nephews and the duke of Burgundy; and although the terms of this pacification were extraordinary and harsh to our said nephews, nevertheless they subscribed to them in obedience to us, and from pity to the subjects of the realm, who must have suffered greatly from the intestine wars that would otherwise have taken place.

"Notwithstanding the duke of Burgundy swore in our hands to the observance of this treaty, and that he would thenceforward be a loyal and sincere friend to our said nephews and their adherents, he very shortly acted contrary to this oath and solemn promise, by revenging himself on some of our servants, whom he suspected to have advised us to have justice done on him for the murder of our said brother the duke of Orleans, and also to continue his wicked designs of gaining the sole government of our person and kingdom. This was the true reason for his committing so foul a murder, and for arresting many of our faithful servants,—some of whom he caused to be put to death, and, by unjust and iniquitous means, exacted from others exorbitant and immense sums of money. In consequence, our nephews of Orleans, seeing that the duke of Burgundy was infringing daily, and in various ways, the treaty which he had sworn to keep at Chartres, and was regardless of all that he had promised, most humbly but earnestly supplicated us at different times, that we would

administer justice on the murderers of their father, as we were bounden to do; but the duke of Burgundy, who had deprived us of our most loyal servants, and in their room had placed others attached to him, prevented us from hearing their complaints, and from rendering the justice it became us to administer. And what was worse, our nephews perceiving that they could not obtain any redress from us, through the interference of the duke of Burgundy, resolved to make war personally upon him, to revenge the murder of their father, as was natural for them to do.

"The duke of Burgundy then accused them (and published falsely, contrary to all resemblance of truth, as we are fully informed and assured), that they and others of our blood, being in their company, wished to deprive us of our royal estate and dignity, and make a new king of France. And under pretence of these lies and charges, contrary to all truth, he raised our people against them, wishing to cover his wicked intentions and quarrel with lies, whence, as every one knows, so many and serious misfortunes have arisen. Under pretext of this warfare, the duke of Burgundy has caused to be arrested and confined in our prison of the Châtelet at Paris, and elsewhere, numbers of considerable gentlemen, knights, and squires, because he charged them with being favourable to the wellwishers of the party of our nephews, or inclined to others of our blood and lineage in their company: many whom he thus imprisoned he made suffer the cruellest tortures, and then put them to death without a shadow of reason or justice. Some he starved to death in prison, denying them confessors or any of the ecclesiastical sacraments, throwing their bodies into the fields to be devoured by dogs, birds, or wild beasts, without allowing them to have Christian burial, or that their new-born children should be baptised, which is expressly against our religion. In these transactions, the most horrid and unheard-of cruelties were committed.

"Under cover of this war, which neither was nor ought to have been ours, but his own, and personal to himself, this Burgundian caused excessive and extraordinary taxes to be raised on our people, by tailles, loans, and other means; such as seizing the treasures of churches, the deposits in our courts of Parliament, Châtelet, and elsewhere, which had been there placed for the advantage of widows, and children under age, or for the purpose of completing purchases or repayment of mortgages. The said Burgundian also made great depreciations in our coin, by which he gained large sums of money, but to the severe loss of us, our people, and the public welfare. By these and other equally fraudulent means has he reaped very considerable profit, and for these two or three years last past has applied to his own benefit the money of our people, amounting to ten hundred thousand golden florins at the least, as has been clearly demonstrated to us by the statement of the accounts, without any part of it being employed for our service. This has caused a failure and total stoppage of commerce, so necessary to us and our kingdom, for some time past; consequently the revenues of our domain and taxes have been shamefully diminished, as is notorious to all.

"But not contented with this, and in the design of totally destroying our nephews aforesaid, our very dear and well-beloved uncle the duke of Berry, and several others of our blood, with the intent of gaining the sole government of our kingdom to himself, the duke of Burgundy constrained us and our dearly beloved eldest son, the duke of Aquitaine, to oppose with force of arms our said nephews and their adherents, under colour that the war was ours —whereas it was no such thing—and obliged us to march from Paris against them, as if they had not always been our very loyal and affectionate relatives and subjects. In fact, we laid siege to the city of Bourges, wherein was our uncle aforesaid; and we were detained before it for upwards of six weeks against our will, and to our very great displeasure. We and our son were in great personal danger, as well from the excessive heat of the season as from the attacks made on our army, insomuch that we thought it right to remove to our town of Auxerre, where we had assembled our said uncle, nephews, and other princes of our blood. There, by the grace of God and his holy aid, and by the commands of ourself and of our eldest son, certain articles of pacification were drawn up and agreed to by our said uncle, son, and nephews, with their allies, on the one part, and the duke of Burgundy and his allies on the other,—which articles both parties solemnly promised and swore before us to keep, without any way infringing them.

"Nevertheless, not long after we were returned to our town of Paris, the said duke of

Burgundy, contrary to his promise on oath, came thither, intending to annul the said peace made by us, and sworn to by him, as has been before said, and caused to be drawn up certain letters in our name, which he had attached to our edict concerning the peace, by which he made us repeal and annul the greater part of what had been granted by us and our said eldest son, thus infringing the articles of the peace, namely, the restitution of estates, inheritances, honours, and offices, to such as had adhered to the party of our said uncle and nephews, and to others of our blood and lineage, their allies and partisans. He has, moreover, retained, for a long space of time, against our will, and contrary to the agreements we had entered into, and his own oath, the castles of Coucy and Pierrefons, belonging to our said nephew the duke of Orleans, with many other castles, estates, and houses of several of that party, notwithstanding letters of restitution granted by us, and verified by our court of parliament. Neither the duke of Orleans nor any of his adherents could regain the possession of their lands,—for there was scarcely any one member of our court of parliament who dared to gainsay the will and enterprises of the duke of Burgundy or his accomplices, who were solely bent on having the entire management of us, of our dear companion the queen, our well-beloved eldest son the duke of Aquitaine, and the whole government of the realm.

"To keep us in the greater subjection, the said Burgundian raised persons of low rank and consideration in Paris to places of trust, who, by his authority and exhortations, and being in his full confidence, undertook the government of our royal self, that of the queen, the duke of Aquitaine and the whole kingdom. These persons frequently came to our councils, and those of our court of parliament, in a violent and disorderly manner, menacing our faithful and honest counsellors in such wise that the regular course of justice was stopped; and it was impossible to prevent whatever they should ordain or desire from being agreed to, one way or other. In pursuing their wicked courses and damnable designs, it is a fact, that on Friday the 28th day of April last past, when the said Burgundian, his accomplices, adherents, and people of low degree began to perceive that several of our blood and lineage, and others our officers, and those of our well-beloved son, the members of the university, wealthy merchants, and loyal burgesses of the town of Paris, were discontented with their mode of government, suspecting also that they intended even to drive them from their power and authority by force, and then punish them for their malversations, caused a great assembly of the populace to be holden, the most part of whom knew not for what they were thus assembled. Then, without any justifiable reason, they marched with displayed banners, in a warlike manner, to the hôtel of our said son, whence, against his commands and will, and to his great displeasure, they carried away our very dear and well-beloved cousin the duke of Bar, with many others the especial counsellors and servants of our said son, according to a written list of names which the duke of Burgundy held in his hand, and who had them first conducted to his hôtel of Artois, and thence to different prisons.

"Not long after, on another day, these same people of low degree, by the practices of the duke of Burgundy, again returned to our palace of St. Pol with displayed banners, and with force and violence, contrary to our will and pleasure, as well as in disobedience to the commands of our said queen and eldest son, they seized our very dear and well-beloved brother Louis duke of Bavaria, with other officers of our said son, and also certain ladies and damsels attached to and in the service of our said companion the queen, whom they arrested in her chamber, she being present, and carried to different prisons, where they were long detained in great personal danger. This same populace, through the connivance and encouragement of the duke of Burgundy, committed a variety of crimes and excesses, such as seizing day and night, without any judicial authority, many of our officers and other inhabitants of our said town of Paris, confining them in prisons, murdering some, and throwing the bodies of others into the river, by which means they were drowned, ransoming several for large sums of money, without any one daring to check or punish such atrocious acts.

"All this was done through the practices and support of the duke of Burgundy; by which means he has detained us, our companion the queen, and our said eldest son, in such subjection and danger that we had not liberty to do any one thing as we should have pleased; for after these arrests had taken place, he appointed others to fill their places, who were

firmly attached to him and his measures. Even persons of the lowest order were raised by him to offices,—and this conduct was pursued until it pleased the Lord, by means of the activity and diligence of our very dear and well-beloved cousin the king of Sicily, in conjunction with our dear nephews of Orleans, our well-beloved cousins the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon, d'Eu, and others of our royal blood, many prelates, barons, knights, esquires, and several of our court of parliament, and of our dear daughter the university of Paris, and capital burgesses of that town, to restore us, our dear companion the queen, and son, to that liberty which we should reasonably enjoy; and the peace that had been agreed to at Auxerre was again confirmed and sworn to by the said Burgundian, and others of our blood, and lineage. Nevertheless, the duke of Burgundy, prior to the expedition which our said eldest son made, by means of the populace of Paris on the 4th day of August last past, exerted himself to the utmost to put an end to this peace, by having it published in several hôtels and other places in Paris, that if the people consented to such a peace, it would be the ruin of the town : which was notoriously false.

" Since the peace was thus renewed and confirmed, the duke of Burgundy has been much discontented ; and when some of those disturbers of the peace, persons of low degree, quitted Paris under pretence of going to Burgundy, though in fact they went to Flanders, Artois, and other territories of the duke, he received them graciously, criminals as they were, with other traitors and murderers of our said brother the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding we had sent him especial ambassadors, who, among other things, required and commanded him in our name that those criminals whom he had received, and who had been convicted of treason against us, and consequently banished the realm for ever, should be delivered up that justice might be done on them. They also demanded restitution of several castles that he kept possession of, by himself or others, contrary to our pleasure, namely, the castles of Crotoy, Laon, and Chinon,—but to all these demands he has been disobedient. The worst part of his conduct is, that under colour of the most abominable falsehoods, he has raised as large a body of men-at-arms and archers as was possible, as well from his own countries of Burgundy and Savoy as from Flanders, Artois and elsewhere, which he has marched to the walls of our good town of Paris. To gain partisans, and an undisturbed march, he has sent sealed letters to several of our large towns to require aid and support, under colour that he was marching to Paris by the command of our said eldest son, to deliver us from the bondage in which, as he said, we were detained, and which is a notorious falsehood,—for we never enjoyed greater liberty than we do at this moment, and have done ever since his departure from Paris. It is also false that he has had any commands from us on this subject: on the contrary, we and our dear son have, by our letters patent, positively forbidden him, under pain of our displeasure, to dare to come before us with any assemblage of men-at-arms, which he has not only disregarded and paid no attention to, but has imprisoned one of the sergeants-at-arms of our court of parliament, whom we had sent with the above letters patent, solemnly to forbid his assembling any bodies of men-at-arms, and which he properly executed.

" Pursuing his evil designs, his conduct from bad becomes worse ; and, contemning the orders of us, who are his sovereign, he marched like a rebel, in a hostile manner, toward our town of Paris, with the largest force he could collect, in direct opposition to our express commands, thus breaking the peace which he had so solemnly sworn to keep, and rendering himself unworthy of those graces and favours which had been shown him in former times. He has with him, and under his obedience, all those false traitors who on conviction of their treasons have been for ever banished the kingdom, that through their means he may be enabled to stir up sedition in our good town of Paris and elsewhere. He has gained possession of our town of Compiegne, although we had sent orders to the inhabitants not to suffer him to enter it with any body of men-at-arms, or in a hostile manner, which orders were shown to him ; but he held them in contempt, and what is worse, he now occupies that town, and has placed therein a garrison contrary to our commands. In like manner has he taken possession of the town of Soissons, although the inhabitants had received orders similar to those sent to Compiegne, of which the army of the duke of Burgundy was assured.

" This Burgundian has even advanced his army to St. Denis, which he has seized and

made his head-quarters, contrary to our will and pleasure, forming of it, as it were, a frontier to our good town of Paris; and by way of demonstrating his wickedness and infamous designs, he advanced his army with displayed banners, and in a warlike manner, to the very walls of Paris, and remained there a long time in battle-array. He even sent his scouts to the very gates, in the hope of raising a sedition among the populace, and then entering the town by force of arms, contrary to our will, and thus acting like an enemy, and being guilty of the crime of high treason toward us, many complaints of which have been and are daily made to us on this subject.

"Know ye, that having considered the above acts, and others connected with them, and the whole of the duke of Burgundy's conduct since the death of our said brother to this present time, inasmuch as he has been ever ready to proceed by force of arms, and has several times notoriously disobeyed our commands, more especially in this last act, when we positively enjoined him not to march any armed force to Paris, and in several others, which he has obeyed or not according to his pleasure. For these causes he is and must be esteemed ungrateful, and undeserving of all the favours that have been shown him by us in former times. Having therefore held a grand council on the above, to which persons of all ranks were admitted, and having duly considered the same, we declare that the duke of Burgundy, and all who shall give him any aid, support or advice, or join his company, contrary to our said edicts, issued by us to forbid the same, shall be, and are by these presents, held and reputed rebels to us, and violators of the peace, consequently enemies to us and to the public welfare of our kingdom. For these causes we have determined to call out our arriere-ban, and to muster such forces of those who have been accustomed to bear arms as may be sufficient to enable us to resist the perverse dispositions and attempts of the duke of Burgundy, his accomplices and adherents, to reduce them to that subjection and obedience which they owe to us, and to punish them for their traitorous misdeeds, so that honour may redound to us, and they may serve in future as examples to all others.

"We give it in command by these presents to our well beloved and faithful counsellors, members of our parliament, to the provost of Paris, to the bailiff of Amiens, and to all other our officers of justice, to their deputies, and to each of them to whom it may appertain, that they do proclaim these presents, or cause them to be proclaimed, in the most public places within their jurisdictions where such proclamations have usually been made, so that no one may plead ignorance of the same. Commanding also, at the same time, that all our officers and subjects who may have been used to arms do hasten with all possible speed to join and serve us in such things as we may command, with as many men-at-arms as they can collect, under pain of our highest displeasure and suffering confiscation of effects, or such other punishment as may be awarded against all who shall in any way disobey these our said commands.

"In testimony of which, we have to these presents affixed our seal.—Given at Paris, the 10th day of February, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d." Thus signed by the king, on the report of the great council, held by the queen and my lord of Aquitaine. Countersigned, "Derion."

This edict was proclaimed in Amiens, and afterward in the provostships, and throughout the bailiwick, by commission from the said bailiff.

CHAPTER CXVI.—THE CHAINS ARE TAKEN AWAY FROM THE STREETS OF PARIS.—THE PARISIANS ARE KEPT IN GREAT SUBJECTION.—OTHER ROYAL EDICTS ARE PROCLAIMED.

When the duke of Burgundy, as has been said, was returned to his own country, Tanneguy du Châtel *, who had lately been appointed provost of Paris, and Remonnet de la Guerre, were commissioned by the dukes of Berry and of Orleans to take down all the chains that had been affixed to the different streets and squares in Paris, and carry them to

* Hervè, lord of Châtel, a powerful baron of Bretagne, was the father of William lord of Châtel, who was killed on an expedition to the English coast, and is mentioned above; Oliver (who succeeded him as lord of Châtel), and Tanneguy, chamberlain to the king and provost of Paris.

the bastille of St. Antoine and to the castle of the Louvre. They also seized the arms of the burghers and inhabitants, and carried them to the said fortresses, riding daily through the streets attended by a strong force, and followed by cars and carts, which conveyed the arms and chains to the places appointed for receiving them. There was not, at that period, any burgher who dared even to carry a quarter-staff. The same men-at-arms kept a very strict watch day and night at the gates and on the walls, at the expense of the inhabitants, without attention being paid to their complaints, or placing the smallest confidence in them. They were consequently very much discontented, and sore at heart, when they saw how they were treated; and many now repented that they had put themselves under the government of the enemies of the duke of Burgundy, but dared not show it openly.

In regard to the duke, various edicts were issued against him, charging him with attempting to seduce the king's subjects from their obedience. One, addressed to the bailiff of Amiens, was as follows:

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, health and greeting. Whereas it has come to our knowledge, that John, our cousin of Burgundy, our rebellious and disobedient enemy, has written, and sent at different times, sealed letters, as well to our good town of Paris as to many others within our realm, with the intent to seduce and deceive our subjects, and enable him to accomplish the damnable enterprise which he lately formed of marching a large army into Paris. We have, by our letters, expressly commanded, that no one, whatever may be his rank, should receive any of these letters from the duke of Burgundy; and should any have been received, that no answer whatever should be made to them, but that they should be sent to us, or to our chancellor, to do by them as we shall think expedient.

"This said duke of Burgundy, continuing his damnable projects, has lately sent certain letters-patent, sealed with his privy seal, to our town of Paris, which he has caused to be fixed secretly in the night-time to the gates of several churches, and in other public places of the said town, as well as to several others within our realm, as we have heard, by which he declares that he had marched to Paris solely with the intention of delivering us and our very dear and well-beloved son, the duke of Aquitaine, from the bondage in which he said we were held. The said duke further declared, that he would never abandon his attempt until he should have restored us and our dear son to the full enjoyment of our free-will and government. These assertions, and others made by the said duke of Burgundy, are, thanks to God! groundless and notoriously false; for neither ourself nor our dear son have been or are under any subjection whatever; nor are our honour, our justice, or the state of our government, any way wounded or diminished,—but ever since the departure of the duke of Burgundy from Paris, we have governed peaceably, freely, without any hindrance or contradiction. This, however, we were but little able to do, after the horrible murder committed by this said duke on the person of our well-beloved brother Louis, duke of Orleans, whose sins may God pardon! We do now govern, and have governed, our kingdom, since the departure of the aforesaid duke, according to our pleasure and the right that belongs to us, and have been constantly obeyed in all things, humbly and diligently, by all those of our blood and lineage, like as good relations, vassals and loyal subjects should do to their king and sovereign lord, excepting always the duke of Burgundy, who, contrary to our orders and positive commands, has assembled great numbers of men-at-arms and archers, and like an enemy, has marched them to the walls of Paris, having in his company many traitors and murderers, and other criminals against our royal majesty. With such persons, and others who have been banished our realm for similar crimes, the said duke, persevering in his wickedness, attempted to enter Paris, to seize on and usurp (all that he has written to the contrary in his letters notwithstanding) the government of us, of our eldest son, and of the whole kingdom, and to appropriate to himself the finances, as he long did to our very great displeasure, and to the loss of the kingdom, after the said murder by him committed; for the said Burgundian and his adherents are known to have had and received sixty hundred thousand francs and upwards, for which, and various other causes, more fully explained in our ordinances, we have declared him a rebel, a violator of the peace, and, consequently, an enemy to us and to our whole kingdom.

"Whereas several of our subjects and vassals may perchance be ignorant of these said things, and therefore not believe them; and because the said Burgundian, by his written letters, may publish false and wicked lies as may deceive our said vassals, and prove of the utmost detriment to us, our kingdom, and to our faithful and loyal subjects: we being therefore desirous that every person may be fully ascertained of the truth, and in order to counteract such false and damnable lies, do thus publicly signify and make known, that the matters which the said Burgundian has written and published, either by himself or his adherents, are detestable lies, spread abroad to seduce and deceive our people, and to enable him to succeed in his damnable design. It is therefore our determination, with the aid of God, to oppose this duke by every means in our power, and to reduce him, his abettors, accomplices and adherents, under such subjection as befits vassals who are disobedient to their lord and sovereign. Such is our will, and we shall never depart from it. We therefore command and strictly enjoin, under pain of our displeasure, that you instantly do proclaim, in the most public manner, these presents in every place within your bailiwick where such proclamations are usually made, so that no one may plead ignorance thereof. You will likewise forbid, in our name, all our vassals within your jurisdiction, on the faith, loyalty and obedience they owe us, and under pain of being reputed rebels, and suffering the punishments due to such, henceforward to receive any letters from the said duke of Burgundy, his adherents or allies. Should any letters be sent them, we order that they do not open them, nor make any communications thereof,—but that they do bring them sealed up to our trusty and well-beloved chancellor, for him to do therewith as he may judge proper. And we, by these presents, do absolutely forbid them, under pain of the aforesaid penalties, in any way to advise, comfort or support, or show favour to the said duke of Burgundy, his partisans or allies, that they may prove themselves faithful and obedient subjects to us, as they are so bounden; otherwise, they shall be punished like rebels, to serve for examples to all others.

"Given at Paris, the 17th day of February, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d." Thus signed by the king, on the report of his grand council, and countersigned "E. Mauregard."

Shortly after, another edict was issued against the duke of Burgundy, and proclaimed throughout the kingdom at the usual places, the tenor of which was as follows:

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting. Whereas it is so notorious to all our subjects, that none can pretend ignorance thereof, that John, our cousin of Burgundy, has lately advanced to the walls of our good town of Paris, with a large body of men-at-arms and archers, contrary to our positive orders, and in defiance of our will and pleasure, solemnly made known to him, as well by ambassadors as by sealed letters from us: that he captured the town of St. Denis, and made of it a bulwark against our city of Paris, marching thence to the walls of our said city with displayed banners, and sending his scouts to the gates thereof: that he has seized and retains the possession of many of our towns by occupying them with a force of men-at-arms, more particularly Compiegne and Soissons: that he has now under his orders a very numerous army within our kingdom, to our great prejudice and to the oppression of the realm: that he has published certain declarations, as a colour for this disobedient and rebellious conduct, which are all of them perfectly false and malicious, his intention being to attempt gaining admittance, by fair or foul means, into our good city of Paris, to do his pleasure on us, our very dear companion the queen, our well-beloved son the duke of Aquitaine, and on others of our blood and lineage within the said city, and consequently to regain the whole government of the kingdom, in like manner as it is notorious he did formerly usurp it, and by his tyrannical domination caused irreparable injuries to those connected with us by blood, the inhabitants of the town of Paris, and in general to the whole kingdom. For these causes, we have branded him, all his adherents, partisans and allies, as rebels to us and enemies to our kingdom. He is now departed from our town of St. Denis, and we know not what road he has taken; but we have sent you letters to enjoin you to proclaim throughout your bailiwick, that none be so daring, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects, as to serve or join him in the army which he has

raised; and should there be any within your jurisdiction who, in defiance of these our orders, shall have joined the said duke, we order you to seize their persons, and confiscate their estates which lie within your bailiwick, for our use.

"Notwithstanding these explicit orders, you have been, as we have heard, very dilatory and negligent in obeying them, and have paid but little attention thereto: should this have been the case, we are, and not without reason, much displeased. We therefore again command, and most strictly enjoin, on penalty of dismission from your office, that on the receipt of these presents, you do proclaim them, or cause them to be proclaimed, in all the accustomed places within your bailiwick, so that no one, whatever be his rank, may think of joining or serving the duke of Burgundy, in the army which he has assembled; and that all who may have joined him may instantly return to their homes, under pain of suffering corporal punishment and confiscation of effects. And whereas it is notorious, that many persons within your jurisdiction have joined the duke of Burgundy, and that others are his supporters and abettors, who, contrary to our pleasure, have murmured and continue discontented, attempting also to deceive and seduce our people from their allegiance, and endeavouring, as we have heard, by every possible means, to advise and comfort the said duke of Burgundy: we therefore enjoin you, under the penalties aforesaid, to take instant possession of all their effects, moveable and immoveable, within your district, and wherever they may be, for us and in our name. You will act in like manner to all whom you may know to be favourable to the said duke of Burgundy, and partisans in his abominable and traitorous designs. Nevertheless, if you can lay hands on any of their persons, you will instantly arrest them wherever they may be, except in sanctuaries, and immediately inflict such corporal punishment on them as they may have deserved. Should you not be able to do this, summon them to appear, under penalty of banishment and confiscation of effects. You will also command, by proclamation, all who are bound to serve us, to hasten to join us with as numerous a body of men-at-arms as possible, that we may effectually oppose the duke of Burgundy and his accomplices, reduce them to the obedience they owe us, and punish them according to their misdeeds, and the tenor of those letters which we have before addressed to you. Do you be careful to execute punctually and diligently these our orders, that we may not proceed against you for disobedience.

"Given at Paris the 20th day of February, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d." Thus signed by the king, on the report of the grand council held by the queen and the duke of Aquitaine. Countersigned, "J. DU CHATEL." It was proclaimed in Amiens and its bailiwick by orders of the bailiff and his deputies on the last day of February and the following days.

Letters-patent were also sent to the nobles of Artois from the king, and to those who had attended the duke of Burgundy in his march to Paris from the bailiwicks of Amiens, Tournay, and the Vermandois; and to those who had remained at home were sent letters sealed with the small round seal. The first letters, in the king's name, forbade these nobles, under pain of the before-mentioned penalties, to accompany, or to give counsel or aid, to the said duke of Burgundy, and commanded them to prepare themselves and their horses to serve the king against this Burgundian and his abettors. By the second, they were ordered to collect as large a force as they could, and advance to Paris and join the king there, or wherever else he might be, that he might be enabled to impugn and humble the duke of Burgundy, his partisans and advisers. These letters were forwarded to the bailiff of Amiens by the chancellor, who sent them, according to orders, to the provostships and bailiwicks, for the guards in each to deliver them to those within their districts to whom they were addressed. These guards were to receive hostages, if possible, and send them to Paris, and they were to write word what other securities they had obtained. Should they not receive any, nor letters of acknowledgment, they were also to write this, that it might be known who had and who had not received these letters from the king.

About this time, the bishop of Paris, at the request of the university, sent to the duke of Burgundy, to know whether he would avow those arguments which master John Petit had advanced by his desire against the late duke of Orleans. The duke, in reply, told the messengers, that he would neither avow nor support the said master John, saving his just

rights. On this answer being carried to Paris, it was ordered by the bishop and the inquisitor of the faith, that the aforesaid arguments should be condemned, and publicly burnt in the presence of the clergy, and of whoever else might choose to witness it. When this was done, it was proposed that the bones of the said master John Petit should be sought for in the town of Hêdin, where he had died,—for it was intended to burn them in the same place where his arguments had been burnt,—but in the end nothing more was done.

CHAPTER CXVII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HOLDS A GRAND CONFERENCE WITH HIS NOBLES IN ARRAS, WHO PROMISE TO SERVE HIM AGAINST ALL HIS ENEMIES.

The duke of Burgundy daily received intelligence that the king and the duke of Aquitaine were completely turned against him, through the means of those who then governed. In consequence, he assembled all his nobles of Artois and Picardy at Arras. On his appearing among them, he first apologised for having made them wait, saying that he had been at Paris in obedience to the commands of the duke of Aquitaine, and again caused to be read the letters which he had received from him. He added, that he had left large bodies of his men-at-arms in the towns of Compiegne and Soissons, at the request of the inhabitants; for they had learnt that the king, by the advice of his present ministers, was raising a large force to reconquer these towns. He then asked the nobles, whether he might depend on their support. They replied, that they would cheerfully serve him against all his enemies, saving the king of France and his children. This they all promised excepting the lord de Ront, who declared that he would serve him even against the king of France.

At this period, there raged an epidemical disorder throughout France and other countries; it affected the head, and very many died of it, both old and young. It was called the coqueluche *.

CHAPTER CXVIII.—A GRAND COUNCIL HELD, IN THE KING'S NAME, AT PARIS.

On the 2d day of March, in this year, was held a grand council, at the hotel of St. Pol, in the presence of the queen and the duke of Aquitaine, (because the king was not then in perfect health,) of many princes and prelates beside the ordinary members of the council. The chancellor of France harangued for a considerable time on the behaviour of the duke of Burgundy, and how he had conducted himself toward the king and the princes of the blood at many and divers times, since the death of Louis duke of Orleans: that lately, in defiance of the commands of the king and the duke of Aquitaine, he had marched a powerful force of men-at-arms and archers, with displayed banners, to the very walls of Paris, committing at the same time irreparable damages to the kingdom: he had likewise placed garrisons in the towns of Compiegne and Soissons, who daily made open war on the subjects of the king, in like manner as our ancient enemies of England would have done: that since he had thus notoriously broken the peace that had been agreed to at Auxerre, and confirmed at Pontoise, the chancellor earnestly demanded those present, on their allegiance, to declare what measures the king and the duke of Aquitaine should pursue against the duke of Burgundy.

This council consisted of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon and Bar, the counts d'Alençon, de Vertus†, de Richemont, d'Eu, de Dampmartin, d'Armagnac, de Vendôme, de Marle and de Touraine; the lord d'Albreth, constable of France, the archbishop of Sens, and many other prelates, with a considerable number of notable barons, knights and esquires of the royal council. When they had for some time deliberated on the

* The coqueluche was a contagious disorder, much dreaded in the fifteenth century. Its usual symptoms were a violent defluxion on the chest, accompanied with severe pains in the head.—*Dict. de Trevoux.*

† Brother to the duke of Orleans.—Vertus, from which he took his title, was originally a fief of Champagne, and fell with that palatinate to the crown of France. King John gave it to John Galeas, duke of Milan, as the dowry of his daughter Isabel, wife to that duke. It descended to Valentina, his daughter, and came with her into the house of Orleans: afterwards, by the family partition made in 1445, it passed to Margaret of Orleans, wife to Richard count of Estampes, and was given to a bastard branch of the house of Bretagne.

chancellor's demand, they replied, by the mouth of the archbishop of Sens, that the king might legally and honourably wage war on the duke of Burgundy, considering the manner in which he had conducted and continued to conduct himself with regard to him. It was then resolved, that the king should raise a large army, and march in person against the duke and his adherents, to subjugate them, and reduce their country to obedience. The queen, the duke of Aquitaine, all the princes, and the whole council, then engaged, and solemnly swore, on their faith and loyalty, that they would never pay attention to any letters or embassy from the said duke, until he and his allies should be destroyed, or at least humbled and reduced to obedience.

When the council broke up, clerks were employed to write letters, which were despatched to divers countries, and throughout France; and the king at this time raised a larger army than he had done during his whole reign,—insomuch, that in a very short time, by the activity of the said princes, and by the king's summons, a very great multitude of men-at-arm were collected round Paris, and in the parts adjacent in the Isle of France. Some of the captains were despatched with a large body of men toward the town of Compiegne, which, as I have before said, was garrisoned by the duke of Burgundy, namely, the lord Charles d'Albreth, constable of France, sir Hector, bastard of Bourbon, Remonnet de la Guerre, the lord de Gaucourt* and several others,—who, on their forming the siege, had many and severe skirmishes with those of the town, as they made frequent sallies night and day, and at the beginning did them much damage. They were, however, often driven back by the besiegers into the town, which was under the government of sir Hugh de Launay, the lord de Saint Legier, and his son, the lord Mauroy, Hector Philippe, le bon de Saveuses†, the lord de Sorres, knights, Louvelet de Malinghen, and many other notable men-at-arms, by orders of the duke of Burgundy. These captains, to prevent the besiegers from quartering themselves at their ease, were diligent in harassing them, and burnt all the suburbs, with many handsome buildings, as well houses as churches. The besiegers, on their side, were not idle: they threw two bridges over the river Oise, to succour each other should there be occasion, and pointed against the walls and gates two large engines, which annoyed them much.

The king of France on the Saturday in the holy week, the third of April, marched out of Paris in a triumphant manner, and with great state, to the town of Senlis to wait for his army. He there celebrated the feast of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. The king and the duke of Aquitaine wore, on this expedition, the badge and arms of the count d'Armagnac, laying aside that noble and gallant banner which he and his royal predecessors had hitherto borne, for the plain white cross. Many of the great barons, knights, and other loyal servants of the king and the duke, were much displeased at this, saying, that it was not becoming the excellence of his royal majesty to bear the arms of so poor a lord as the count d'Armagnac, particularly as it was for his own personal quarrel, and within his own realm. This banner, which was now the cause of such rejoicing, had been given to an ancestor of the said count, by the decision of a pope, to be borne for ever by him, and his heirs and successors, as a penalty for certain crimes committed by his predecessors against the church.

CHAPTER CXIX.—THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE LEAVES PARIS, AND JOINS THE KING OF FRANCE AT SENLIS.—HE MARCHES THENCE TO LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF COMPIEGNE.

[A. D. 1414.]

At the beginning of this year, namely, on Easter-Monday, the duke of Aquitaine set out from Paris with a noble company, and went to Senlis, to join the king his father. The king then departed from Senlis, attended by many princes and prelates, and a grand assemblage of chivalry, to fix his quarters at Verberie‡. The queen and the duchess of Aquitaine, who

* John, lord of Gaucourt, died in 1393, leaving Raoul V. lord of Gaucourt. Eustace, lord of Veri, great-falconer of France, and John, lord of Maisons-sur-Seine. Raoul V. was chamberlain to the king, and bailiff of Rouen: he was killed in the year 1417, and left a son, Raoul VI., who became grand-master of France, and is much distinguished hereafter.

† Saveuse, an ancient house in Picardy.

‡ Verberie,—a town in Picardy, on the Oise, three leagues from Senlis, four from Compiegne.

had come with the duke from Paris, went to lodge at Meaux-in-Brie. The duke of Berry remained behind, as governor of Paris and the adjacent country. King Louis of Sicily went to Angiers, and thence returned to Paris, and did not attend the king on this expedition. The king of France, on leaving Verberie, marched toward Compiegne; and when he had approached near, he sent one of his heralds to the gates of the town, to announce to those within that the king was coming, that they might, like loyal subjects, admit him as their lord. The townsmen made answer, that they would very cheerfully admit him and his son, the duke of Aquitaine, with their attendants, but no more. The herald carried this answer to the king, who had lodged himself in a small house between the town and the forest, and the duke of Aquitaine in the monastery of Roy-au-lieu. The other princes and captains quartered themselves as well as they could; and the king's batteries kept constantly playing against the town, to which they did much damage, while skirmishes frequently happened between the two parties. One of them is deserving of notice. When the month of May was near at hand, sir Hector, bastard of Bourbon, sent to inform the besieged, that on the first of May he would try their courage. On that day, he accordingly mounted his horse, attended by about two hundred able men-at-arms and some foot-soldiers, having all May garlands over their helmets: he led them to the gate of Pierrefons, to present a May garland to the besieged, as he had promised. The besieged made a stout resistance, insomuch that it became very serious, and several were killed and wounded on each side: the bastard of Bourbon had his horse killed under him, and was in great danger of being made prisoner or slain.

While these things were passing, the duke of Burgundy held many conferences with the Flemings, to persuade them to levy a certain number of men, that he might raise the siege of Compiegne; but they refused, alleging that they could not bear arms against the king of France. The duke of Burgundy, to whom his people in Compiegne had sent to know if they might expect succours, advised them to make the best terms they could with the king and the duke of Aquitaine. On hearing this, they offered to open the gates to the king and his army, on condition that the troops of the duke of Burgundy should retire in safety with their effects,—they promising, or their captain for them, that they would never again oppose the king, or the duke of Aquitaine, in any town which belonged to them. The king consented to pardon the inhabitants, and to receive them again into favour, without touching their lives or fortunes. Thus on Monday, the 8th day of May, at the same time that the troops of the duke of Burgundy marched out under passports from the king and the duke of Aquitaine to fix their quarters in Artois, the royal army marched into Compiegne.

At this time, Waleran, count de St. Pol, who still called himself constable of France, riding from Amiens to his castle of St. Pol, had a severe fall, and broke his leg: the pain was so great that he was carried to St. Pol; but there was a report current, that he pretended to have been thus sorely hurt in order to be excused from obeying the king's summons, which had been often repeated to him; and also out of regard to the duke of Burgundy, whom he saw much distressed, and was perplexed how to assist him in his quarrel. In like manner, sir James de Châtillon, lord of Dampierre, styling himself admiral of France, remained all this season at his castle of Rolaincourt, pretending to be confined with the gout, which often attacked him, in order to be excused, like the constable, from serving in the king's army, or * joining the duke of Burgundy, of whose success he was very desirous. Their dependants, however, who were accustomed to follow them in arms to war, or at least the greater part of them, joined the duke of Burgundy and his partisans. This war placed many lords in disagreeable situations and perplexities; for they knew not well how to steer, with honour to themselves, between the two parties.

* There must be some mistake here in the original. It ought probably to be *against* instead of *or*.

CHAPTER CXX. — THE KING OF FRANCE MARCHES HIS ARMY FROM COMPIEGNE TO SOISSONS, WHICH HE BESIEGES AND TAKES BY STORM :—IT IS PILLAGED AND DESTROYED.

The king, having reduced the town of Compiegne to his obedience, departed, on the 5th day of May *, with his army, to lay siege to the town of Soissons, of which place the brave Enguerrand de Bournouville was governor. The van division had before advanced thither, under the command of the duke of Bar, the count d'Armagnac, Clugnet de Brabant, calling himself admiral of France, the bastard of Bourbon, sir Aymé de Sallebruche, and other able captains. The inhabitants of Soissons, perceiving that they should be besieged, acted like to those of Compiegne, in destroying their suburbs, with many noble buildings, churches and houses. Notwithstanding this, they were, on the arrival of the royal army, very closely besieged. The king, on his coming thither, sent to summon the town to surrender itself to his obedience, otherwise the inhabitants were in the road to destruction; but in defiance of this, they resolved to defend themselves against the king's army, in the hope of receiving reinforcements from their lord and master the duke of Burgundy, who had promised to succour them by a certain day.

The king fixed his quarters in the convent of St. Jean des Vignes of the order of St. Augustin: the dukes of Aquitaine and of Orleans were lodged in the abbey of St. Quentin, and the other princes and lords in the best manner they could. With sir Enguerrand within the town, were sir Collart de Phiennes, Lamon de Launoy, sir Pierre Menau, Gilles du Plessis, the old lord de Menau, full of years and riches, Guyot le Bouteiller, with many more warriors from the Boulonois, Artois, and Picardy. There were also full four hundred English soldiers; but owing to some quarrels, the townsmen and those under the command of Bournouville, were not on good terms together, by which their strength was much weakened. The king's forces were very diligent in their daily attempts to annoy the town, by means of bombards, cannon, bricolles, and other engines of destruction. They were also frequently played off during the night against the walls and gates, which greatly damaged them in several places, and harassed the garrison. At length, on the 21st of May, the place was vigorously stormed on every side; but before this happened, some new knights were created, among whom were Louis duke of Bavaria, the count de Richemont, and the provost of Paris.

The van division posted on the opposite side, under the command of the duke of Bar, the count of Armagnac, and Remonnet de la Guerre, made their attack at the same time; and the princes and leaders urged their men on with such bravery, that in spite of the obstinate resistance of the besieged, the king's forces made an entry by a large breach which had been effected by the engines, and there the combat raged,—for every inch was disputed with lances, battle-axes, and swords, hand to hand. During the storm, the commander of the English forces within the town, having held a parley with some of his countrymen in the king's army, caused a gate leading to the river to be cut down, through which the count d'Armagnac's men rushed, and hoisted, on the highest tower, the banner of their count; and the greater part of the English suddenly turned against the townsmen.

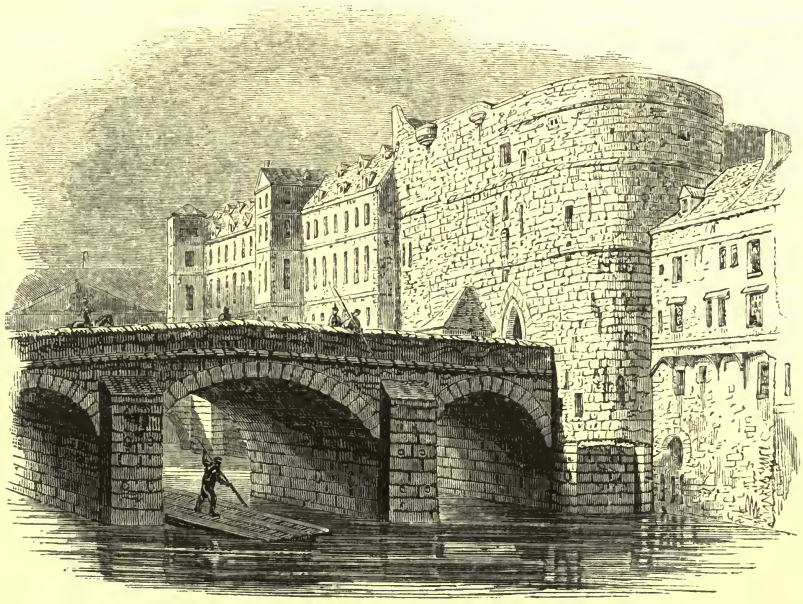
Soon after, the army forced an entrance through the walls, putting all they met to the sword, inhabitants and garrison indiscriminately. During this attack, as Enguerrand de Bournouville was riding through different parts of the town, to encourage his men, he was pursued through a narrow street which had a chain thrown across it by some of the men of Remonnet de la Guerre, who pressed on him so much that he was forced to retreat and attempt to leap over the chain; but, in so doing, his horse could not clear it, and remained suspended, when he was made prisoner and led with great joy to Remonnet. The others, seeing the town was taken, retired to different parts within the gates, and the towers of the walls,—whence, parleying with their enemies, they surrendered, on promise of their lives being spared. Those who defended their posts were slain or made prisoners: in short,

* Monstrelet mentions in the preceding chapter, that the king of France made his public entry into Compiegne on the 8th day of May.

including the townsmen with the duke's garrison, there were that day full twelve hundred killed or taken.

In regard to the destruction committed by the king's army in Soissons, it cannot be estimated; for, after they had plundered all the inhabitants and their dwellings, they despoiled the churches and monasteries. They even took and robbed the most part of the sacred shrines of many bodies of saints, which they stripped of all the precious stones, gold and silver, together with many other jewels and holy things appertaining to the aforesaid churches. There is not a Christian but would have shuddered at the atrocious excesses committed by this soldiery in Soissons: married women violated before their husbands, young damsels in the presence of their parents and relatives, holy nuns, gentlewomen of all ranks, of whom there were many in the town: all, or the greater part, were violated against their wills, and known carnally by divers nobles and others, who, after having satiated their own brutal passions, delivered them over without mercy to their servants; and there is no remembrance of such disorder and havoc being done by Christians, considering the many persons of high rank that were present, and who made no efforts to check them: there were also many gentlemen in the king's army who had relations in the town, as well secular as churchmen, but the disorder was not the less on that account.

During the storming of the place, several, foreseeing that it must be taken, thought to save themselves by escaping over the walls to the river, and swimming across; but the greater part were drowned, as their bodies were found in divers parts of the stream. Some women of rank were, however, in this disorder, conducted to the quarters of the king and the duke of Aquitaine by their friends, and thus saved from suffering the like infamy with others who could not escape from the place. During the siege, sir Hector, bastard of Bourbon, as prudent and valiant in arms as any of the king's party, while parleying with Enguerrand de Bournouville, was so grievously wounded in the face by an arrow that he died; and the duke



Prison of the Chatelet, Paris.—From a print in Millin's Antiquités Nationales.

of Bourbon, who much loved his brother, conceived, on account of this act, which he thought was treacherously done, so violent a hatred against Enguerrand, and some others of the besieged, that he prevailed on the king and council to have him beheaded, his head placed

on a lance, and his body hung by the shoulders on a gibbet. Many princes and captains, notwithstanding Enguerrand had been their enemy, were greatly displeased at his death, and not without cause, for he was at that time renowned as the flower of the warriors of all France. With him were beheaded sir Pierre de Menau, one of the governors of the town,—and of the inhabitants, master Aussiel Bassuel, advocate, and four other gentlemen, whose heads were put on lances, and their bodies hung in the usual manner on the gibbet.

Master John Titet, a wise and learned advocate, by whom all the business of the town had until then been managed, was carried with some others to Laon, and there examined: he was afterwards beheaded, and hung by the shoulders on a gallows. Fifty-one persons were sent to the Châtelet prison in Paris, several of whom were beheaded, such as Gilles du Plessis, knight, and others. Very many of the townsmen, English archers, and soldiers of the garrison were hung on a gibbet without Soissons: others escaped death by ransoming themselves, namely, the old lord de Menau, sir Colart de Phiennes, Lamon de Launoy, Guyot le Bouteiller, and great numbers of gentlemen. Those who had taken them allowed them their liberty, on their promising to send the amount of their ransoms by a certain day, so that the king's justice might not be inflicted upon them. After some days had passed, the king caused to be restored, by some of the pillagers, the bones of many bodies of saints, and divers relics; but all the gold and jewels that had adorned them were gone; and even in this state, many were forced to buy them back for large sums, when they were replaced in the churches from which they had been stolen.

Thus was this grand and noble city of Soissons, strong from its situation, walls and towers, full of wealth, and embellished with fine churches and holy relics, totally ruined and destroyed by the army of king Charles and of the princes who accompanied him. The king, however, before his departure, gave orders for its rebuilding, and appointed new officers for the defence and support of it,—who, when the army had marched away, recalled as many as possible of the inhabitants who had fled before it was taken. The king also granted a total abolition of taxes, excepting, nevertheless, those who had been principally instrumental in admitting the Burgundians within their town.

CHAPTER CXXI.—THE KING, AFTER THE CAPTURE OF SOISSONS, MARCHES TO ST. QUENTIN, AND THENCE TO PERONNE, TO FACILITATE HIS ENTRANCE INTO ARTOIS.

Having done these things at Soissons, the king departed, and went to the town of Laon, where he was magnificently and joyfully received by the clergy, burghers, and inhabitants of that town. Shortly after his arrival, Philip count de Nevers, baron de Donsy of the royal lineage, and brother to the duke of Burgundy, came thither under the protection of a passport from the king, and was lodged by the royal harbingers, in the abbey of Saint Martin des Premonstrés. He had been informed by some of his friends, that the king intended to send into his country of Rethel a large force to seize his person; and for this reason he had come to Laon to surrender into the king's hand the lordships and estates he possessed in France, and to solicit mercy and pardon for all his offences, promising henceforward not to assist his brother, the duke of Burgundy, openly or secretly, in this quarrel against the king his sovereign lord. What he requested was granted; and the lord de Lor with others of his vassals were given as hostages for the faithful observance of these promises. He then departed, with the king's leave, to Mezieres on the Meuse.

While the king remained at Laon, he ordered fresh proclamations to be made throughout his realm, to obtain the aid of his knights and others who were accustomed to bear arms for him. On the 10th day of June he marched to Tierrache, thence to Ribermont and to St. Quentin; at which place, the countess of Hainault, sister to the duke of Burgundy, came to him, with a noble attendance of two hundred horsemen, to endeavour to make peace between the king and the duke of Aquitaine and the duke of Burgundy. But when the king heard what terms she had to propose, there was an end of the business; and, seeing no prospect of success, she took leave of the king, and left Saint Quentin, and went to the duke of Bourbon and Charles d'Albreth, constable of France, the commanders of the rear division of the army.

Four of the king's knights escorted her until she met two hundred Burgundian men-at-arms. This body of troops was under the command of Sir Gaultier de Ruppes, the lords de Montagu* and de Toulongeon, Sir Guillaume de Champ-divers, le Veau de Bar, bailiff of Auxois†, and others, quartered at Marle‡, who were on their road towards Hainault.

The moment the king of France's knights perceived them, they returned with all speed to give information that they had seen the Burgundians, in order that they might be encountered. The duke of Bourbon, the constable, and many others, instantly made themselves ready, to the amount of four thousand combatants, and galloped away as fast as their horses could carry them, through la Chapelle in Tierrache, to overtake the Burgundians. They continued their pursuit as far as the bridge of Verberie over the Sambre, near to Beaumont, when they came up with the baggage, and killed or made prisoners several of the escort: among the last was le Veau de Bar, bailiff of Auxois. They still pursued the Burgundians until they came near to Nôtre Dame de Halle, but they had then secured themselves within the suburbs of Brussels. Finding that all hopes of overtaking them were vain, the French knights retreated through Hainault, plundered many of its inhabitants, who little suspected it, and arrived at Guise in Tierrache, where they met the king and his whole army, who had returned thither to combat his enemies. Duke William count of Hainault was highly displeased with this expedition, because his country had been overrun and pillaged. Soon after, the king marched back to St. Quentin, and the Burgundians, who were before Oudenarde, went to Douay, where they met the duke of Burgundy, who received them as cordially as if they had been his brethren. The lady of Hainault, his sister, came thither also, who had endeavoured, as has been said, with all her power, to conclude a peace between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, but hitherto she had been unsuccessful.

The king and the princes advanced from St. Quentin to Peronne,—and his majesty was lodged in the castle. He devoutly celebrated the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the church of St. Quentin; and on the morrow of this feast the countess of Hainault returned, with her brother the duke of Brabant, to renew her propositions for peace. They were royally and magnificently entertained, after which the king inquired the cause of their coming. On the following Sunday, the first day of July, the duke of Guienne gave the lady and her brother a magnificent dinner, when they were solemnly feasted. This countess was also accompanied by some of the chief citizens of the Quatre-Mestiers, as deputies from the three estates of Flanders to the king, who graciously received them,—and, on their departure, properly distributed among them presents, of one hundred mares of silver in gilt plate, which pleased them mightily. But neither the lady nor her brother, the duke of Brabant, could at this time obtain peace for the duke of Burgundy; on which account, they returned to him at Douay dejected and sorrowful. The duke, hearing of their ill success, concluded bargains with his captains for their support of him against all his enemies, excepting the persons of the king of France and the duke of Aquitaine. After this, the duke departed into his country of Flanders.

CHAPTER CXXII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY PLACES GARRISONS IN DIFFERENT TOWNS AND CASTLES.—THE KING OF FRANCE MARCHES HIS ARMY FROM PERONNE TO BESIEGE BAPAUME§.

Such was the state of affairs on the departure of the duke of Burgundy, with the greater part of the Burgundians, under the command of Sir Gaultier de Ruppes and others, from Douay. Sir John de Luxembourg, then a young knight, was intrusted with the government of Arras; but there were appointed, as his advisers, the lord de Ront, sir William Bouveir,

* Alexander, son of Hugh III. duke of Burgundy, was the first lord of Montagu in 1205. From him descended the two branches, of Sombernon, extinct in 1391, and of Conches. Philibert de Montagu, lord of Conches, lived in 1404. He married into the house of Vienne.

† Auxois,—a country in Burgundy, of which Semur is the capital.

‡ Marle,—a town in Picardy, five leagues from Laon, thirteen from Soissons.

§ Bapaume,—a strong town in Artois, eleven leagues from Amiens.

lieutenant-governor of Arras, the lord de Noyelle, surnamed Le Blanc Chevalier, Allain de Vendosme, with a body of troops to the number of six hundred men-at-arms and as many archers. Those from Burgundy were commanded by the lord de Montagu, captain-in-chief, the lord de Vienne*, the borgne de Toulongeon knight, sir William de Champ-divers, the bastard of Granson, to the amount of six hundred men-at-arms. The lord de Beauford-à-la-barbe was commander of the commonalty; and in all the other towns were appointed able men, according to the good pleasure of the duke of Burgundy. These warriors made frequent excursions on the lands of such as were attached to the Orleans party; and one day sir John de Luxembourg, with a large detachment, advanced to the town of Hamme on the Somme, belonging to the duke of Orleans, which was pillaged and robbed of everything portable that it contained; and many of the adjacent villages shared the same fate, from the aforesaid cause. In like manner, Hector de Saveuses, Philippe de Saveuses his brother, Louis de Wargis, and some other captains, crossed the river Somme at Hauges, near to Pecquigny, and thence advanced to the town of Blangy, near Monchiaux, belonging to the count d'Eu, which was filled with much wealth. This was soon plundered by the Burgundians, who carried away men and all portable effects, and returned with them into Artois. Such expeditions did the duke of Burgundy's partisans often make, to the sore distress of the poor inhabitants.

On the 9th day of July, the king and the princes left Peronne, on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Cuerlu, and proceeding thence, fixed their quarters on the banks of a river, very near to Miraumont†. On the Thursday following, he came before Bapaume, a town belonging to the duke of Burgundy; and at this place the count d'Auxerre was made a

Arrival of the King at the Nunnery of Bapaume.—Designed from contemporary authorities.

knight by the duke of Bourbon, who commanded the van division, and had arrived before Bapaume at break of day. The king also created, with his own hand, the count d'Alençon a knight, as well as some others. The lords de Boissay and de Gaucourt at this time exer-

* William IV. de Vienne, lord of St. Georges, &c., surnamed the Wise, was counsellor and chamberlain both to the king and duke of Burgundy. He was at the bridge of Montereau when the duke was killed in 1419, and died in 1434. There were several junior branches of the house; but I cannot tell which is here meant.

† Miraumont,—a village in Picardy, election of Peronne.

cised the functions of Boucicaut and De Longny, the two marshals of France. On the king's arrival, he was lodged at a handsome nunnery without the walls, and his army around the place, so that it was soon encompassed on all sides. This town is on an elevated situation, without spring or running water; and as the season was very dry, the soldiers were forced to fetch their water from a rivulet, near to Miraumont, in bottles, casks, and suchlike vessels, which they transported on cars or otherwise the best way they could, so that they and their horses suffered more from thirst than famine. This caused many to sink wells, and in a few days more than fifty were opened, and the water was so abundant that a horse could be watered for four farthings. It happened, that on a certain day the duke of Aquitaine sent for the chief captains in the town and castle of Bapaume, such as Ferry de Hangest, sir John de Jumont, and Alain d'Anetus, who on their arrival, being asked by the duke why they did not make some overtures to the king for the surrender of the town and castle to their sovereign lord, replied most humbly, that they guarded it for the king and for himself, the king's eldest son, by the orders of the duke of Burgundy. They requested the duke of Aquitaine to grant them an armistice until the following Tuesday, that they might send to the duke of Burgundy for his final orders respecting their conduct, as to surrendering the town and castle. This was granted, and confirmed by the king. They therefore sent to the duke of Burgundy, to inform him of the force that was surrounding the town, and the small provision they had for themselves and their horses. The duke, on hearing this, agreed to their surrendering the place to the king and the duke of Aquitaine, on condition that their lives and fortunes should be spared. This being assented to, they marched out of Bapaume with all their baggage, and were in number about five hundred helmets and three hundred archers. They took the road toward Lille, to join their lord; but, as they were on their departure, the varlet Caboche, who bore the duke's standard, and two merchants of Paris, were arrested; one of them was named Martin Coulommiers; and all three beheaded. Martellet du Mesnil and Galiffre de Jumelles were likewise arrested, for having formed part of the garrison in Compiegne, but were afterwards set at liberty.

In these days, it was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that every one, whatever might be his rank, merchant or otherwise, who should repair to the king's army, should wear the upright cross as a badge, under pain of confiscation of goods and corporal punishment. At this period, also, ambassadors were sent to Cambray, the principal of whom were the lord of Ivry, and the lord de Ligny, a native of Hainault, at that time keeper of the king's privy seal, attended by many knights and others, to the amount of two hundred helmets. On their arrival at Cambray, they had a conference with the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainault, but could not agree on any terms for a peace, on which the ambassadors returned to the king's army, and the duke of Brabant and the lady of Hainault went back to the duke of Burgundy at Lille, to signify to him that they had not been able to come to any terms with the king of France.

CHAPTER CXXIII.—THE INHABITANTS OF ARRAS FORTIFY THEIR TOWN VERY STRONGLY, AND BURN AND DESTROY SEVERAL HANDSOME EDIFICES WHICH WERE AROUND IT.

The townsmen of Arras, daily expecting to be besieged by the army of the king of France, made great preparations to defend themselves against all adversaries. They erected bulwarks without the walls, and formed barriers of large oak trees placed one on the other, with deep ditches, so that the walls could not be approached without first having gained these outworks. They planted cannons and veuglaires (veuglaria), with other offensive engines on the walls and towers, to annoy the enemy; and, as I have before said, sir John de Luxembourg was governor-general of the place, having under him many very expert captains, whom I have mentioned, and who were always unanimous in their opinions. They resolved to wait for the attack of the king and the princes, and to resist it to the best of their ability; but in the meantime sir John de Luxembourg caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpets throughout the town, that all persons who had wives or families should lose no time in having them and their effects conveyed to other strong places or territories of the duke of

Burgundy, and that whosoever had not collected necessaries for some months must leave the place.

In conseqence of these proclamations, many of the inhabitants carried their wives, families, and fortunes to the towns of Douay, Lille, Bethune, Aire, and other places, according to their pleasure. The governor demolished many handsome buildings and churches that were around the town, namely, the abbey of Tieulloy, the churches of the Cordeliers, Jacobins, and some others. He also burnt on the opposite side of the city the suburbs of Baudemont, which were of large extent, and contained many fine edifices, as well inns as other houses; all of which were burnt and destroyed, to the confusion of the inhabitants of this suburb.

CHAPTER CXXIV.—CHARLES KING OF FRANCE, HAVING REDUCED BAPAUME TO HIS OBEDIENCE, MARCHES TO LAY SIEGE TO ARRAS, AND TO SUBJECT THAT CITY TO HIS POWER.

King Charles of France having, as I have said, reduced the town of Bapaume, to his obedience, departed thence on the 19th day of July with his whole army, and halted at a village called Vercourt, situated on a small brook two leagues from Arras. He had left his engines of war at Bapaume, under the guard of sir Gasselin du Bos and a sufficient garrison. Sir Gasselin, as governor of the town, made the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty, take a solemn oath of fidelity to the king, and to him as his governor.

Arras.—Present State.—From an original drawing.

From Vercourt, the king, passing by Arras, was lodged in the town of Vailly*; at which place, and before the gates of Arras, there were grand skirmishes between the king's army and those within the town. They sallied out of the place in great numbers on horseback against their enemies, of whom they that day, at different times, made sixty or more prisoners, and carried them into the town, with a quantity of baggage. In company with the

* Vailly,—a town in Picardy, near Abbeville.

king were his eldest son Louis, duke of Aquitaine, the dukes of Orleans, of Bourbon, of Bar, and of Bavaria, the counts of Vertus, of Alençon, of Richemont, of Vendôme, of Auxerre, of la Marche, of la Marle, of Eu, of Roussy, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Laon, and the count of Armagnac. The lord Charles d'Albreth, constable of France, was also with the king, and some other knights and esquires of the van division, consisting of three thousand men-at-arms at least, without including archers, so that the whole of the royal army may be estimated at about two hundred thousand persons of all sorts. The king's quarters at Vailly were in a house which had belonged to the Templars, about a cannon-shot from the town, and the duke of Aquitaine was lodged very near him.

Soon after, the duke of Bourbon and others of the van division made an entrance early in the morning into the suburbs of Vaudemont, and there established themselves, in spite of the resistance from Arras, but it was not without a severe conflict. On another day, the duke of Bar, the count de Marle, and the count d'Armagnac, with the rear division, made good a lodgement on the opposite side, in the suburbs of Belle-mocte, so that the city of Arras was now so completely surrounded that scarcely a single person could venture out without being taken, although, during the siege, there were daily sallies made from the town, sometimes on foot, at others on horseback. The besieged often made sallies from two and even three gates within an hour's time, and on these occasions, as it was afterwards known, they gained more than they lost; for, during the siege, they brought into the place upward of twelve score prisoners, and great numbers were in these sallies always left dead on the field.

One particular skirmish took place near the river Scarpe, between the suburbs of Belle-mocte and the postern of Arras, which was very fatal to the besiegers. A party from the vanguard had crossed the river on a plank, one at a time, to the number of six or seven score, purposing to make an attack on the postern; but the besieged instantly sallied forth to combat them, and drove them back to the plank,—when they, finding they could not repass without much danger, rallied and forced their enemies to retreat to the postern. At length, by the valour of a man-at-arms called Perceval le Grand, who was the leader of the townsmen, they were again forced to the water's edge, and so vigorously attacked that fifty at least were killed on the spot, or made prisoners: from fifteen to twenty were drowned in attempting to cross the river, whose bodies, in armour, were dragged out on the following day. About twenty of the besieged were killed or taken in their various sallies. Among those of name made prisoners, were Baugeois de la Beauvriere, the bastard de Belle, the Bastard Dembrine, and some other gentlemen from Burgundy; but they lost the greater part of their best horses in these skirmishes.

The castle of Belle-mocte, situated near to Arras, remained, during the siege, steady to the Burgundy party. The guard of it was given to sir Fleurant d'Ancre and sir Symon de Behaignon: with them was a man-at-arms called Jean Rose, who was strongly suspected of wishing to betray the castle for money, and on that account was made prisoner and his effects confiscated. This fortress was well defended by the said knights for the duke of Burgundy, although the king's army took great pains to conquer it. To speak of all the different expeditions and incursions the king's troops made during this siege into Artois, Ternois, and other parts, would make too long a narrative; but I shall notice that which took effect under one of the bastards of Bourbon, and other captains, with about one thousand combatants. They went on a foraging party into the county of St. Pol, from which they gained an immense booty, in peasants, horses, cattle, sheep, and other things: they even advanced to the town of St. Pol, in which were count Waleran, styling himself constable of France, and the countess his wife, sister to the duke of Bar. They treated count Waleran with much abusive language, and said that he only pretended to be ill to avoid serving the king, his sovereign lord; and that he had manifested his warm affection to the duke of Burgundy by sending his nephew sir John de Luxembourg, with the greater part of his vassals, to assist him. Notwithstanding the count heard all that was said, he would not suffer any of his men to sally out against them, for fear the king and his council should be more discontented with him, and allowed them to burn a considerable part of the suburbs of St. Pol: they then returned to the king's army before Arras with their plunder.

On another day, about twelve hundred combatants assembled, and advanced toward Lucheux*, ransacking the country as far as the town of Hesdin†, and committing much destruction; but the garrisons of Hesdin and of other places in the interest of the duke of Burgundy, pursued them with such activity and vigour, that they not only recovered several whom they had captured, but made many of them prisoners. Thus at different times were excursions made by the king's forces on parts that held out for the duke of Burgundy, by which the poorer people were sorely oppressed and ruined.

On the other hand, the garrisons of the duke of Burgundy, in his towns of Douay, Lens‡, Hesdin, Maizerolles§, and others, made continual excursions and ambuscades against the foragers of the royal forces, and likewise against those who brought provisions to the army from Amiens, Corbie, and other parts, whom they generally robbed, killed, or made prisoners. Hector de Saveuses, a very renowned man-at-arms, was particularly active in this kind of warfare: he usually collected from two to three hundred combatants under his banner, and, by secretly leading them against the king's forces, acquired much fame, and was greatly in the good graces of his lord, the duke of Burgundy; his companions were usually Philippe and Louis de Wargis, Lamon de Launoy, and other expert men-at-arms. The duke of Burgundy having resolved to relieve Arras, sent for all his captains, and, having consulted them, ordered, that on a fixed day they should make an attack on the king's army at Vaudemont, where the van division was quartered, under the command of the duke of Bourbon; and the garrison was to make a sally to support them, of which they were to be timely informed. These captains assembled a force of about four thousand combatants, whose commanders were the lord de Croy, the lord de Fosseux, the lord de Jumont, the lord de Chalons, sir Gautier de Ruppes, and some others, who marched their men to within about four leagues of Arras, and thence sent their scouts forward. The names of these scouts were Actis, Jacques de Breumeur, brother to Louis de Bussy, and others, whose names I have forgotten; but they were all taken by the king's army, and carried to the head-quarters. The duke of Burgundy's captains hearing of this, and supposing their intended attack would be known, were much troubled, and, without doing anything, returned to their garrisons, to the great displeasure of the duke.

During the time the king lay before Arras, his men took the fortress of Avênes-le-Comte, belonging to the duke of Burgundy, and Villers-le-Châtel from the lord de Gournay, both four leagues distant from Arras. They were regarrisoned with a considerable force, who much harassed the adjacent country, and gave the army intelligence of all assemblies of the enemy. All this time the town of Arras was constantly attacked by the cannons, veuglaires, bricolles, and other engines, to the great annoyance of its inhabitants, more especially on the side toward Vaudemont, and, moreover, several mines were made under the walls. One was particularly directed on this side, with the intent of forming a secret entrance to the city, but it was discovered by a counter-mine of the besieged, and a vigorous skirmish took place within it, each party being armed with lances. The count d'Eu fought with sir John de Meschastel, lord de Montagu, very valiantly, considering his youth: he had been knighted on this occasion by his brother-in-law the duke of Bourbon. When this skirmish had lasted some time, both parties retreated to their main army. Sir Louis Bourdon and others were quartered during the siege in the abbey of Mount-St.-Eloy, two leagues off Arras: it was surrounded by a strong wall, and consisted of handsome buildings,—the whole, or the greater part of which, were destroyed by them, the gratings, iron, lead, bells, and everything portable being carried away. Thus at this time was the county of Artois most severely oppressed by the army of the king of France.

* Lucheux,—a town in Picardy, election of Peronne.

† Hesdin,—a strong town in Artois, on the Canche, thirteen leagues from Arras.

‡ Lens,—a town in Artois, on the confines of Flanders.

§ Maizerolles,—a village in Artois.

CHAPTER CXXV.—THE DUKE OF BRABANT AND THE COUNTESS OF HAINAULT VISIT THE KING OF FRANCE WHEN BEFORE ARRAS, AND NEGOTIATE A PEACE FOR THEIR BROTHER THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND HIS ALLIES.

On the morrow of St. John the Baptist's day, the duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainault, and some deputies from the three estates of Flanders, came to the king to negotiate a peace between him and the duke of Aquitaine, and their brother and lord the duke of Burgundy. They arrived about two o'clock in the morning, and were graciously received by the king, the duke of Aquitaine, and others. Prior to the negotiation, an armistice was agreed on between the besiegers and besieged, which lasted until the treaty was concluded. This treaty of peace was publicly proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, in front of the king's tent, at eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday the 4th day of September; and it was strictly ordered, that all persons, under heavy penalties, should lay aside their badges, whether of the party of the king or of the duke of Burgundy, who had worn a St. Andrew's cross, which was instantly done.

On the conclusion of the peace, some lords, who were suffering under a flux, left the king's army, namely, Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, the lord Charles d'Albreth, constable of France, and several more. Sir Aymé de Sellebruche, and an infinite number of others, had died of this disorder; and it was this sickness that had caused the king and the princes to listen to terms of peace, that they might return to France.

PROVOST OF ARRAS PRESENTING THE KEYS OF THE CITY TO THE KING.
Designed from contemporary authorities.

When the peace had been signed, the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainault presented to the king, in the name of the duke of Burgundy, the keys of the town of Arras,

promising at the same time that all the towns and castles of the duke within the realm of France should submit themselves to the obedience of the king. It was ordered by the king and council, that the count de Vendôme, grand-master of the household, should enter the city of Arras, to receive the homage of the inhabitants. On his entrance, he had the king's banners placed over the gates; and having received the oaths of the townsmen, by which they promised henceforth to be good and loyal subjects to the king, he appointed the lord de Quesnes, viscount de Poix *, governor of the place, saving and reserving to the duke of Burgundy the revenues, and rights of administering justice. The king commanded, by the advice of his council, the duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainault, and the deputies from the three estates of Flanders, to appear on a certain day, which had been agreed on, before him and his council at Senlis, to fulfil the covenants and ratify the peace that had been made by them in the name of the duke of Burgundy.

On Wednesday the 5th day of September, some wicked person set fire to the tents of the lord d'Alençon, about twelve o'clock at night, and the flames spread so rapidly that with much difficulty he escaped to the tents of the king. The count d'Armagnac, seeing the flames, caused his trumpet to be sounded, and ordered the rear division to stand to their arms, who, with the duke of Bar, marched out of their quarters in handsome array, and, having set fire to them, drew up in order of battle in different detachments; one in front of the gate of St. Michael, another before that of St. Nicholas, another in front of the gate of Haisernes, that the enemy might not take advantage of the fire and make a sally—for though a treaty of peace had been concluded, they had not any great confidence in it. The fire spread with such violence from quarter to quarter that it gained that of the king, and other divisions of the army, so that his majesty and the duke of Aquitaine were forced, within one quarter of an hour from its commencement, to escape in a disorderly manner, leaving behind many prisoners and sick persons, who were burnt to death. Several warlike engines, tents, military stores, and many tuns of wine, were all, or the greater part, consumed.

The duke of Bourbon marched away from Vaudemont in a very orderly manner, with the van division of the army; and that same morning, very early, several of the lower ranks in the garrison of the town sallied forth, and seized whatever they could lay hands on which had belonged to the army, and even robbed many tradesmen, in spite of the orders that had been given to the contrary. Those troops who had come from Burgundy were particularly active, and, quitting the town in large parties, plundered many of the king's army. In this manner did Charles king of France march from Arras to Bapaume: he thence went to Peronne, Noyon, Compiegne, and Senlis, where he and his princes remained the whole of the month of September.

The peace that had been agreed to before Arras, by the interference of the duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainault, and the deputies from Flanders, for the duke of Burgundy, was finally concluded at Senlis, through the means of Louis duke of Aquitaine, who had married the daughter of the duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding the duke had been the cause of those riots in Paris, when the duke of Bar and others, his servants, had been arrested against his will. The Orleans party had indeed treated him in the same way, by depriving him of his confidential servants, and doing other things which were displeasing to him. He was therefore very anxious that everything of the sort should be forgotten, and that henceforward the king and himself should be served and obeyed with unanimity by those of their blood and lineage, although he was often remonstrated with on the acts which the duke of Burgundy had committed prior to the king's leaving Paris; but he frankly replied that he would put an end to the war, for he saw plainly, that otherwise the king and kingdom were on the road to perdition. The peace, therefore, was concluded on the terms recited in the ensuing chapter.

* This nobleman was a descendant of Walter Tyrrel, who killed William Rufus in the New Forest. John Tyrrel, third of the name, lord of Poix and Mareuil, married Margaret de Châtillon, daughter to the lord de Dampierre. John IV., his eldest son, married Jane des Quesnes. He died in 1400, and left one son, John V., the viscount de Poix here mentioned. He was a counsellor and chamberlain of the king, and was killed at Azincourt.

CHAPTER CXXVI.—THE TREATY OF PEACE CONCLUDED AT ARRAS, WHICH WAS THE FIFTH, IS READ IN THE PRESENCE OF THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE AND SEVERAL OTHER PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYAL, AND THE OATHS THAT WERE TAKEN IN CONSEQUENCE.

THE articles of the treaty of peace which had been humbly solicited from the king, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, by the duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainault, and the deputies from Flanders, properly authorised by him, were read in the presence of the duke of Aquitaine and the members of the king's grand council, and were as follow.

"Whereas many mischiefs have been, from time to time, committed against the realm of France, and contrary to the good pleasure and commands of the king, and of his eldest son, the duke of Aquitaine, the aforesaid commissioners, duly authorised by the duke of Burgundy, do most humbly solicit and supplicate, in the name of the said duke, that all things wherein the duke of Burgundy may have failed, or done wrong since the peace of Pontoise, and in opposition to the will and pleasure of the king and the duke of Aquitaine, may be pardoned, and that they would, out of their goodness, receive him again to their graces and favour. The said commissioners will deliver to the king, the duke of Aquitaine, or to any person or persons they may please to nominate, the keys of the city of Arras, and of all the towns and fortified places belonging to the said duke of Burgundy within the realm of France, to which the king or his son may appoint governors, or other officers, according to their pleasure, and for so long a time as they may choose, without any way infringing the said peace. The duke of Burgundy will surrender to the king, or to his commissioner, the castle of Crotoy, and replace it in his hands.

"Item, the duke of Burgundy binds himself to dismiss from his family all who have in any way incurred the indignation of the king or the duke of Aquitaine, and no longer to support them within his territories; of which due notice shall be given them in writing. —Item, all the lands or possessions that may have been seized by the king from the vassals, subjects, well-wishers, or partisans, of the duke of Burgundy, of whatever kind they may have been, on account of this war, shall be faithfully restored to them. In like manner, all sentences of banishment that have been issued for the aforesaid cause shall be annulled; and if the duke of Burgundy have seized and kept possession of any lands or possessions of the king's subjects, well-wishers, or of those who may have served the king in this present year, they shall be wholly and completely restored.—Item, notwithstanding the duke's commissioners have affirmed to the king and the duke of Aquitaine that he had not entered into any confederation or alliance with the English,—that all suspicions may cease on that head, they now promise for the duke of Burgundy, that he will not henceforth form any alliance with the English except with the permission and consent of the king and the duke of Aquitaine.

"Item, in regard to the reparation of the duke of Burgundy's honour, which the said commissioners think has been much tarnished by expressions made use of, and published throughout the realm and elsewhere, in different letters-patent and ordinances,—when the peace shall be fully established and the king is returned to Paris he will consult with his own council, and with such persons as the duke may think proper to send thither, on the best means of reparation, saving the king's honour.—Item, the duke of Burgundy shall engage, on his word, that he will not, by himself or others, prosecute or wrong any person who may in this quarrel have served the king personally, or under different captains, nor any burghers of Paris, or other inhabitants, by secret or open means, nor procure it to be done.—Item, the king wills and ordains, that his subjects remain in such lawful obedience as they are bound to by the treaty of Chartres, or other treaties which may have been afterwards made; and should such treaties require any amendment, he orders it to be done, and that they be faithfully observed without the smallest infringement.

"Item, for the better security of the observance of these articles by the duke of Burgundy, the said duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainault and the aforesaid deputies, shall swear, as well in their own names and persons as on the part of the prelates, churchmen, nobility,

and principal towns of their country; that is to say, the said duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainault and the aforesaid deputies, shall swear, in the name of the said duke of Burgundy, for the whole country of Flanders, that the said duke of Burgundy will strictly observe and keep for ever this good peace, without doing himself, or procuring to be done by others, any act contrary to the true meaning and intent of it. In case the said duke of Burgundy shall, by open or secret means, do anything against the tenour of this peace, then the aforesaid duke of Brabant and countess of Hainault do engage for themselves not to give him any advice, or assistance of men-at-arms or money, or in any manner whatever, seeing that the princes of the royal blood, the nobles, prelates, and capital towns in the kingdom, have taken a similar oath. The commissioners will also deliver good and sufficient bonds of security, according to the regulation of the king and his council; and they will promise, beside, to use their utmost endeavours that the nobles and others within the town of Arras shall loyally make the same oath; and likewise that all who may be at this present under the orders of the duke of Burgundy, or in his garrisons in Burgundy, Artois, and Flanders, shall do the same when required by the king of France."

When the above articles had been properly drawn up, the different parties swore to their observance. The duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainault, and the Flemish deputies, as being the friends and allies of the duke of Burgundy, first took the oath in the presence of the duke of Aquitaine, several princes of the blood, and the members of the king's council. The duke of Aquitaine then took a solemn oath to keep and preserve every article of the said peace: he then called to him Charles duke of Orleans, his cousin-german, and desired that he would take this oath; but the duke of Orleans, bowing low, replied,—"My lord, I am not bound to swear to it; for I only came, as a king's subject, to serve my lord, the king, and yourself." "Fair cousin, we beg that you will swear to the observance of this peace." The duke of Orleans again said, "My lord, I have not broken the peace, and ought not therefore to take the oath: I entreat you will be satisfied." The duke of Aquitaine a third time required that he would swear,—and the duke of Orleans, with much anger, replied, "My lord, I have not, nor have any of my council, broken the peace: make those who have broken it come hither and take the oath, and then I will obey your pleasure." The archbishop of Rheims, and others, seeing the duke of Aquitaine displeased at this last speech, said to the duke of Orleans, "My lord, do what my lord of Aquitaine requires of you." After all this, he did take the oath to maintain the peace, but it was sorely against his will, for he thought that it was the duke of Burgundy and his allies who had broken the last peace made at Pontoise. The duke of Bourbon was next called on to take the oath, who thought to avoid it, like the duke of Orleans; but the duke of Aquitaine cut him short by saying, "Fair cousin, we beg that you will not say more about it." The duke of Bourbon and the other princes then swore without further objection. The prelates did the same, excepting the archbishop of Sens, brother to Montagu, who, when called upon to take the oath by the duke of Aquitaine, said, "My lord, remember what you swore to us all, on our departure from Paris, in the presence of the queen." The duke replied, "Say no more about it: we will that this peace be kept, and that you swear to its observances." "My lord," replied the archbishop, "since it is your good pleasure, I will do so." These were the only three among the lords who attended on this occasion that made any objections to taking their oaths.

A similar oath was taken in Arras by sir John de Luxembourg and all the commonalty, and other captains and governors of towns in these parts, before the king and the princes, when they had marched from before Arras.

During the residence of the king at Senlis, many nobles and others died of the flux: among the number were Reminion d'Albreth and his brother the lord of Hangiers; and several died from the hardships they had suffered during the march and at the siege. When the Parisians heard that a peace had been made by the king and the princes with the duke of Burgundy, without consulting them, they were much discontented, and went to the duke of Berry, their governor, to demand how this peace had been concluded, and what had moved the king and his council to think of it without making them acquainted with their intentions, for it was proper that they should have known of it, and have been made parties to it. The duke of Berry replied; "This matter does not any way touch you, nor does it become you

to interfere between our lord the king and us who are of his blood and lineage; for we may quarrel one with another whenever it shall please us so to do, and we may also make peace according to our will." The Parisians, on hearing this answer, returned home without further reply.

Neither the duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainault, nor the deputies, came to Senlis on the day appointed for the ratification of the peace, having been advised to send ambassadors and heralds, namely, the dean of the cathedral church of Liege, William Blondel, esquire, and others, to appear for them before the king and council as their representatives, at the place and time that had been fixed on. This was done, but they could not obtain any answer to their demands and requests from the grand council, because the king was very ill, and consequently they returned to their lords without having been able to conclude anything.

CHAPTER CXXVII. — SIGISMUND OF BOHEMIA IS ELECTED EMPEROR OF GERMANY, AND RECEIVES THE OATHS OF THE GREATER PART OF THE LORDS OF THAT COUNTRY.

Towards the end of October, Sigismund of Bohemia, king of Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, a valiant man-at-arms, and a catholic, came with his queen, the daughter of count Cilley, a Sclavonian, and a grand retinue, to Aix-la-Chapelle *. Sigismund was first raised by the electors to be king of the Romans, and then emperor of Germany. On the eighth day of November, he was consecrated and crowned emperor, by the archbishop of Cologne, in the church of Our Lady at Aix-la-Chapelle, as is customary; after which ceremony, he was to be confirmed in his dignity by the pope of Rome. He and his empress then received the homage and oaths of allegiance from the barons of the empire, promising at the same time that he would attend the general council that was to be holden at Constance for the good of the whole church. This council was to have commenced in the month of April, in the year 1412, under pope Alexander or his successor, but it had been hitherto delayed. This city of Constance is seated on the Rhine, in the circle of Suabia, and its bishop is a suffragan to the archbishop of Mentz. It was proclaimed, that the council thus deferred would be held by pope John XXIII., successor to the aforesaid Alexander.

Here follow the names of the dukes, prelates, counts, barons, and others, who were present at the coronation of the emperor Sigismund at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 8th of November, 1414. —First, duke Louis of Bavaria, count palatine of the Rhine, elector of Germany; the duke of Saxony, marshal of the empire, another elector of Germany; Bourgion de Nuremburg †, who performed the office of the marquis of Brandenburgh, an elector, and other dukes, namely, those of Lorraine ‡, Gueldres, Juliers, and Tede §, duke of Russia; two archbishops, viz. those of Cologne and Treves ||, who are also electors of the empire.—Item, John duke of Bavaria ¶, elected prince of Liege, duke of Bouillon and count of Los.—Item, the council of the king of Bohemia, elector of the empire: the council of the archbishop of Mentz, another elector of Germany. Five bishops, namely, those of Visebourg **, Pussau, de St. Prude d'Aylac in Hungary, de la Cure; the grand master of the German knights-hospitallers, namely, of Prussia ††, and the count of Cleves ‡‡.—Item, Acusaire §§, son to the marquis of Montferrat, de Meurs, and de Saussebourg |||; the lord de Haudeshon and de Renuen.—Item,

* Sigismund was first married to Mary, heiress of Hungary, and secondly to Barbara, countess of Cilley. When emperor, he had John Huss and Jerome of Prague burnt.

† Probably Frederick of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremburg, to whom the emperor Sigismund gave the electorate of Brandenburg in 1417, and from whom are descended the present royal family of Prussia.

‡ Charles the Bold, duke of Lorraine, Reginald IV., duke of Gueldres and Juliers. (The duchies were at this time united.)

§ George Demetrow is named as grand duke of Prussia at this period. The meaning of *Tede* I cannot discover.

|| Theodoric, count of Meurs, archbishop of Cologne, 1414. Werner, count of Kouigstein, archbishop of Treves, 1388.

¶ John, brother of duke William, count of Hainault, often mentioned before.

** Visebourg. Q. if not Vissegrade (*a*).

†† Michael Kuckenmeister de Hemberg, grand-master of the Teutonic order, 1413.

‡‡ Adolphus VI., count of Marck and Cleves.

§§ Theodore Palæologus was Marquis of Montferrat. Who his son Acusaire can be, it is very difficult to say.

||| Saussenburg.

(*a*) Q. If not rather Wurtzburg? Pussau is probably Passau; and the words "in Hungary" refer only to the last-named place.

de Dezaine, and three counts de Nassau*; the count de Cassuelbonne and his son; the counts de Rayneck†, and Hanyberck de Viectem, de Mestan, the count de Disby, and with him two other counts; de Villestam, de Wide, de Blancquehem‡, de Samecte, and de Viestam; sir John Chaule, viscount de Milan, the lord de Brimor, de Bestille, the lord de Bavonne.

Now follow the names of those who came from Hungary:

First, Charles de Nicolay, grand palatine of Hungary, Marcial Nicolay his son, count de Tenuse, Wart lord de Strebourg, governor of seven castles, two counts ambassadors from Vallanc§ of the country of Servia, Vergufiam, Vaida, Siandrias, Peduricolaus, Lasque Jacobiadis de Vaida, Lasqudany his brother, the count John de Carnassie, the count George de Carnassie, Penyemericus, sir Laurens de Ront de Pasto, the lord Tarte Nicolay, sir Chechy Nicolay, sir Janus Vaida, grand-master of the household of king Sigismund, sir Baufil de Symon, Peron Emerick, Thomas Perisii, Resquoy Estewan Sywaidu Desuo Charpictre, marshal of Hungary.—Item, the barons of Bohemia that attended at this coronation were, first, sir William le Haze, sir Vincelan de Douy, sir Suit de Sida, and three barons of his lineage with him, sir Gaspard de Douy, the lord d'Illebourg, the lord de Blentenon, sir Andrew Balesqui.

Now follow the names of the barons of Lower Germany:

The lord de Hausseberch, the damoiseau d'Ercles‖, sir John de Namur, the lords de Hainault, de Lembourg, Vinstghen, de Belay, de Picquebat, and two other barons, with the baron de Bendecte, de Yussebourg, and two other barons with him, de Berdecte, Hanrech, de Wysebeche, de Toncle¶, sir Fulco de Honnestam, Bougraine, de Raynech, the lords de Holloch, de Vestrebourg, de Connebourg, and two other barons with him, sir Florin du Bos, the lords de Horne and Derke, sir Fucho de Cologne, mareschal d'Absectes, sir Othe de l'Abecque, the lord de Zenemberghe, the lord de Marc.

The names of those princes and others who sent ambassadors to this coronation:

First, the ambassadors from the king of Bohemia; the ambassadors from the king of England; the ambassadors from the archbishop of Mentz, from the count of Hainault, from de Posti Romaine, from the count of Savoy, from the duke of Brabant, from the duke of Luxembourg, from the abbot of Stabuleuse**, from the cities of Cambray, Cologne, Toul, and Verdun, from the abbot of Sainte Corneille de Compiègne.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.—THE DEATH OF LADISLAUS KING OF NAPLES.—HIS RIVAL KING LOUIS SENDS THE MARSHAL OF FRANCE TO NAPLES,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

In these days, intelligence was brought to the king of France that king Ladislaus, the rival to Louis king of Sicily, was dead. The manner of his death was thus told.—He had long had a passion for the daughter of his physician, who was uncommonly handsome, and had made frequent proposals to her father that he might enjoy her; but the father had as often refused, alleging many sound reasons for it. At length, he was so much pressed by the king, that, finding excuses would no longer avail, he pretended to consent, though it was against his will, as the end will show. He went, in consequence, to his daughter, to command her to prepare to receive the king, for that he had granted his consent; but he would give her a prescription that should secure her the king's affections for ever: and he presented her with a box of ointment, with which he ordered her to rub her body just before the king's arrival. This she faithfully did; but when the king had cohabited with her, he felt himself as it were all on fire, and the damsel was in like manner affected,—insomuch that they almost instantly

* The three counts of Nassau were, first, Adolphus III., count of Nassau, descended from Walram, eldest son of Henry the Rich; 2d, Adolphus, count of Nassau Dillemburg, descended from Otho, youngest son of Henry the Rich; 3d, Philip, count of Nassau Weilborg, or Jarbruck, descended from Walram in another line.

† Rheineck.

‡ Blanckenburg?

§ Vallanc,—probably the Waivode. I have given over in despair the making out these names of persons and places.

‖ Perhaps Arckel, the name of a noble family in Holland. Called in Latin Arculeas.

¶ Q. Tongres.

** Stabuleuse,—Stablo, Stabletum, Stabulum, a celebrated abbey of Benedictines, inclosed within the country of Liege. The abbot of Stablo is a sovereign, and bears the title of prince of the empire.

died in very great torments *. After this cruel deed, the physician fled the country before hands could be laid on him. Intelligence of the event being made known to king Louis, he issued summonses for a large force to assemble, and accompany him to Naples; but he sent before him the lord de Longny, marshal of France, with a considerable body of men.

During the residence of the king at Senlis, the duke of Aquitaine was appointed by him and the grand council to the whole management of the finances of the kingdom, which was very displeasing to the duke of Berry; and in consequence, he assembled the provost of merchants, the sheriffs, the citizens, the members of the university, of the chambers of parliament and of accounts, at a certain place in Paris, where he caused them to be harangued by the bishop of Chartres, and others of his friends, on the infirmity of the king, and on the youth of his eldest son, who, from that cause, was as yet incapable of holding the reins of government; and that from his near connexion by blood, (for he was son, brother, and uncle to kings,) the government of the kingdom of right appertained to him, and to none other; and he therefore most affectionately solicited those present to aid and support his pretensions. They replied, that it did not become them to interfere in such matters, but solely to the king and the grand council; and excused themselves to the duke for not complying with his request.

At the beginning of September, the king departed from Senlis, and came to St. Denis, where he remained until the fourteenth of that month, when he returned to Paris in great triumph, attended by his son, the duke of Aquitaine. He was also accompanied by the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Bar, duke Louis of Bavaria, the counts de Vertus, d'Alençon, de Richemont, d'Eu, d'Armagnac, de la Marche, de Vendôme, de Marle, de Dampmartin, and numberless other barons, prelates, knights, and esquires. The duke went out of Paris to meet the king, with the provost of merchants, the sheriffs, members of the parliament and of the university, citizens, and crowds of common people, who kept a continual shouting for joy on account of his majesty's return to Paris. They made great bonfires in all the principal streets and squares during the ensuing night, eating and drinking, and shouting repeatedly, "Long live the king, long live the queen, long live the king and his son the duke of Aquitaine!"

CHAPTER CXXIX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, ON THE KING'S DEPARTURE FROM BEFORE ARRAS, MARCHES A FORCE INTO BURGUNDY.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED AT THAT PERIOD.

When the king of France had marched his army from before Arras, the duke of Burgundy had his Burgundians quartered in the country of the Cambresis, and in Tierrache, and went himself to the city of Cambray. Thither his brother, the duke of Brabant, came to meet him, when, after holding a conference with him on the state of his affairs, and giving proper orders concerning them, he took the road toward Burgundy, having with him sir Robinet de Mailly, master Eustace de Lactre, the late chancellor of France, John Legois, master John de Troyes, surgeon, Denisot de Chaumont, and several others who had been formerly banished, with their wives and children, from France. He collected all his Burgundians, who, with some Picards and others, amounted to about twenty thousand horse, to march them into Burgundy, following the road through Tierrache, where he halted. He thence went to Mezieres on the Meuse, in the county of Rethel, with his whole army. At this place he remained a short time with his brother Philippe, and thence made for Châlons, where he intended to lodge; but the townsmen shut their gates against him, in consequence of orders from the king not to admit him or his people into their town. This was displeasing to the duke of Burgundy, for he had made his dispositions to cross the Marne at that city. He then marched to Vitry, where he was again disappointed, in consequence of the same orders that had been sent to Châlons. He was forced to continue his march to St. Dizier, where

* Some say that this murder was committed at the instigation of the Florentines. See Giannone, lib. 24, c. 8. The whole story, however, looks like a fabrication; and it is, at least, much more natural to suppose that Ladislaus was killed by his debaucheries, which were excessive. He was succeeded by his sister, Joan II.

he crossed the river; and on the vigil of All-saints, he arrived at Dijon, and was received with the utmost joy by all his subjects as their lord and sovereign.

During this time, the epidemical flux continued in Picardy, which carried off great numbers of persons, nobles, and others. The duke of Burgundy before he left Picardy disbanded the army of his captains of that country, such as sir John de Luxembourg, the lords de Croy, de Beau, Vergier, de Fosseux, de Jumont, de Ront, de Beaufort, de Noyelle, de Hymbercourt, Hector and Philippe de Saveuses, Louis de Warigines, and other leaders; but these lords remained as guards to the country. He appointed, on his departure, his only son, Philippe, count de Charolois, sole governor of Flanders until his return. On his arrival in Burgundy, he had attacked and taken the castle of Tonnerre, which was pillaged and destroyed by his people. The count de Tonnerre* had fled from the castle with his men-at-arms, not daring to wait the arrival of the duke's forces, who were commanded by sir Elion de Jacqueville, Fierebourg, and some others.

Shortly after, the duke of Burgundy sent letters to the king of France, to inform him of the route he had taken from Flanders to Burgundy, at what places he had paid his expenses, and where not, with his reasons for not paying. At the same time, he made him acquainted with the destruction of the castle of Tonnerre, and that he had destroyed it, because the count, his vassal, had frequently rebelled against him, had defied him, and had made enterprises on his territories, whence he had carried away much booty. This he had explained, lest it might be thought he was breaking the peace lately made before Arras, which he was firmly resolved to keep. The duke had besieged also Château-Belin, in the county of Burgundy, which likewise belonged to the count de Tonnerre; and although it was very strong, it was won by the great length of the siege. This castle he gave to his son, the count de Charolois, who during the lifetime of his father, styled himself count de Charolois and lord of Château-Belin.

A council was now held at Constance, by many cardinals, patriarchs, bishops, archbishops, prelates, and ambassadors from different kings and princes. There was a great schism in the church from the refusal of Pietro della Luna, entitled Pope Benedict, to resign this dignity, although for many reasons, the greater part of Christendom had withdrawn itself from his obedience. He had no power but in Spain and Arragon, in which last kingdom he resided, in a strong town on the sea-shore†. In this year, the emperor of Germany caused the cardinal of Bologna, called pope John, to be arrested, and confined in prison in the duchy of Bavaria, for various crimes alleged against him. To restore peace to the church, the emperor had caused this council to be holden in Constance: it continued for the space of two years, before any persons came to attend it from Spain or Arragon. In the month of August, in the year 1416, a noble company of prelates and knights being assembled, the election of a true pope was proceeded upon. In the year 1417, the choice fell on the cardinal de Colonna, a Roman, who assumed the name of Pope Martin.

CHAPTER CXXX.—COUNT WALERAN DE ST. POL MARCHES ABOUT SIX HUNDRED COMBATANTS INTO THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG.—THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE GOES TO MEHUN-SUR-YEVRE.

At this period, Waleran count de St. Pol, still calling himself constable of France, left his county of St. Pol with about six hundred combatants, men-at-arms, and archers, of whom sixty at least were English. He marched them from his town of Bohain to that of Laon, but the gates were closed against him. He was much displeased thereat, and fixed his quarters below it. He thence marched by Rheims and Châlons to his town of Ligny in Barrois, whither his countess, sister to the duke de Bar, speedily followed him; and they there solemnized the feast of All-saints. Shortly after, leaving his countess in the castle of Ligny, he advanced through Luxembourg, to Thionville, and to others of the principal towns in that duchy, of which he had been appointed governor, as well as of the county of

* Louis II. de Châlon, count of Tonnerre, nephew of John IV., count of Auxerre and Tonnerre, who sold Auxerre to king Charles V.

† Peniscola, in Valencia.

Chigny, by duke Anthony of Brabant, his son-in-law, then sovereign of it, by right of the duchess his mother. After visiting the chief towns and fortresses in that country, he made preparations, about St. Andrew's day, to lay siege to the town of Neufville on the Meuse, in which were some vainglorious and overbearing persons, posted there by John d'Authe, lord of Orchimont, who were constantly making inroads and plundering the duchy of Luxembourg and the county of Chigny. They were consequently besieged by the count, who had in his company some notable warriors, namely, Garnot de Bournouville, sir Colart de Fiennes, Allain de Vaudonne, and several others. However, although the besieged were sorely harassed by the engines of the count, and their bulwark had been taken by storm, they refused to surrender, and he remained for six weeks before the place. Other matters demanding his presence elsewhere, he fortified a church, within cross-bow shot of the castle, in which he posted a certain number of soldiers, under the command of a gentleman of that country, called Vatier Disque, in conjunction with Robinet Ogier; and they were for another six weeks skirmishing and fighting with their enemies, who at the end of that time submitted themselves to the obedience of the count de St. Pol. The count, on quitting the siege of Neufville, went to Dampvilliers *, and thence to Yvoix †, where he passed the whole of Lent with his nephew, sir John de Luxembourg, who had come a little before to visit him at the siege. When sir John had remained about a month, he took leave of his uncle, who never saw him afterwards, and went to Avignon, to visit and pay reverence to the holy Peter of Luxembourg, his uncle, who had formerly been a cardinal.

At this period, the duke of Aquitaine, leaving Paris, travelled through Melun, and Montargis in Berry, to Bourges, where he arrived on the night of All-Saints, and was magnificently received and feasted by the burghers and inhabitants of that town in the palace of the duke of Berry. On the morrow he departed, unknown to the inhabitants, and went to the castle of Mehun-sur-Yevre ‡, which the duke of Berry had given to him at Paris, and was the cause of his journey into Berry. The castle pleased him very much, and having taken possession of it, he did not return to Paris until near the feast of St. Nicholas.

This sudden expedition of the duke of Aquitaine, with only seven persons, surprised many; but he was instantly overtaken by the counts de Vertus and de Richemont, who accompanied him as he went and returned.

CHAPTER CXXXI.—THE EARL OF WARWICK AND OTHERS FROM ENGLAND ATTEND THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.—THE KING OF FRANCE HAS SOLEMN OBSEQUIES PERFORMED FOR HIS BROTHER, THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

The earl of Warwick, three bishops, four abbots, and other noble knights, clerks and doctors in theology, to the number of about eight hundred, travelled from Calais, through Flanders, with a handsome retinue, as commissioners from the king of England, his realm, and the university of Oxford, to the council of Constance. They were well received by the new emperor, whose coronation some of them had attended as ambassadors from the king of England, the pope and the whole council. As the day was drawing near when the countess of Hainault and her brother, the duke of Brabant, with the deputies from Flanders, were to meet to ratify the late peace at Senlis, between the duke of Burgundy and the king of France; and as the grand council was then very much engaged in business, Louis duke of Bavaria, sir Colart de Calville and others, were sent as ambassadors from the king to prolong the day.

On Saturday, the eve of the Epiphany, the king ordered a solemn service to be performed in the cathedral church of Notre Dame, in Paris, for his late brother the duke of Orleans, which had not as yet been done. It was celebrated with a multitude of wax lights and torches, and attended by the duke of Orleans and the count de Vertus, the dukes of Berry, of Bourbon, Louis of Bavaria, the counts d'Alençon, de Richemont, d'Eu, de la Marche, and

* Dampvilliers,—a town in Luxembourg, diocese of Verdun.

† Yvoix,—now called Carignan, a town in Luxembourg.

‡ Mehun-sur-Yevre,—four leagues from Bourges.

many more, all dressed in deep mourning. The duke of Aquitaine was not present, he had gone the preceding day to visit the queen his mother, and his sister the duchess of Brittany at Melun.

Procession of the King to Notre Dame, to perform the Funeral Obsequies of the Duke of Orleans. Designed from contemporary authorities.

At these obsequies the sermon was preached by the chancellor of the cathedral, doctor John Gerson, much renowned for his theological learning; and it was so strong and bold that many doctors and others present were astonished thereat. When he praised the manners of the deceased duke and his government of the realm, he declared that it had been by far better administered by him than it had ever been since his death. He seemed, in this discourse, more desirous of exciting a war against the duke of Burgundy than of appeasing it; for he said, he did not recommend the death of the duke of Burgundy, or his destruction, but that he ought to be humiliated, to make him sensible of the wickedness he had committed, that by a sufficient atonement he might save his soul. He added, that the burning last Lent, of the propositions advanced by the duke's advocate, John Petit, against the duke of Orleans, before the gates of the cathedral, as wicked doctrines, had been well done; but that all that was necessary had not yet been executed. He concluded by declaring, that he was ready to maintain and defend what he had said against the whole world. The king was present, but not in mourning, in an oratory on the right hand of the altar; and near him was the duke of Orleans, who took precedence of all others, on account of this service that was performed for his late father; then the duke of Berry, the count de Vertus, and several princes seated according to their rank, listening to the words of the preacher. Two cardinals, namely, those of Rheims and of Pisa, many bishops, and such crowds of clergy, knights and common people assisted, that the church could scarcely contain them. When the sermon was ended, the dukes of Orleans and Berry, and the count de Vertus, recommended the preacher to the king's notice.

On the ensuing Monday, the king had similar obsequies performed for the late duke of Orleans, in the church of the Celestins in Paris, where he had been buried. They were attended by all who had assisted at the former ceremony. Master John Courbecuisse, doctor of divinity, preached the sermon, and pursued the same course of arguments as doctor Gerson. The king likewise had vigils, funeral orations and masses, said for his late brother, in the chapel of the college of Navarre in Paris, at which he and the other relations of the deceased assisted.

CHAPTER CXXXII.—THE KING AND HIS GRAND COUNCIL SEND FORCES TO ATTACK THE BURGUNDIANS.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED.

TRUE it is, that after the destruction of the castle of Tonnerre, as has been mentioned, many men-at-arms and archers, who had been there employed, formed themselves into a company of full seven thousand horse, and committed much mischief on the country around, as well on the territories of the king in the Auxerrois as elsewhere. In consequence, the king and council ordered the lord de Gaucourt, and Gassilin du Bos, to march against and conquer them. They obeyed, and so vigorously pursued them, that from two to three hundred were killed or made prisoners. These last were carried to Paris, and confined in the prison of the Châtelet, whence, after a short time, they were brought to trial, and some of them executed, but not before the king had paid their ransoms to those who had taken them. The commanders of these marauders were Jacqueville, Fierbourg, and some others, who, when they heard that the king was sending a force against them, retired into the duchy of Burgundy.

Not long after, sir Jeninet de Pois*, nephew to sir James de Châtillon, lord de Dampierre, and admiral of France, going to the duke of Burgundy, attended by only two hundred lances, or thereabout, was attacked, killed, and robbed of everything. Only one man, named Tambullan, of his whole company, escaped, and he saved himself by flight: all the rest were slain or taken. This action was very displeasing to the duke of Burgundy. In like manner, Hector de Saveuses, who had made a successful war on the king's forces, when before Arras, was captured when on a pilgrimage to Liance†, and carried to Paris: had it not been for the earnest solicitations of the countess of Hainault, he would have been executed. Philip de Saveuses, his brother, had also made prisoners of Henry de Boissy, lord de Chaulle, and Eustace Dayne, lord de Sarton, who had warm friends among the king's ministers; and they exerted themselves so effectually for their liberty, that Hector was given in exchange for them.

These, and many similar facts, showed that, notwithstanding the peace of Arras, there was very little security in the kingdom for travellers or others: for the Orleans party had so surrounded the persons of the king and the duke of Aquitaine, that those attached to the duke of Burgundy or his allies were deprived of all share in the government, and treated very harshly. This treatment, however, was but a retaliation for what the Orleans party had suffered when the Burgundians were in power. Peace was somehow or other preserved; and the countess of Hainault came, with a noble attendance, through the Vermandois, Noyon, and Compiegne, to Senlis: the deputies from Flanders followed her, handsomely escorted; and last came the duke of Brabant, with the chief ministers of the duke of Burgundy, namely, the bishop of Tournay, the lord de Ront, sir William Bouvier, governor of Arras, master Thierry du Roy, and some others.

The council of the king of France requested them to proceed to Paris, for the purpose of more conveniently discussing the subject, which was complied with by all except the countess of Hainault, who had been forbidden by her lord and husband to go farther than Senlis, where she had been very honourably received by the dukes of Aquitaine and Berry, who had come from Paris to meet her. She was visited by other princes of the blood, and even by the duchess of Bourbon, who, with the consent of her duke, had come from Clermont to entertain her, and remained in her company until she quitted Senlis.

* Jehannot de Poix, second son of John III., lord of Poix, and Margaret de Châtillon, sister of James, lord de Dampierre. He received the rank of admiral, but never exercised the office. He died of the plague in 1418. See note, p. 312.

† Q. If not Liannes, a village in Picardy.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.—AMBASSADORS ARRIVE AT PARIS FROM ENGLAND.—THE KING OF FRANCE HOLDS A GRAND FESTIVAL.—THE PEACE IS EVERYWHERE PRESERVED.

At this period, there came to Paris the earl of Dorset, uncle to the king of England, the lord Guy*, admiral of England, the bishops of Durham and Norwich, and others, amounting, in the whole, to six hundred horse, as ambassadors to treat of a marriage between the king of France's daughter and the king of England †. They were lodged, on their arrival, at the Temple; and they carried themselves so magnificently, as well at home as when they rode abroad, that the French, and particularly the Parisians, were very much astonished.

On the 10th day of February, the king of France gave at Paris a very grand festival of eating, drinking, tilting, and dancing, at which the English ambassadors were present. The king tilted with the duke d'Alençon, whom he had lately raised to that dignity. The duke of Brabant tilted in great cordiality with the duke of Orleans; and during this festival, which lasted three days, the princes of the blood conducted themselves kindly and honourably toward each other. The queen of France, the duchess of Aquitaine, and many other noble ladies and damsels, assisted at the feast. On the 24th day of February, after many conferences with the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainault, as well at Paris as at Senlis, and with the ministers of the duke of Burgundy, the peace was finally concluded, and proclaimed with sound of trumpet through Paris, according to royal letters of the following tenor:

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to all present and to come. Whereas many acts have been done since the conclusion of the peace at Pontoise, to our very great displeasure, and damage to our subjects and kingdom; for which cause we have held our beloved cousin, the duke of Burgundy, in our indignation and disfavour, and have marched a considerable body of men-at-arms and archers against the town of Arras. During the time we lay before that town, our well-beloved and dear cousins, the duke of Brabant and countess of Hainault, came thither, accompanied by our dearly-beloved the deputies from the three estates of Flanders, as commissioners, and having full powers to treat on the part of our said cousin of Burgundy, with so much humility and obedience, that we were contented therewith. In confirmation of the duke of Burgundy's willingness to submit himself to our obedience, they offered, on the part of the town of Arras, to display our banner on the walls and towers thereof, and also to place under our subjection all the towns and castles which our said cousin of Burgundy held from us. We therefore, in our abundance of affection, have received him back into our good graces. Our said cousins, the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainault, and the deputies from Flanders, engaged to deliver to us, or to any person whom we might depute, the castle of Crotoy, as well as the castle of Chinon ‡; and that they would, to the utmost of their power, see that they were fully restored to us, or to any person whom we should commission to receive them. Many other matters, relative to the restoring of peace, were then discussed, and in consequence we ourselves withdrew with our army from before Arras. For the further consolidation of this agreement for peace, our said cousins of Brabant, Hainault, and the deputies from Flanders, have again come to us as ambassadors from our cousin of Burgundy, with whom, in the presence of our dearly beloved son, the duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, the preliminaries before mentioned have been confirmed.

"Know ye, that from the pity and compassion which we must feel for all who have suffered oppressions and vexations which ever ensue during a state of warfare, and which our faithful and beloved subjects have lately undergone; and that they may cease, so that tranquillity, justice, and legal government may take place within our realm; that labourers may do their work, and tradesfolk travel throughout the kingdom unmolested wherever they shall judge proper, without let or hindrance whatever. Considering also the value of peace, which is inestimable, and the great evils that ensue from war, of which we have lately had such bitter experience; and that all creatures may have better opportunities to amend their

* A mistake for Grey. Richard, lord Grey, of Codnover, was appointed by patent, 2 H. 4, admiral of the fleet from the mouth of the Thames northward.

† For particulars of this embassy, &c., see the Fœdera.

‡ Chiny.

lives and turn toward their Creator, we of our own knowledge, and with full power and royal authority, by the advice of our council, and after the mature consideration of our eldest son, of many of the princes of our blood, prelates, barons and knights of our council and courts of parliament, so will, order, and command, that a firm peace be established within our realm, between our subjects, and that all rancour and malice cease, forbidding all persons, whatever may be their rank or condition, under pain of our highest displeasure, to bear arms or to proceed against any one otherwise than by legal means. For the better preservation of this peace, and out of reverence to God, wishing to prefer mercy to rigorous justice, we from the plenitude of our power and by our full royal authority, do grant a general and free amnesty to all persons, whether natives or foreigners, of whatever rank or condition they be, who shall have aided, abetted, counselled, or supported our said cousin, the duke of Burgundy, contrary to our royal will and pleasure, since the said peace of Pontoise until this day,—excepting, however, from this amnesty, five persons, who are not noble, nor subjects nor vassals to our said cousin of Burgundy, and whose names shall be given to our cousins of Brabant and Hainault before the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing. We likewise except from this general pardon all who may have been banished by our courts of justice by legal processes, with the usual ceremonies and solemnities. For the further preservation of this peace, and to avoid all causes of sedition and dispute hereafter, we will and ordain that all persons who may have quitted their dwellings in Paris for the space of two years, shall not return nearer than within four or five leagues of our said town of Paris, reserving to ourself any favours which we may be inclined to show to the contrary. We will, however, that the said absentees may go anywhere throughout our realm, excepting to our town of Paris, without any molestation whatever, either in body or goods.

"To maintain our subjects in peace and to obviate any disputes of office, which, having formerly happened, may do so again, we will and order, that all offices given by us since the said peace of Pontoise, shall remain in our full disposition and power, without those who may have been deprived of them having any claim or pretence of being restored to them. With regard to the prisoners, we will do strict justice; for it is our pleasure that no lord, baron, knight, esquire, or other persons, under pretence of services not performed to us, or for services done to our said cousin of Burgundy, shall be prosecuted or molested in body or goods, but that all lands, castles, or any territories whatever, that may have been taken possession of, and held by our officers for us, on account of the late war, shall be fully and completely restored to their true and lawful owners, without any fees or charges claimed in regard to us; and we now impose silence on our attorney-general, although the different cases be not specified particularly by us, in order more effectually to put an end to all disputes and suits at law that may have arisen from the events of the late war. We will, order, and enjoin, that our said cousin the duke of Burgundy do forbear, by himself or others for him, to disturb or any way molest, either by open or secret means, such of our subjects and vassals of every degree, as shall have served us in our warfare against him; and such of his subjects and vassals as, through fear of offending us, have not served him in conformity to the different ordinances issued by us; and that he be particularly cautious, under pain of incurring our displeasure, that this article be truly attended to, for we positively forbid our said cousin of Burgundy to take any cognizance whatever of the above acts. We likewise forbid all others of our blood and lineage to commit, or cause to be committed by others for them, any acts of hostility against our said vassals and subjects, as well as against those of our said cousin the duke of Burgundy; for we strictly ordain, that they do not take any cognizance of offences that may have been caused by the late warfare.

"We will and command, that our said cousin the duke of Burgundy do punctually restore all castles, lands, or fiefs, that he may have taken from our vassals and subjects, as well as from his own, on account of services performed to us or neglected to have been done to him, and that he order away from him all who may be inclined to disturb the lawful owner in the possession of them. We in like manner enjoin all those of our blood and lineage who may have possessed themselves of any castles, lands, or other effects of any lord, baron, knight, esquire, or others, under cover of the late warfare, to restore them instantly to their proper owners, without further molestation, or making them pay any fees or charges for their resti-

tution, in order that this said peace may be faithfully and religiously maintained. We likewise will and command, that all the articles of the peace concluded at Chartres, and of others which have since been made, be most particularly observed; and we strictly enjoin all those of our blood and lineage, that they do not, on any pretence whatever, form any alliances with the English, or with others, to our prejudice, or to the prejudice of this peace; and should any such have been formed, we positively command that all treaties be returned and annulled, and that any person who may have concluded them do deliver to us sufficient security for the due performance of these our orders. And we further enjoin, for the better security of this peace, that our said cousin of Brabant, the ambassadors from our cousin of Burgundy, and the deputies before-named from Flanders, in the name of themselves, the three estates in that country, and in behalf of our said cousin of Burgundy, our very dear and well-beloved cousins the counts de Charolois and de Nevers, do each of them swear and promise,—those who are now present in our hands, and those absent in the hands of our deputies,—on their faith and oath, and on the cross and holy evangelists of God, that they will loyally and honestly observe this peace, and all the articles of it; and that they will not, by open or other means, any way violate or infringe the same, under pain of incurring our highest displeasure and indignation. And should it happen that any person, whether noble or not, do interrupt this peace, or act contrary thereto, they shall promise not to give them any encouragement, aid, or advice, but shall endeavour to stifle all such attempts before they gain any head.

"Copies of these oaths and engagements shall be delivered into our chancery, signed by each party, and sealed with their seals, that a perfect remembrance may be had of this transaction. Similar oaths and promises shall be taken and made, under the like penalty, by our very dear and well-beloved cousins, uncle, son, and nephew, the cardinal de Bar, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, de Tours, d'Orleans, de Bretagne, de Bourbon, d'Alençon, and de Bar; the counts de Vertus, d'Eu, Richemont, de Dreux constable of France, de la Marche, de Vendôme grand master of the household, de Marle, le Bouteiller de France,* d'Armagnac, de St. Pol, de Penthievre, and de Tancarville, with all others of our blood and lineage, and the members of the three estates in their countries. Those present will take the oath in our hands, and the absent in the hands of our deputies: they will each deliver into our chancery copies of their oath and promise, signed and sealed by them, that the remembrance of it may endure for ever.

"We also ordain, that the aforesaid oath and engagement shall be taken before our commissioners, under pain of the above-mentioned penalties, by all prelates, knights, barons, captains, bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, and others our officers, vassals and subjects of all ranks, ecclesiastical and secular, noble and not noble, who shall each of them sign and seal his separate engagement, which shall be transmitted to our chancery for the aforesaid purpose.—Item, our said cousin of Burgundy, and all the afore-mentioned princes of our blood, shall send letters to their subjects and vassals, requiring them to take their oaths in like manner. And for the better security of this peace, our said cousin of Brabant, the countess of Hainault, and the deputies aforesaid, shall exert their utmost power to prevail on our very dear and well-beloved cousins duke William of Bavaria, count of Hainault, the duke of Lorraine, the count of Savoy, the bishop of Liege, the count of Namur, and such others as they think proper, to take a similar oath and promise to observe all the articles of the peace. We also will and command, that should any excesses be committed which might endanger the aforesaid peace, it shall not therefore be broken; but the party who shall feel himself injured shall appeal to our courts of justice, when such reparation shall be made him as the case may legally require.

"We, consequently, give it strictly in charge to our dear and loyal the constable, the chancellor, the members of our courts of parliament, the marshals of France, the master of the cross-bows, the high admiral, the provost of Paris, to all our seneschals, bailiffs, governors, mayors, sheriffs, and all others our officers whatever, to each and to all of them, that they do pay attention to the articles of the said peace, and that they do not suffer the

* This ought to be "De Marle, grand butler of France." Robert de Bar, count of Marle, held that office from the sixth October, 1413, to the time of his death, at the battle of Azincourt.

smallest of them to be in anywise violated or infringed; and should anything be done contrary to their true tenor and meaning, they will cause such persons to be instantly arrested as disturbers of the public peace, and punish them as guilty of high treason toward us and toward the state, so that they may serve for examples to all others who may be inclined to act in the same way. We ordain that these presents be proclaimed in the most public manner in the usual places, that no one may pretend ignorance thereof; and we enjoin all persons who may hear or know of any one that shall utter words in public or otherwise against the honour of the aforesaid persons of our blood and lineage, or to the disgrace of this said peace, that they do denounce him or them to our officers of justice, that punishment may ensue according to the exigence of the case, and that they may be proceeded against as rebels to our commands and ordinances. That these presents may have their due weight, we have hereunto set our seal. Given at Paris in the month of February in the year of Grace 1414, and of our reign the 35th." Signed by the king and his grand council. Countersigned, "Estienne Mauregard." As this peace was proclaimed throughout Paris, so was it published in divers parts of the kingdom of France.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.—THREE PORTUGUESE PERFORM A DEED OF ARMS AGAINST THREE FRENCHMEN, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE PORTUGUESE ARE VANQUISHED.

At this period, there was a combat between three Portuguese and three Frenchmen, performed at the king's palace of St. Ouen near to Paris. The names of the Portuguese were the lord d'Alenton, sir Jean Cousaille knight, and sir Peter Cousaille. The three Frenchmen were sir François de Grignaulx, Marigon, and la Rocque. The Portuguese, as the challengers, were first introduced into the lists by the earl of Dorset and the other English lords. The French were conducted by Clugnet de Brabant, admiral of France, John brother to the duke de Bar, and several more. After the accustomed proclamations had been made, in the king's name, the combat began, and was hard fought; but at length the Portuguese surrendered themselves as vanquished, to save their lives, to the great indignation and displeasure of the English, who had conducted them to the lists. The Portuguese were, by the king's command, put out of the lists, and the French honourably escorted home, very much rejoiced at their victory.

When the business of the peace had been concluded, the countess of Hainault left Senlis, and returned to her country and to her lord duke William. The English, about the same time, departed from Paris, after having been magnificently feasted and honoured by the king and his princes, and having likewise been presented with rich gifts. They did not, however, succeed in the object of their mission, namely, the marriage of their king with the lady Catherine of France, because their demands for her portion were unreasonable and excessive, such as the duchy of Normandy, the county of Ponthieu, with the duchy of Aquitaine, to be held as inheritances for ever. The king of France, in reply, told them that he would shortly send ambassadors to England with his final answer to the request they had made.

CHAPTER CXXXV.—THE PEACE OF ARRAS SOLEMNLY SWORN TO IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—IT IS AFTERWARDS SWORN TO IN DIVERS OTHER PLACES.

On the 13th day of March, in this year, the duke of Brabant, the bishop of Tournay, the lord de Ront, sir William Bouvier, governor of Arras, counsellors and ambassadors from the duke of Burgundy, and the deputies from the three estates of Flanders, having full powers from the duke of Burgundy for this purpose, swore in the name of the said duke, and in his behalf, in the presence of the king of France, on the true cross and holy evangelists of God; and in like manner the duke of Brabant and the others above-mentioned, for themselves in their own private capacities, swore to the full observance and preservation of all the articles of the peace first treated of before Arras and confirmed at Paris. The dukes of Berry,

Orleans, Alençon and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, de Vendôme, grand-master of the household, the lord de Prayaux,* the chancellor of France, the archbishops of Sens, Bourges, Rouen, the bishops of Laon, Lisieux, Paris, Chartres, the chancellor of Aquitaine, the count de Tancarville and others, took the same oath in the presence of the king and the grand council.

Commissioners were then sent by the king from Paris, namely, the master of the cross-bows of France, the lord de Rambures, and master Jean de Vailly, first president of the parliament, to Tournay, where they arrived in the month of March. The duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainault, Philip of Burgundy count of Charolois, the nobles and prelates of Ghent, and other great towns in Flanders, there met them. When the king's letter had been read, the count de Charolois, and all present, took the oath required, in the hands of the said commissioners, and in the presence of the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainault, promising on their own behalf, to keep the said peace, and to pay attention to the contents of the king's letter. In like manner did the prelates, nobility, and others of the town of Tournay and the adjacent countries, make oath, delivering their certificates signed and sealed by them, as the count de Charolois and the Flemings had done to the commissioners, to be carried to Estienne Mauregard, the master of the rolls, at Paris. The count de Charolois, after the holy week, convoked, at Arras, all the nobility, clergy, and inhabitants of the country of Artois and its dependencies, who all swore, and delivered in certificates, as those of Tournay had done. Commissioners were afterward sent into Burgundy, to receive the oaths of the duke and of the estates of the duchy and its dependencies. These commissioners were the lord de Tynouville† and master Symon de Vanterre, president of the parliament, who received the oaths and certificates, and sent them to the master of the rolls at Paris; but the duke himself refused to swear, and said he must speak to the king and the duke of Aquitaine before he made oath to keep the peace, on certain causes that affected him.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.—THE COMMONALTY AND CLERGY OF AMIENS ARE ASSEMBLED TO SWEAR TO THE OBSERVANCE OF THE PEACE OF ARRAS.

[A. D. 1415.]

At the beginning of this year, those of Amiens wrote such letters as follow.

"The mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty of Amiens make known, that on the 18th day of the month of April, in the year 1415, by orders from master John de Vailly, president of the parliament, and commissioner in these parts in the name of the king, the inhabitants of this town were collected in the market-place, by sound of bell, from house to house, when we being present, with the principal inhabitants, this said president caused to be read to us letters from the king of the following purport: 'Charles, by the grace of God king of France,' &c., (and similar to what I have before detailed,)—which being ended, we, and all the people assembled, made oath, and faithfully promised on the cross and holy evangelists of God, and we now by these presents do swear and promise punctually to observe and keep all the articles of the peace lately ratified, as far as it shall concern us, and conformably to the will and pleasure of the king our lord, as contained in these his said letters. In testimony whereof, we have to these presents affixed the common seal of the town of Amiens. Given on the day and year before-mentioned."

The substance of the above was copied by two apostolical notaries, who certified that the aforesaid ordinance had been published, and the colleges assembled in the chapter-house of the cathedral of Nôtre Dame of Amiens, who had sworn to the same. These were sealed with the seal of the bishop of Amiens, of the chapter, and of the other chapters and colleges, and given to the bailiff of Amiens to carry to master Estienne Mauregard, master of the rolls in Paris. The bailiff caused the king's proclamation to be published everywhere

* Préaux. James de Bourbon, third son of James, first count of la Marche, lord of Préaux by marriage, and grand-butler of France. His sons were, Louis, killed at Azincourt, Peter, lord of Préaux in 1417, and James, lord of Thury. The two latter married two daughters of the grand-master Montagu.

† Q. Tignonville.

within his jurisdiction, except within the lands of the duke of Burgundy: he received the oaths of all ranks of persons to the due observance of the same, and the proper certificates from each prelate, noble, and others resident within his bailiwick. Thus were these ordinances respecting the peace proclaimed throughout all the bailiwicks and seneschalships in the realm, at the usual places; and then oaths and certificates were demanded by the commissioners from the clergy, nobles, and chief towns, and delivered at Paris in the same manner as the others had been.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.—THE COUNT WALERAN DE ST. POL DIES AT YVOIX, IN THE COUNTY OF CHINY IN LUXEMBOURG.—THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD GO TO MELUN, BY ORDERS FROM THE QUEEN AND THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE.

On the 9th day of April, in this same year 1415, Waleran count de St. Pol and de Ligny, calling himself constable of France, fell ill in the castle of Yvoix, in the county of Chiny. His disorder, as it was reported, was occasioned by his physician having administered to him too strong a clyster; and about twelve days after, he departed this life, and was buried in front of the great altar in the principal church in Yvoix, amidst the tears and lamentations of his attendants,—although he had ordered, by a will made in his lifetime, that his body should be carried to the abbey of Cercamp, of which his ancestors the counts de St. Pol had been the founders. In the course of his illness he had sent for his countess, the sister to the duke of Bar*, having an earnest desire to converse with her before his last hour; but, notwithstanding the diligence she made to comply with his request, she did not arrive, accompanied by a niece of the count's, sister to sir John Luxembourg, until about two hours after his decease, although they had rode a-straddle, on hard-trotting horses, to make the more speed. They were much shocked on hearing of his death. When the countess had remained at Yvoix about eight hours, and disbanded the men-at-arms of her late lord, she returned to Ligny-en-Barrois, where she had the obsequies of the count celebrated in the cathedral church. She publicly renounced, by her attorney, all the debts and estates of her late lord, excepting her dower, by placing on his tomb his belt and purse, of which act she demanded from the public notaries present to have certificates drawn up. The count's heirs were the two sons of the duke of Brabant by the daughter of his first wife†.

In this same month, the princes of the blood then at Paris went to Melun, by command of the queen and the duke of Aquitaine, who were there resident. While they were occupied on business with the queen, the duke of Aquitaine set off for Paris with few attendants; and thence he sent the princes word that they were not to return to Paris until ordered by the king or himself, and commanded them to retire to their estates, and to attend to their own affairs. After this, the duke, knowing that the queen his mother had deposited large sums in the hands of three persons in Paris, who were her confidants, namely, Michault de l'Allier, Guillaume Sanguin, and Picquit de la Haye, suddenly entered their houses with his people, and seized all the money found therein, and carried it to his hotel. He then summoned the provosts of Paris, the university, and the principal inhabitants to come to him at the Louvre, where he caused to be laid before them, by the bishop of Chartres, his chancellor, article by article, the whole history of the government of the kingdom, from the coronation of the king his father until that moment, showing how the duke of Anjou had seized the treasures of king Charles his grandfather, and wasted them in Italy, as well as the portions of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, last deceased; then mentioning the death of the late duke of Orleans, and his government, and concluding with the administration of the present duke of Burgundy, who had consumed the whole of the finances, and despoiled the kingdom. He then declared, that as duke of Aquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, and

* Bona de Bar, second wife of count Waleran, by whom he left no issue.

† Waleran, count of St. Pol, married for his first wife Matilda de Roeux, by whom he had one daughter, Jane, married to Anthony, duke of Brabant. She died before her father, leaving two sons, John and Philip, who successively possessed the duchy of Brabant as heirs to their father, and the counties of St. Pol and Ligny in right of their mother. Guy, count of Ligny, father of Waleran, was also father to John, count of Brienne, whose son Peter succeeded to the county of St. Pol on the death of Philip, duke of Brabant, in 1430, without issue.

presumptive heir to the crown, he would no longer suffer such waste to be committed on the public revenues, or on his father's demesnes. To this end, therefore, and for the security and welfare of the king and realm, he had thus assembled them, to make known to them, and all the world, his resolution of taking on himself the government of the kingdom, with a firm determination to provide a remedy against such abuses in future. When the above had been eloquently and elaborately explained to the assembly, it broke up, and every one returned to his home.

The princes of the blood, on receiving the orders from the duke of Aquitaine, took their leave of the queen, and separated from each other. The duke of Berry went to Dourdan*, in his county of Estampes, the duke of Orleans to Orleans, and the duke of Bourbon to his duchy of Bourbon. The duke of Burgundy was before, as has been mentioned, in his duchy of Burgundy. The king was very ill at his hotel of St. Pol at Paris. The next step of the duke of Aquitaine was to take away his duchess from the company of the queen, which he did in person, accompanied by the count de Richemont, and had her placed at St. Germain-en-Laye.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY TO INVADE FRANCE.—AMBASSADORS SENT HIM FROM THAT COUNTRY.—THE ANSWERS THEY RECEIVE.

HENRY V. OF ENGLAND, WITH MILITARY ATTENDANTS, UNDER THEIR APPROPRIATE BANNERS.
The figure of the King, from an illumination of the period; the Attendants, from tombs of the heroes of Azincourt; and the Banners from examples engraved in Sir N. H. Nicholas's History of the Battle of Azincourt.

WHEN the English ambassadors were returned to England, and had reported to the king their ill success, the king, princes, and country were much displeased thereat. After many councils had been holden, it was at length resolved, that the king should raise the greatest

* Dourdan,—a town in Beauce, on the river Orge, four leagues from Estampes.

possible force to invade France, and so sorely despoil that kingdom that the present king and his successors should be driven from it.

To provide a sufficient fleet for the transport of his army, he sent commissioners* into Holland and Zealand, who, on proper security for good payment, made contracts for the number of vessels that would be wanted. The king of England had prepared all manner of stores and provisions necessary for war; and in regard to the payment of the forces, adequate sums were raised: indeed, there remained an overplus of five hundred thousand nobles, in money or plate. It was determined, that the king himself, attended by the princes and the whole army, should embark to invade France as early as possible. Intelligence of this was speedily carried to France. The duke of Aquitaine, who now governed the realm in behalf and in the name of the king his father, in consequence, held many councils, and remanded to Paris the duke of Berry and some other lords, with whom he had several consultations to know how he should act on this occasion, for the king was then confined by his disorder. It was determined, that men-at-arms and archers should be assembled in various parts of France ready to march against the English the moment it should be known they were landed; that garrisons should be placed in every town and castle on the coast; and that as large sums of money as possible should be raised with all speed.

It was likewise resolved to send a solemn embassy to the king of England, to make him other offers, in answer to the demands of his last ambassadors. Those appointed for this business were the count de Vendôme, master William Bouratier, archbishop of Bourges,* master Peter Fennel, bishop of Lisieux, the lords of Ivry and Bracquemont, master Gautier Col, secretary to the king, master John Andrieu, and some others of the great council.† Taking advantage of the existing truce, they set out from Paris, and travelling through Amiens, Montreuil, and Boulogne, to Calais, they there crossed the sea to Dover. They were in all three hundred and fifty horsemen, and continued their journey from Dover to Canterbury, where they were met by the king's harbingers, who conducted them through Rochester to London, and thence to Winchester, where the king was. The archbishop of Bourges explained to the king, in the hall of the bishop of Winchester, and in the presence of the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, brothers to the king, and of the lords of the council, clergy, chivalry, and populace, the object of his embassy. The archbishop spoke first in Latin, and then in the Walloon language, so eloquently and wisely, that both the English and French who heard him were greatly surprised. At the conclusion of his harangue he made offers to the king of a great extent of country in France, with a large sum of ready money on his marriage with the princess Catherine, but on condition that he would disband the army he had collected at Southampton, and at the adjacent sea-ports, to invade France; and that by these means an eternal peace would be established between the two kingdoms. The assembly broke up when the archbishop had ended his speech; and the French ambassadors were kindly entertained at dinner by the king, who then appointed a day for them to receive his answer to their propositions, by the mouth of the archbishop of Canterbury.

In the course of the archbishop's speech, in which he replied, article by article, to what the archbishop of Bourges had offered, he added to some, and passed over others of them, so that he was sharply interrupted by the archbishop of Bourges, who exclaimed, "I did not say so, but such were my words." The conclusion, however, was, that unless the king of France would give, as a marriage-portion with his daughter, the duchies of Aquitaine, of Normandy, of Anjou, of Tours, the counties of Ponthieu, Mans, and Poitou, and every other part that had formerly belonged to the English monarchs, the king would not desist from his intended invasion of France, but would despoil the whole of that kingdom, which had been unjustly detained from him,—and that he should depend on his sword for the accomplishment of the above, and for depriving king Charles of his crown. The king avowed

* The *commissioners* were Richard Clitherow and Symon Flecte, esquires.—*Fœdera.*

I would refer the reader to this excellent work for the whole detail of the negotiations with France respecting the marriage of Catherine. The demands of the English ambassadors are detailed at length, with the handsome proposals on the part of France, in answer to such exorbitant and unjust pretensions.

† "A stoute and prowde bishopp," says Grafton, p. 447.

‡ See the Fœdera.

what the archbishop had said, and added, that thus, with God's aid, he would act,—and promised it on the word of a king. The archbishop of Bourges then, according to the custom in France, demanded permission to speak, and said, "O king! how canst thou, consistently with honour and justice, thus wish to dethrone, and iniquitously destroy the most Christian king of the French, our very dear and most redoubted lord, the noblest and most excellent of all the kings in Christendom. O king! with all due reverence and respect, dost thou think that he has offered by me such extent of territory, and so large a sum of money with his daughter in marriage, through any fear of thee, thy subjects or allies? By no means; but, moved by pity and his love of peace, he has made these offers to avoid the shedding of innocent blood, and that Christian people may not be overwhelmed in the miseries of war; for whenever thou shalt make thy promised attempt, he will call upon God, the blessed Virgin, and on all the saints, making his appeal to them for the justice of his cause,—and with their aid, and the support of his loyal subjects and faithful allies, thou wilt be driven out of his dominions, or thou wilt be made prisoner, or thou wilt there suffer death by orders of that just king whose ambassadors we are. We have now only to entreat of thee, that thou wouldst have us safely conducted out of thy realm; and that thou wouldst write to our said king, under thy hand and seal, the answer which thou hast had given to us."

The king kindly granted their requests;* and the ambassadors, having received handsome presents, returned by way of Dover to Calais, and thence to Paris. They reported to the duke of Aquitaine, in the presence of the members of the grand council, many knights and other persons, the ill success of their embassy. At the same time, the duke of Aquitaine and the council received letters from the king of England, dated from Winchester, containing his final answer to the proposals that had been made him.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE.—THE ANSWER THEY RECEIVE.—HE TAKES THE OATH.

THE duke of Burgundy, tormented by the clamours of those who had been banished from Paris and the kingdom of France, and whom, as I have noticed, he had taken under his protection, was very desirous of alleviating their distress, and for this purpose sent ambassadors to Paris to his son-in-law the duke of Aquitaine, and to the grand council of the king. These ambassadors were sir Regnier Pot and the lord d'Ancre, knights, the bishop of Tournay, and an advocate of Dijon. They were instructed to solicit the recal of those who had been banished the kingdom by royal authority, and that the five hundred who had been excepted by the articles of the peace should be fully pardoned, and that all which had passed should be forgotten. They were also to insist, that the duchess of Aquitaine, whom the duke had sent to reside at St. Germain-en-Laye, should inhabit the Louvre with him, and that he should put away a female friend who lived with him in place of his said wife. If these things were complied with, he promised to take the prescribed oath to preserve the peace,—otherwise not.

The duke of Aquitaine was so much angered, when he first heard these proposals, that the ambassadors did not experience a very agreeable reception. They waited, therefore, on him another day, in hope of receiving more favourable answers; but finding that they could no way succeed in what had been ordered by their lord the duke of Burgundy, they addressed the duke of Aquitaine as follows: "Most renowned prince, and very noble lord, with reverence be it known to you, that if you do not grant what our aforesaid lord requires of you, he will never swear to the observance of the late peace; and should the English invade France, neither he himself nor his vassals will bear arms in your service, or for the defence of the kingdom." The duke, hearing this, was more exasperated than before; but, dissembling

* "The king was nothing vexed nor unquieted with the sayeings and prowde bragges of the unnurtured archbishopp, but well remembering the sayeing of Salomon, &c. &c., coldely and soberly answered the bishop, saying, 'My lorde, I little esteem your *French bragges*,' &c." —*Grafton.*

It is very easy to bestow the terms of pride and insolence on whichever side of the question it is most convenient.

his feelings, he replied, that he would advise with his council on the subject of their coming, and within a short time would send an answer to their lord by a confidential person. Upon this, the ambassadors returned to Burgundy.

The duke of Aquitaine consulted the grand council on the above; and in consequence, sir Guichard Daulphin, the lord de Viel-pont, and master John de Vailly, president of the parliament, were sent, in the king's name, to Burgundy, where they treated so effectually with the duke, whom they met at Dijon, that he took the same oaths the others had done; and they brought back his certificate under his seal, which was given to Estienne Mauregard, master of the rolls. The duke of Burgundy, however, kept up a very large force of men-at-arms and archers, in the duchy and county of Burgundy, and the adjacent parts, to the great loss of the poor inhabitants, to aid and defend him, should there be occasion.

On the 23d day of July, those five hundred persons whose names had been excepted from the amnesty on the conclusion of the peace between the duke of Burgundy and the other princes of the blood, were publicly banished, by sound of trumpet, from France, in the presence of the ambassadors from the duke of Burgundy, at that time in Paris.

CHAPTER CXL.—HENRY, KING OF ENGLAND, MAKES GREAT PREPARATIONS TO INVADE FRANCE.—HE SENDS LETTERS TO THE KING OF FRANCE AT PARIS.

It is proper that we now return to the king of England, who was making vast preparations of warlike stores, and every other necessary, to accomplish his projected invasion of France. He had marched his army to Southampton, and to the neighbouring sea-ports; and after the 2d day of August, when the truce between the two kingdoms expired, the garrisons of Calais and other places began to overrun and despoil the country of the Boulonois, and divers other parts. The king of France instantly ordered thither, to oppose them, the lord de Rambures, master of the cross-bows, and the lord de Louroy, with five hundred combatants, for the defence of the country. Within a few days after the expiration of the truce, king Henry, whose preparations were now completed, sent one of his heralds called Gloucester*, to Paris, to deliver letters to the king, of which the contents were as follows.

"To the very noble prince, Charles, our cousin and adversary, of France. Henry, by the grace of God king of England and of France. To give to every one what is their due, is a work of inspiration and wise council, very noble prince, our cousin and adversary. The noble kingdoms of England and France were formerly united, now they are divided. At that time it was customary for each person to exalt his name by glorious victories, and by this single virtue to extol the honour of God, to whom holiness belongs, and to give peace to his church, by subjecting in battle the enemies of the public weal. But alas! good faith among kindred, and brotherly love, have been perverted; and Lot persecutes Abraham by human impulsion, and Dissention, the mother of Anger, has been raised from the dead. We, however, appeal to the sovereign Judge, (who is neither swayed by prayers nor gifts from doing right), that we have, from pure affection, done every thing in our power to preserve the peace; and we must now rely on the sword for regaining what is justly our heritage, and those rights which have from old time belonged to us; and we feel such assurance in our courage that we will fight till death in the cause of justice. The written law in the book of Deuteronomy ordains, that before any person commences an attack on a city, he shall first offer terms of peace; and although violence has detained from us our rightful inheritances, charity, however, induces us to attempt, by fair means, their recovery; for should justice be denied us, we may then resort to arms. And to avoid having our conscience affected by this matter, we make our personal request to you, and exhort you by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to follow the dictates of his evangelical doctrine. Friend, restore what thou owest, for such is the will of God, to prevent the effusion of the blood of man, who was created in his likeness. Such restitution of rights cruelly torn from us, and which we have so frequently demanded by our ambassadors, will be agreeable to the supreme

* Hollingshed styles him "Antilope, pursuivant at arms."

God, and secure peace on earth. From our love of peace, we were inclined to refuse fifty thousand golden crowns lately offered us; for, being more desirous of peace than riches, we have preferred enjoying the patrimony left us by our venerable ancestors, with our very dear cousin Catherine, your noble daughter, to iniquitously multiplying our treasures, and thus disgracing the honour of our crown, which God forbid!

"Given under our privy seal, in our castle of Southampton, the 5th day of the month of August."

The above letter having been presented by the herald to the king of France, he was told that the king and council would examine it, and consider more at length its contents,—and that the king would provide accordingly, in such time and place as should seem good to him,—and that he might return to his lord the king of England when he pleased.

CHAPTER CXLI.—THE KING OF ENGLAND, WHILE AT SOUTHAMPTON, DISCOVERS A CONSPIRACY OF HIS NOBLES AGAINST HIM.—HE LAYS SIEGE TO HARFLEUR, AND WINS THAT TOWN.

While the king of England remained at Southampton, to embark his army which was now ready to sail for France, he was informed that many lords of his household had entered into a conspiracy against him, with the intent to place the earl of March, the rightful successor and heir to Richard the Second, on the throne of England. True it is, that the earl of Cambridge, with others, had plotted to seize the persons of the king and his brothers, to accomplish the above purpose, and had revealed their plan to the earl of March, who had discovered it to the king, advising him, at the same time, to be on his guard, or he would be betrayed, and named to him the conspirators. King Henry was not long in having them arrested, when the three principal were beheaded, namely, the earl of Cambridge, the lord Scrope of Masham, who every night slept with the king, and sir Thomas Grey. Some others were afterwards executed.

This matter being ended, the king hastened the embarkation of his army, and put to sea. On the vigil of the Assumption of Our Lady, they made in the night-time a harbour* which lies between Harfleur and Honfleur, where the river Seine enters the sea, and landed without any effusion of blood. Their fleet might consist of about sixteen hundred vessels of all sorts, full of soldiers, and every sort of warlike stores. When the whole of the army was landed, the king fixed his quarters at a priory in Graville†; and his brothers, the dukes of Clarence‡ and Gloucester§, near to him. His uncles, the dukes of York‖ and Dorset¶, the bishop of Norwich, the earls of Windsor**, Suffolk††, earl marshal, Warwick‡‡ and Kent§§, the lords de Camber, Beaumont, Willoughby of Trompington, sir John de Cornewall, Molliflac‖‖‖, with many more, lodged themselves as well as they could. They marched the army to besiege with vigour the town of Harfleur, the commanding sea-port of all that coast of Normandy.

The king's army was composed of about six thousand helmets and twenty-three thousand archers, exclusive of cannoneers, and others employed with the engines of war, of which he had great abundance. About four hundred picked men-at-arms had been sent by the French government to defend Harfleur, under the command of the lords d'Estouteville, governor of the town, de Blainville, de Bacqueville, de Hermanville, de Gaillart, de Bos, de Clerè, de

* Probably Quillebœuf.

† Graville,—a small town in Normandy, on the road between Havre and Harfleur.

‡ Thomas, duke of Clarence.

§ Humphry, duke of Gloucester.

‖ Edward, duke of York, son of Edmund Langley, fifth son of Edward III.

¶ Thomas Somerset, earl of Dorset, and afterwards duke of Exeter, youngest son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swineford. Hollingshed commits two errors,—first, in saying that the *marquis* of Dorset was made duke of Exeter, whereas the *marquis* of Dorset was a distinct person from the earl, being the *eldest* son of John of Gaunt by the same venter, and forfeited his title by treason in 1 H. 4,—secondly, in fixing the date of creation in 1 H. 4, whereas the earl of Dorset was not made duke of Exeter till 4 H. 5, the year after the battle of Azincourt.

** There was no earl of Windsor.—This is probably a mistake for Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, who accompanied the king.

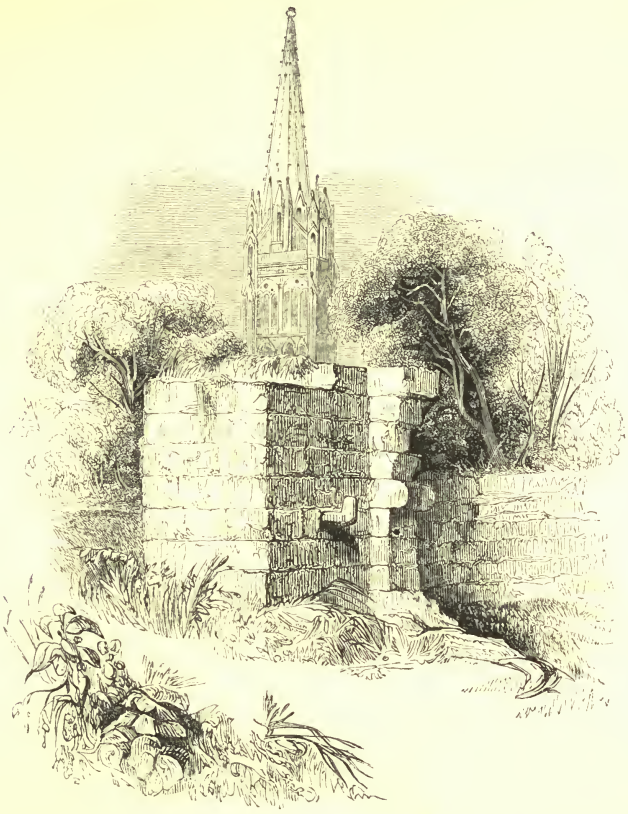
†† Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, killed at Azincourt.

‡‡ Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, a distinguished warrior, and afterwards regent of France.

§§ A mistake for Gilbert de Umphraville, earl of Kyme.

‖‖‖ Molliflac. Q. Molins.

Becton, de Adsanches, de Briautè*, de Gaucourt, de l'Isle-Adam†, and several other valiant knights and esquires, to the amount aforesaid, who gallantly opposed the English. But their attempts were vain against so superior a force; and in their sallies, they had great difficulty



Remains of the Walls of Harfleur, with the Church of St. Martin in the distance.
From an original drawing.

to re-enter the town. They took up the pavement which was between Montivilliers and Harfleur, to make the road as bad as possible, and carried away the stones. Notwithstanding this, the English scoured the country, made many prisoners, and gained much booty; and planted their large engines in the most convenient spots for battering the town, which greatly damaged its walls. The besieged were not slack in their defence, but made such good use of cross-bows and other weapons, that many of the English were slain. The town had but two gates, namely, that of Caltinant and that of Montivilliers, whence they made several vigorous sallies on the enemy; but the English defended themselves well. An unfortunate accident

* Roger, third lord of La Bréautè, &c., chamberlain to Charles VI. and VII. The misfortunes of this family almost equal those of the house of Stuart. Roger, elder brother to this lord of Bréautè, was killed at Gisors in 1404, when on the eve of marriage. The present lord was made prisoner in Normandy, and sold half his estates to ransom himself: of the remainder, he was afterwards deprived by the chance of war. His eldest son, John, was killed at the battle of Verneuil in 1424. His second son, also called John, succeeded his father, was three times taken prisoner, and ruined in the efforts made to ransom him: he was at last killed at the battle of Montlehery, in 1460. James, the third son, was lord of Bellefosse, killed at Pataye in 1429. Roger lord of Crouin, the fourth son, was killed in England in 1460. All the members of this unhappy family were distinguished for valour.

† Ancel de l'Isle-Adam, lord of Puysieux, Vegnai, &c., and *grand-échanson* of France, was killed at Azincourt.

befel the besieged; for a supply of gunpowder, sent them by the king of France, was met by the English and taken.

While these things were passing, the king of France sent against the English a considerable body of men-at-arms to Rouen, and other parts on the frontier, under the charge of the constable, the marshal Boucicaut, the seneschal of Hainault, the lords de Ligny, de Hamede, sir Clugnet de Brabant, and several other captains. These commanders so well guarded the country, that the English were unable to gain any town or fortress while part of their army was engaged at the siege, although they took great pains so to do; for they frequently made excursions in large bodies over the low countries in search of provision, and to meet the enemy: they did very great damage wherever they passed, and carried off large booties to their head-quarters. However, by the prudent conduct of the French commanders, the English were very much straitened for provision, for the greater part of the stores they had brought with them had been spoiled at sea. Add to this, that an epidemical bowel-complaint raged in their camp, of which upwards of two thousand died. The principal persons thus carried off were, the earl of Stafford*, the bishop of Norwich, the lords Beaumont, Willoughby of Trompington, Burnel, and many other noblemen.

The king of England nevertheless pushed on the siege with great diligence and labour. He had caused three mines to be carried under the walls, and his engines had nearly demolished the gates, which being made known to the inhabitants, and that they were daily liable to be stormed, they offered to surrender themselves to the king, provided they were not within three days succoured from France: they gave hostages for the due performance of this treaty, and thereby saved their lives by paying ransoms. The lord de Bacqueville was sent by the captains in Harfleur to the king of France and the duke of Aquitaine, who were at Vernon-sur-Seine, to make them acquainted with their situation, and to tell them, that unless they were succoured within three days, they would lose their town and all within it. He was in reply told, that the king's forces were not yet assembled, or prepared to give such speedy succour: upon which, the lord de Bacqueville returned to Harfleur,—and it was surrendered to the king of England on St. Maurice's day, to the great sorrow and loss of the inhabitants, and displeasure of the French; for, as I have said, it was the principal sea-port of that part of Normandy.

CHAPTER CXLII.—THE CANONS OF ST. GERY, IN CAMBRAY, QUARREL WITH THE INHABITANTS. —THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY IN CONSEQUENCE MAKES WAR ON CAMBRAY.

At this time, there was a great quarrel between the citizens and inhabitants of Cambray and the canons of the chapter of St. Gery within that town. The inhabitants, foreseeing that the present war between England and France might be carried on near their country, determined, for the greater security of themselves and their town, to repair and enlarge its walls and bulwarks; and consequently they demolished, by force or otherwise, many walls of the gardens of the townsmen which had encroached too near them. They particularly destroyed the gardens belonging to the aforesaid canons, taking a large portion of their land without intending to make them any recompence for what they had done. The inhabitants also wanted to prevent the canons selling wine from their cellars, although they had for a long time done so from their own vintage. For these several offences and grievances the canons, having frequently demanded, but in vain, redress from the townsmen, made heavy complaints of what they had suffered, and were still suffering, to the duke of Burgundy and his council; because, as earl of Flanders, he was the hereditary guardian and defender of all the churches within Cambray. For this guardianship, a certain quantity of corn was annually paid to the duke as protector of the churches within the Cambresis, and this impost was called the Gavenne† of Cambresis.

* Another mistake. Henry, at this time earl of Stafford, was only twenty years old at the accession of Henry VI. His father, Edmund Stafford, was killed many years before, at the battle of Shrewsbury. Hugh Stafford, lord Bourchier, accompanied the king on this expedition against the French, but did not die till five years after.

† Gavenne,—the right of protection due to the counts of Flanders, in quality of guardians, or gaveniers, of Cambresis.—*Dict. du vieux Langage.*

The duke of Burgundy was very much displeased at this conduct of the Cambresians, and sent solemn messengers to inform them, that if they did not make instant and full satisfaction to the canons who were under his protection, for all the damages they had done them, he should take such measures as would serve for an example to all others. Not receiving an answer which was agreeable to him, and being then in Burgundy, he wrote to his son Philippe, count de Charolois, in Flanders, to order him to secure the canons of St. Gery from all oppression and violence, and to constrain the inhabitants of Cambray to make reparation for the wrongs they had done them. The count of Charolois, knowing the temper of his father, again summoned the townsmen to make satisfaction to the canons; and because they sent evasive answers, he secretly advised the canons to leave Cambray and go to Lille, at which town he would find them a handsome dwelling. The canons, on this, placed the better part of their effects in safety, and then secretly left Cambray and went to Lille, or at least the greater number of them.

Soon after their departure, the count de Charolois sent his defiance to the town of Cambray by Hector de Saveuses, who had assembled full three hundred combatants. On the feast-day of the exaltation of the holy cross, he suddenly entered the Cambresis, and advanced almost to the gates of Cambray, when, it being market-day, he plundered, killed, and wounded very many of the town, and perpetrated other cruel deeds. Hector did not make any long stay, but departed, with an immense booty, to quarter himself near to Braye-sur-Somme, saying, that what he had done was by orders of the count de Charolois. This attack much astonished those of Cambray, and put them in great fear. They conceived a greater hatred than before against the canons of St. Gery, increased every preparation for the defence of their town, and made daily seizures of the effects of these canons, such as wine, corn, wood, and other necessaries of life.

The citizens, however, having suffered several inroads and great losses, and considering that in the end the war must be the destruction of their town, solicited duke William count of Hainault, guardian of Cambray for the king of France, that he would negotiate a peace for them with his nephew the count de Charolois, and that they were willing to make every reasonable restitution to the canons for the loss they might have suffered. By the interference, therefore, of duke William and others, the dispute was referred to some doctors of civil law, who sentenced the citizens to rebuild all the walls they had destroyed of the canons' gardens, and to bind themselves to pay annually to the said canons one hundred francs of royal money, on condition that the said canons were not to sell any wines from their cellars. The citizens were allowed liberty to buy up this annuity of a hundred francs for a certain sum, whenever they shall have the power and inclination so to do. On these and some other terms was the quarrel appeased, and the canons returned to their church in Cambray.

CHAPTER CXLIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE COLLECTS A GREAT BODY OF MEN-AT-ARMS FROM ALL PARTS OF HIS KINGDOM TO OPPOSE THE ENGLISH.—THE SUMMONS HE ISSUES ON THE OCCASION.

When the king of France and his council heard of the surrender of Harfleur to the king of England, they consequently expected that he would attempt greater objects, and instantly issued summonses for raising in every part of the kingdom the greatest possible force of men-at-arms. The better to succeed, he ordered his bailiffs and seneschals to exert themselves personally throughout their jurisdictions, and to make known that he had sent ambassadors to England, to offer his daughter in marriage to king Henry, with an immense portion in lands and money, to obtain peace, but that he had failed; and the king of England had invaded his realm, and besieged and taken his town of Harfleur, very much to his displeasure. On this account, therefore, he earnestly solicited the aid of all his vassals and subjects, and required them to join him without delay. He also despatched messengers into Picardy, with sealed letters to the lords de Croy, de Waurin, de Fosseux, de Crequi, de Heuchin, de Brimeu, de Mammez, de la Viefville, de Beaufort, d'Inchy, de Noyelle, de Neufville, and to other noblemen, to order them instantly to raise their powers, under pain of his indignation,

and to join the duke of Aquitaine, whom he had appointed captain-general of his kingdom. The lords of Picardy delayed obeying, for the duke of Burgundy had sent them and all his subjects orders to hold themselves in readiness to march with him when he should summon them, and not to attend to the summons of any other lord, whatever might be his rank. This was the cause why the above-mentioned men-at-arms were in no haste to comply with the king's summons: fresh orders were therefore issued, the tenor of which was as follows.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.—Whereas by our letters we have commanded you to make proclamation throughout your bailiwick, for all nobles and others accustomed to bear arms and follow the wars, instantly to join our very dear and well-beloved son, the duke of Aquitaine, whom we have nominated our captain-general of the kingdom. It is now some time since we have marched against our adversary of England, who had, with a large army, invaded our province of Normandy, and taken our town of Harfleur, owing to the neglect and delay of you and others, in not punctually obeying our orders; for from want of succours our noble and loyal subjects within Harfleur, after having made a most vigorous defence, were forced to surrender it to the enemy. And as the preservation and defence of our kingdom is the concern of all, we call on our good and faithful subjects for aid, and are determined to regain those parts of which the enemy may be in possession, and to drive them out of our kingdom in disgrace and confusion, by the blessing of God, the holy Virgin Mary, and with the assistance of our kindred and loyal subjects.

"You will therefore, by these presents strictly enjoin every one within your jurisdictions, on the duty they owe us, to lose no time in arming themselves, and in hastening to join our said well-beloved the duke of Aquitaine; and you will proclaim these our orders in the most public manner, and in the usual places, that no one may plead ignorance of the same; and that under pain of being reputed disobedient, and having their goods confiscated, they fail not to come to our assistance, sufficiently armed and mounted. Such as, from illness or old age, may be prevented coming shall send, in their stead, persons well armed and accoutred, with their powers to join us, or our said son. Should any difficulties be made in obeying these our commands, you will enforce obedience by seizing on the lands of such as may refuse, placing foragers within their houses, and by every other means employed on such occasions, that they may be induced to join with us in expelling the enemy from our kingdom with disgrace and confusion.

"You will likewise enjoin, in addition to the above, that all cannon, engines of war, and other offensive or defensive weapons that can be spared from the principal towns, be sent to our aid without delay, which we promise to restore at the end of the war. You will use every possible diligence in seeing to the execution of these our commands; and should there be any neglect on your part, which God forbid, we will punish you in such wise that you shall serve for an example to all others in like manner offending. We command all our officers of justice, and others our subjects, punctually to obey all your directions respecting the above; and you will send an acknowledgment of the receipt of these presents to our loyal subjects the officers of our chamber of accounts in Paris, to be used as may be thought proper. Given at Meulan, the 20th day of September, in the year of Grace 1415, and of our reign the 36th." Thus signed by the king and council.

When this proclamation had been published at Paris and Amiens, and in other parts of the kingdom, the king sent ambassadors to the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, to require that they would, without fail, instantly send him five hundred helmets each. The duke of Orleans was at first contented to send his quota, but afterward followed with all his forces. The duke of Burgundy made answer, that he would not send, but come in person with all the chivalry of his country, to serve the king: however, from some delay or dispute that arose between them, he did not attend himself, but the greater part of his subjects armed and joined the French forces.

CHAPTER CXLIV.—THE KING OF ENGLAND MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO HARFLEUR.—THE REGULATIONS WHICH HE ORDAINED.—HE RESOLVES TO MARCH TO CALAIS.—THE DISPOSITION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH.

THE town of Harfleur surrendered to the king on the appointed day: the gates were thrown open, and his commissioners entered the place; but when the king came to the gate, he dismounted, and had his legs and feet uncovered, and thence walked barefooted to the parochial church of St. Martin, where he very devoutly offered up his prayers and thanksgivings to his Creator for his success. After this, he made all the nobles and men-at-arms that were in the town his prisoners, and shortly after sent the greater part of them out of the place clothed in their jackets only, taking down their names and surnames in writing, and making them swear on their faith that they would render themselves prisoners at Calais on the Martinmas-day next ensuing,—and then they departed. In like manner were the inhabitants constituted prisoners, and forced to ransom themselves for large sums of money. In addition, they were driven out of the town, with numbers of women and children, to each of whom were given five sous and part of their clothing. It was pitiful to see and hear the sorrow of these poor people, thus driven away from their dwellings and property. The priests and clergy were also dismissed; and in regard to the wealth found there, it was immense, and appertained to the king, who distributed it among such as he pleased. Two towers that were very strong, and situated on the side next the sea, held out for ten days after the surrender of the town; but then they surrendered also. The king of England ordered the greater part of his army home, by way of Calais, under the command of his brother the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick. His prisoners and the great booty he had made were sent by sea to England, with his warlike engines. When the king had repaired the walls and ditches of the town, he placed in it a garrison of five hundred men-at arms and one thousand archers, under the command of the governor sir John le Blond, knight*: he added a very large stock of provision and of warlike stores.

After fifteen days' residence in Harfleur, the king of England departed, escorted by two thousand men-at-arms and about thirteen thousand archers, and numbers of other men, intending to march to Calais. His first quarters were at Fauville† and in the adjacent places: then, traversing the country of Caux, he made for the county of Eu. Some of the English light troops came before the town of Eu, in which were several French men-at-arms, who sallied out to oppose them: in the number was a most valiant man-at-arms, called Lancelot Pierres, who, having attacked one of the English, was struck by him with a lance, which piercing the plates of his armour, mortally wounded him in the belly, and being thus wounded, he was killed by the Englishman; to the great grief of the count d'Eu and many of the French. Thence the king of England marched through Vimeu, with the intent of crossing the river Somme at Blanchetaque, where his predecessor, king Edward, had passed when he gained the battle of Cressy against Philippe de Valois; but learning from his scouts that the French had posted a considerable force to guard that ford, he altered his route, and marched toward Arraines, burning and destroying the whole country, making numbers of prisoners and acquiring a great booty.

On Sunday, the 13th of October, he lodged at Bailleul in Vimeu,—and thence crossing the country, he sent a considerable detachment to gain the pass of the Pont-de-Remy‡; but the lord de Vaucourt, with his children and a great number of men-at-arms, gallantly defended it against the English. This constrained king Henry to continue his march, and quarter his army at Hangest-sur-Somme§ and in the neighbouring villages.

At that time, the lord d'Albreth, constable of France, the marshal Boucicaut, the count de Vendôme grand master of the household, the lord de Dampierre, calling himself admiral of

* Hollingshed says, that the king appointed the duke of Exeter governor of Harfleur, and sir John Fastolfe lieutenant-governor,—and that the duke of Clarence had leave to return to England on account of the epidemical disorder that was so fatal to the English army before Harfleur.

† Fauville,—a market-town of Normandy, in the country of Caux, four leagues from Fécamp.

‡ Pont-de-Remy,—a village in Picardy, election of Abbeville.

§ Hangest-sur-Somme,—a small town in Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

France, the duke d'Alençon, the count de Richemont, with a numerous and gallant chivalry, were in Abbeville. On hearing of the line of march which the king of England was pursuing, they departed thence and went to Corbie and Peronne, with their army near at hand, but dispersed over the country to guard all the fords of the river Somme against the English. The king of England marched from Hangest to Ponthieu *, passing by Amiens, and fixed his quarters at Boves, then at Herbonnieres, Vauville†, Bainviller, the French marching on the opposite bank of the Somme. At length the English crossed that river on the morrow of St. Luke's day, by the ford between Betencourt and Voyenne ‡, which had not been staked by those of St. Quentin as they had been ordered by the king of France. The English army were quartered at Monchy-la-Gache§, near the river of Miraumont; and the lords of France, with their forces, retired to Bapaume and the adjacent parts.

CHAPTER CXLV.—THE KING OF FRANCE AND SEVERAL OF THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD-ROYAL HOLD A COUNCIL AT ROUEN, AND RESOLVE ON FIGHTING THE ENGLISH.

While these things were passing, the king of France and the duke of Aquitaine came to Rouen, and on the 30th day of October a council was held to consider how they should best act, in regard to opposing the king of England. There were present at this council the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Brittany, the count de Ponthieu, youngest son to the king of France, the chancellors of France and of Aquitaine, with other able advisers, to the amount of thirty-five persons. When the matter had been fully discussed in the king's presence, it was resolved by thirty of the said counsellors, that the king of England should be combated. The minority of five gave substantial reasons against fighting the English army at the time they had fixed on; but the opinion of the majority prevailed. The king of France instantly sent his commands to the constable, and to his other captains, to collect incontinently as large a force as they could, and give battle to the king of England. Orders were likewise dispatched through every part of the realm for all noblemen accustomed to bear arms to hasten day and night to the constable's army wherever it might be. The duke of Aquitaine had a great desire to join the constable, although his father had forbidden him; but, by the persuasions of the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry, he was prevailed on to give it up.

The different lords now hastened with all speed to unite their men to the army of the constable, who, on his approach towards Artois, sent the lord de Montgaugier to announce to the count de Charolois, only son of the duke of Burgundy, the positive orders he had received to give battle to the English, and to entreat him most affectionately, in the king's and constable's name, to make one of the party. The lord de Montgaugier met the count de Charolois at Arras, and was well received by him and his courtiers. When he had explained the cause of his coming to the count in presence of his council, the lords des Robais and de la Viefville, his principal ministers, replied, that the count would make sufficient haste to be present at the ensuing battle, and on this they parted. Now, although the count de Charolois most anxiously desired to combat the English, and though his said ministers gave him to understand that he should be present, they had received from the duke of Burgundy express orders to the contrary, and they were commanded, under pain of his highest displeasure, not to suffer him to go on any account. In consequence, to draw him farther off, they carried him from Arras to Aire. To this place the constable sent again to request his support; and Montjoye, king-at-arms, was despatched to him with a similar request from the king of France. However, matters were managed otherwise by his ministers, and they even contrived to keep him secretly in the castle of Aire, that he might not know when the day of the battle was fixed. Notwithstanding this, the greater part of the officers of his household, well knowing that a battle must be near at hand, set out, unknown to him, to join the French in the ensuing combat with the English. The count de Charolois, therefore, remained with the young lord d'Antoing and his ministers, who at last,

* Ponthieu,—a village near Amiens.
† Vauville,—a village near Peronne.
‡ Villages between Ham and St. Quentin.
§ Monchy-la-Gache,—a small town near Ham.

to appease him, were forced to avow the positive orders they had received, not to permit him to be present at the battle. This angered him very much; and, as I have been told, he withdrew to his chamber in tears.

We must now return to the king of England, whom we left at Monchy-la-Gache. He thence marched towards Ancre*, and quartered himself at Forceville†, and his army at Cheu and the adjacent parts. On the morrow, which was Wednesday, he marched near to Lucheux‡, and was quartered at Bouvieres-l'Escaillon; but his uncle the duke of York, who commanded the van division, was lodged at Fienench, on the river Canche: it is true, that this night the English were quartered much apart, in seven or eight different villages. They were, however, no way interrupted; for the French had advanced, to be beforehand with them, at St. Pol and on the river Aunun. On the Thursday, the king of England dislodged from Bouvieres, and marched in handsome array to Blangy§: when he had there crossed the river, and ascended the heights, his scouts saw the French advancing in large bodies of men-at-arms to quarter themselves at Rousiauville and Azincourt, to be ready to combat the English on the ensuing day.

On this Thursday, Philip count de Nevers, on his return from a reconnoitring party about vespers, was knighted by Boucicaut marshal of France, and with him many other great lords received that honour. Shortly after, the constable arrived near to Azincourt; and the whole French army, being then formed into one body, was encamped on the plain, each man under his banner, excepting those of low degree, who lodged themselves as well as they could in the adjoining villages. The king of England quartered his army at a small village called Maisoncelles, about three bow-shots distant from the enemy. The French, with all the royal officers, namely, the constable, the marshal Boucicaut, the lord de Dampierre and sir Clugnet de Brabant, each styling himself admiral of France, the lord de Rambures, master of the cross-bows, with many other princes, barons, and knights, planted their banners, with loud acclamations of joy, around the royal banner of the constable, on the spot they had fixed upon, and which the English must pass on the following day, on their march to Calais.

Great fires were this night lighted near to the banner under which each person was to fight; but although the French were full one hundred and fifty thousand strong, with a prodigious number of waggons and carts, containing cannon and all other military stores, they had but little music to cheer their spirits; and it was remarked, with surprise, that scarcely any of their horses neighed during the night, which was considered by many as a bad omen. The English, during the whole night, played on their trumpets, and various other instruments, insomuch that the whole neighbourhood resounded with their music; and notwithstanding they were much fatigued and oppressed by cold, hunger, and other discomforts, they made their peace with God, by confessing their sins with tears, and numbers of them taking the sacrament; for, as it was related by some prisoners, they looked for certain death on the morrow.

The duke of Orleans sent, in the night-time, for the count de Richemonte, who commanded the duke of Aquitaine's men and the Bretons, to join him; and when this was done, they amounted to about two hundred men-at-arms and archers: they advanced near to the quarters of the English, who, suspecting they meant to surprise them, drew up in battle array, and a smart skirmish took place. The duke of Orleans and several others were, on this occasion, knighted; but the action did not last long,—and the French retired to their camp,—and nothing more was done that night. The duke of Brittany was, at this time, come from Rouen, to Amiens, to join the French with six thousand men, if the battle had been delayed until the Saturday. In like manner, the marshal de Longny was hastening to their aid with six hundred men. He was quartered that night only six leagues from the main army, and had set out very early the following morning to join them.

* Ancre or Albert,—four leagues from Peronne, seven from Amiens.

† Forceville,—a village near Ancre.

‡ Lucheux,—a town in Picardy, near Dourlens.

§ Blangy,—a village in Picardy, near Amiens.

CHAPTER CXLVI.—THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH MEET IN BATTLE ON THE PLAINS OF AZINCOURT.—THE ENGLISH GAIN THE VICTORY.

On the ensuing day, which was Friday the 25th of October, in the year 1415, the constable and all the other officers * of the king of France, the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Bar, and Alençon; the counts de Nevers, d'Eu, de Richemonte, de Vendôme, de Marle, de Vaudemont, de Blaumonte, de Salines, de Grand Pré, de Roussy, de Dampmartin. and in general all the other nobles and men-at-arms, put on their armour and sallied out of their quarters. Then, by the advice of the constable and others of the king of France's council, the army was formed into three divisions, the van-guard, the main body, and the rear-guard. The van consisted of about eight thousand helmets, knights, esquires, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred cross-bows. This was commanded by the constable, having with him the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu and de Richemonte, the marshal Boucicaut, the master of the cross-bows, the lord de Dampierre admiral of France, sir Guichart Dauphin, and some others. The count de Vendôme, and others of the king's officers, were to form a wing of fifteen hundred men-at-arms, to fall on the right flank of the English; and another wing, under the command of sir Clugnet de Brabant, admiral of France, sir Louis Bourdon, and eight hundred picked men-at-arms, was to attack the left flank: with this last were included, to break in on the English archers, sir William de Saveuses, with his brothers sir Hector and sir Philippe, Ferry de Mailly, Aliaume de Gaspammes, Allain de Vendôme, Lamont de Launoy, and many more. The main battalion was composed of an equal number of knights, esquires, and archers, as the van, and commanded by the dukes of Bar and Alençon, the counts de Nevers, de Vaudemont, de Blaumont, de Salines, de Grand-pré, and de Roussy. The rear-guard consisted of the surplus of men-at-arms, under the orders of the counts de Marle, de Dampmartin, de Fauquembergh, and the lord de Louvroy, governor of Ardres, who had led thither the garrisons on the frontiers of the Boulonois.

When these battalions were all drawn up, it was a grand sight to view; and they were, on a hasty survey, estimated to be more than six times the number of the English. After they had been thus arranged, they seated themselves by companies as near to their own banners as they could, to wait the coming of the enemy; and while they refreshed themselves with food, they made up all differences that might before have existed between any of them. In this state they remained until between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, no way doubting, from their numbers, but the English must fall an easy prey to them. Some, however, of the wisest of them had their fears, and dreaded the event of an open battle.

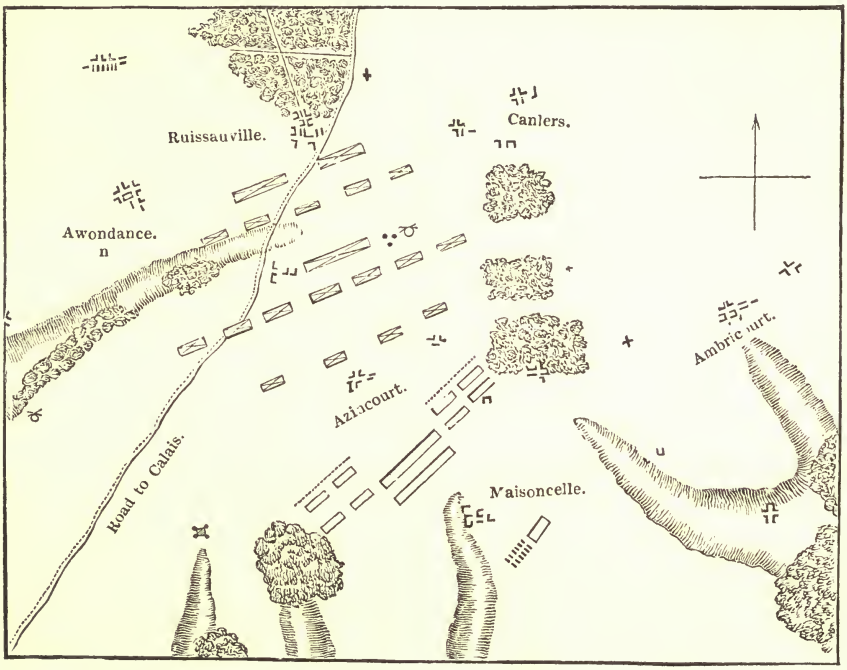
The English on that morning, perceiving that the French made no advances to attack them, refreshed themselves with meat and drink. After calling on the Divine aid against the French, who seemed to despise them, they dislodged from Maisoncelles, and sent some of their light troops in the rear of the town of Azincourt, where, not finding any men-at-arms, in order to alarm the French they set fire to a barn and house belonging to the priory of St. George at Hesdin. On the other hand, the king of England despatched about two hundred archers to the rear of his army, with orders to enter the village of Tramecourt † secretly, and to post themselves in a field near the van of the French, there to remain quiet until it should be proper time for them to use their bows. The rest of the English remained with king Henry, and were shortly after drawn up in battle array by sir Thomas Erpingham, a knight grown grey with age and honour, who placed the archers in front, and the men-at-arms behind them. He then formed two wings of men-at-arms and archers, and posted the horses with the baggage in the rear. Each archer planted before himself a stake sharpened at both ends.

Sir Thomas, in the name of the king, exhorted them all most earnestly to defend their

* The custom was not yet fixed of giving precedence to the officers of the crown over the nobility, and even over the princes of the blood; but Monstrelet, who wrote under Louis XI., when that order was established, adopts it as a matter of course. See more particularly at the beginning of the next chapter, and Boulainvilliers on the ancient parliaments of France.

† Tramecourt,—a village of Artois, bailiwick of St. Pol.

lives, and thus saying he rode along their ranks attended by two persons. When all was done to his satisfaction, he flung into the air a truncheon which he held in his hand, crying out, "Nestrocque*!" and then dismounted, as the king and the others had done. When the English saw sir Thomas throw up his truncheon, they set up a loud shout, to the very great astonishment of the French. The English seeing the enemy not inclined to advance, marched toward them in handsome array, and with repeated huzzas, occasionally stopping to recover their breath. The archers, who were hidden in the field, re-echoed these shoutings, at the same time discharging their bows, while the English army kept advancing upon the French.



Plan of the Battle of Azincourt.—From a plate in Baran'e's Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne.

French Army. English Army.

Their archers, amounting to at least thirteen thousand, let off a shower of arrows with all their might, and as high as possible, so as not to lose their effect: they were, for the most part, without any armour, and in jackets, with their hose loose, and hatchets or swords hanging to their girdles; some indeed were bare-footed and without hats. The princes with the king of England were the duke of York, his uncle, the earls of Dorset, Oxford†, Suffolk, the earl marshal‡, the earl of Kent§, the lords Cambre, Beaumont||, Willoughby¶, sir John de Cornewall, and many other powerful barons of England.

* Hollingshed says, his throwing up his truncheon was for a signal to the archers posted in the field at Tramecourt to commence the battle.

† Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford. This nobleman died the year following, and was succeeded by his son, John de Vere, then only nine years old.

‡ John, lord Mowbray, brother of Thomas earl of Nottingham, and son of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, attainted and banished in the reign of Richard II. Henry V. restored to him the title of Nottingham, and Henry VI. that of Norfolk.

§ Kyme.

|| Henry, lord Beaumont, died 1 H. V., leaving only one son, an infant, who did not attain his full age till 9 H. VI. Sir Thomas Beaumont, brother of lord Henry, may be the person here meant.

¶ Robert, lord Willoughby of Eresby, distinguished among the English captains for his gallant actions under Henry V. and the duke of Bedford.

When the French observed the English thus advance, they drew up each under his banner, with his helmet on his head: they were, at the same time, admonished by the constable, and others of the princes, to confess their sins with sincere contrition and to fight boldly against the enemy. The English loudly sounded their trumpets as they approached, and the French stooped to prevent the arrows hitting them on the vizors of their helmets; thus the distance was now but small between the two armies, although the French had retired some paces. Before, however, the general attack commenced, numbers of the French were slain and severely wounded by the English bowmen. At length the English gained on them so much, and were so close, that excepting the front line, and such as had shortened their lances, the enemy could not raise their hands against them. The division under sir Clugnet de Brabant, of eight hundred men-at-arms, who were intended to break through the English archers, were reduced to seven score, who vainly attempted it. True it is, that sir William de Saveuses, who had been also ordered on this service, quitted his troop, thinking they would follow him, to attack the English, but he was shot dead from off his horse. The others had their horses so severely handled by the archers, that, smarting from pain, they galloped on the van division and threw it into the utmost confusion, breaking the line in many places. The horses were become unmanageable, so that horses and riders were tumbling on the ground, and the whole army was thrown into disorder, and forced back on some lands that had been just sown with corn. Others, from fear of death, fled; and this caused so universal a panic in the army that great part followed the example.

The English took instant advantage of the disorder in the van division, and, throwing down their bows, fought lustily with swords, hatchets, mallets, and bill-hooks, slaying all before them. Thus they came to the second battalion that had been posted in the rear of the first; and the archers followed close king Henry and his men-at-arms. Duke Anthony of Brabant, who had just arrived in obedience to the summons of the king of France, threw himself with a small company (for, to make greater haste, he had pushed forward, leaving the main body of his men behind), between the wreck of the van and the second division; but he was instantly killed by the English, who kept advancing and slaying, without mercy, all that opposed them, and thus destroyed the main battalion as they had done the first. They were, from time to time, relieved by their varlets, who carried off the prisoners; for the English were so intent on victory, that they never attended to making prisoners, nor pursuing such as fled. The whole rear division being on horseback, witnessing the defeat of the two others, began to fly, excepting some of its principal chiefs.

During the heat of the combat, when the English had gained the upper hand and made several prisoners, news was brought to king Henry that the French were attacking his rear, and had already captured the greater part of his baggage and sumpter-horses. This was indeed true, for Robinet de Bournouville, Rifflart de Clamasse, Ysambart d'Azincourt, and some other men-at-arms, with about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon and taken great part of the king's baggage and a number of horses, while the guard was occupied in the battle. This distressed the king very much, for he saw that though the French army had been routed they were collecting on different parts of the plain in large bodies, and he was afraid they would renew the battle. He therefore caused instant proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that every one should put his prisoners to death, to prevent them from aiding the enemy, should the combat be renewed. This caused an instantaneous and general massacre of the French prisoners, occasioned by the disgraceful conduct of Robinet de Bournouville, Ysambart d'Azincourt, and the others, who were afterward punished for it, and imprisoned a very long time by duke John of Burgundy, notwithstanding they had made a present to the count de Charolois of a most precious sword, ornamented with diamonds, that had belonged to the king of England. They had taken this sword, with other rich jewels, from king Henry's baggage*,—and had made this present, that, in case they should at any time be called to an account for what they had done, the count might stand their friend.

The count de Marle, the count de Fauquemberg, the lords de Louvroy and du Chin, had with some difficulty retained about six hundred men-at-arms, with whom they made a gallant charge on the English; but it availed nothing, for they were all killed or made

* See the Fœdera, where the loss of these jewels, &c. is specified.

prisoners. There were other small bodies of French on different parts of the plain; but they were soon routed, slain, or taken. The conclusion was a complete victory on the part of the king of England, who only lost about sixteen hundred men of all ranks *; among the slain was the duke of York †, uncle to the king. On the eve of this battle, and the following morning, before it began, there were upwards of five hundred knights made by the French.

When the king of England found himself master of the field of battle, and that the French, excepting such as had been killed or taken, were flying in all directions, he made the circuit of the plain, attended by his princes; and while his men were employed in stripping the dead, he called to him the French herald, Montjoye, king-at-arms, and with him many other French and English heralds, and said to them, "It is not we who have made this great slaughter, but the omnipotent God, and, as we believe, for a punishment of the sins of the French." He then asked Montjoye, to whom the victory belonged; to him, or to the king of France? Montjoye replied, that the victory was his, and could not be claimed by the king of France. The king then asked the name of the castle he saw near him: he was told, it was called Azincourt. "Well then," added he, "since all battles should bear the names of the fortress nearest to the spot where they were fought, this battle shall, from henceforth, bear the ever-durable name of Azincourt."

The English remained a considerable time on the field, and seeing they were delivered from their enemies, and that night was approaching, they retreated in a body to Maisoncelles, where they had lodged the preceding night: they again fixed their quarters there, carrying with them many of their wounded. After they had quitted the field of battle, several of the French, half dead and wounded, crawled away into an adjoining wood, or to some villages, as well as they could, where many expired. On the morrow, very early, king Henry dislodged with his army from Maisoncelles, and returned to the field of battle: all the French they found there alive were put to death or made prisoners. Then, pursuing their road toward the sea-coast, they marched away: three parts of the army were on foot, sorely fatigued with their efforts in the late battle, and greatly distressed by famine and other wants. In this manner did the king of England return, without any hindrance, to Calais, rejoicing at his great victory, and leaving the French in the utmost distress and consternation at the enormous loss they had suffered.

CHAPTER CXLVII.—THE NAMES OF THE PRINCES, AND OTHER LORDS FROM DIVERS COUNTRIES, WHO PERISHED AT THIS UNFORTUNATE BATTLE, AND OF THOSE WHO WERE MADE PRISONERS.

HERE follow the names of those lords and gentlemen who were slain at the battle of Azincourt, on the side of the French.

We shall begin with the king's officers: the lord Charles d'Albreth, constable of France ‡, the marshal Boucicaut §, carried a prisoner to England, where he died, sir James de Chastillon, lord de Dampierre ||, admiral of France, the lord de Rambures, master of the cross-bows, sir Guichard Daulphin, master of the king's household ¶. Of the princes were, duke Anthony of Brabant, brother to the duke of Burgundy **, Edward duke of Bar, the duke d'Alençon, the

* This account of the loss of the English, is much more probable than that given by most English historians, who state that the total loss amounted to only forty.—ED.

† He was very corpulent, and is said to have been pressed to death in the throng. The earl of Suffolk was also among the slain.

‡ Charles d'Albret, count de Dreux, succeeded by his son Charles II.

§ Boucicaut died in England two years after. He left no issue.

|| He married Jane de la Riviere, and had issue by her one son, James II., lord de Dampierre, who served the dauphin faithfully, and was made grand-pannetier de France.

¶ The name of sir Guichard Dauphin appears to have betrayed Shakspeare into the error of making the Dauphin of France present at the battle of Azincourt, which he was not,—unless we suppose the error to lie with the editors, in confounding two persons meant by Shakspeare to be distinct. In the camp scene before the battle, his dauphin does not hold such a rank in the debate and conversation as is suitable to the heir of the French monarchy, but precisely that which the master of the household might hold with propriety. In one scene, he is thus mentioned, "Enter Rambures, Châtillon, Dauphin, and others."

** Of the princes, Anthony, duke of Brabant, left two sons, Philip and John, successively dukes of Brabant, and both dying s. p., Philip count of Nevers left Charles

count de Nevers, brother to the duke of Burgundy, sir Robert de Bar, count de Marle, the count de Vaudemont, John brother to the duke of Bar, the count de Blaumont, the count de Grand-pré, the count de Roussy, the count de Fauquembergh, sir Louis de Bourbon, son to the lord de Préaux.

The names of other great lords, as well from Picardy as elsewhere: the vidame of Amiens, the lord de Croy*, and his son sir John de Croy, the lords de Helly, d'Auxi†, de Brimeu, de Poix, l'Estendart, lord de Crequi‡, the lord de Lauvroy, sir Vitart de Bours, sir Philippe d'Auxi, lord de Dampierre§, bailiff of Amiens, his son the lord de Raineval‖, his brother sir Alain, the lord de Mailly¶, and his eldest son the lord d'Inchy, sir William de Saveuses, the lord de Neufville, and his son the castellan of Lens, sir John de Moreul, sir Rogue de Poix, sir John de Bethune, lord of Moreul in Brie**, sir Symon de Craon, lord de Clarsy††, the lord de Rocheguyon‡‡, and his brother the vidame de Launois, the lord de Galigny, the lord d'Alegre§§ in Auvergne, the lord de Pauffremont in Champagne, sir James de Heu‖‖‖, the lord de Saint Bris, Philippe de Fosseux, sir Regnault de Crequy, lord de Comptes, and his son sir Philippe, the lord de Mannes, and his brother Lancelot, Mathieu and John de Humieres¶¶, brothers, sir Louis de Beausault, the lord de Ront, sir Raoul de Manne, sir Oudart de Renty, and two of his brothers***, the lord d'Applincourt, and his son sir James, sir Louis de Guistelle, the lord de Vaurin, and his son the lord de Lidequerke, sir James de Lescuelle, the lord de Hames, the lord de Hondescoote, the lord de Pulchres, sir John Baleul, sir Raoul de Flandres, sir Collart de Fosseux, the lord de Roissimbos, and his brother Louis de Boussy, the lord de Thiennes, the lord d'Azincourt and his son, sir Hustin Kieret†††, le bègue de Caen and his brother Payen, the lord de Varigines, the lord d'Auffemont‡‡‡ and his son sir Raulequin, sir Raoul de Neele, the lord de St. Crêpin, the viscount de Quesnes, sir Pierre de Beauvoir, bailiff of the Vermandois, sir John de Lully and his brother sir Griffon, the lord de St. Symon and his brother Gallois§§§, Collart

count of Nevers, who died s. p., and John, count of Estampes and of Nevers after the death of his brother.

Edward, duke of Bar, and John de Bar, lord of Puisaye, were brothers, and both died s. p.

Robert de Bar, count of Marle and Soissons, was son to Henry de Bar another brother, and also died, s. p. Upon these deaths the succession was disputed between Louis, cardinal de Bar, the surviving brother, and Yoland, queen of Arragon, their sister. This dispute was terminated in 1419, when the cardinal resigned his right in favour of Réné of Anjou (duke of Lorraine, &c.), grandson of Yoland.

John I., count of Alençon, succeeded by his son, John II.

Ferry, count de Vaudemont. He was of the house of Lorraine, and acquired Vaudemont by his marriage with the heiress of Vaudemont and Joinville.

Henry II., count of Blamont, of the house of Salms.

Edward II., count of Grandpré, of the house of Porcien.

John VI., count of Roussy and Braine, descended from the old counts of Rheims. He left one daughter, Jane, married to Robert de Sarreback, count of Commercy. He was recognised among the dead by a wound which had made one arm shorter than the other.

Waleran, eldest son of Raoul II., lord of Rayneval and grand-pannetier de France, and his wife Philippa, daughter of John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny and castellan of Lille. Waleran possessed the lands of Fauquemberg by the will of his aunt, Jane de Luxembourg, widow of Guy de Châtillon, count of St. Pol. This count Waleran left only a daughter, married to Baldwin d'Ailly, vidame of Amiens.

* John, lord de Croy, and his *two* eldest sons, John and Archambaud. † David, lord of Auxi.

‡ Raoul, surnamed L'Estendart, on account of the many standards he had won from the English, son of John IV., lord of Crequy.

§ Philip, brother of David, lord of Dompierre, not Dampierre, which was in the house of Châtillon.

‖ Raoul II., lord of Rayneval, grand-pannetier de France, left four sons, of whom Waleran, the eldest, was count of Fauquemberg, and killed at this battle; John, the third, was lord de Meracourt, also killed here; Aubert, the fourth, lord of Petencourt, also killed here: Raoulequin, lord of Cardonnia, was the second;—but there must be some mistake about their father the bailiff of Amiens, and also about the brother sir Allain.

¶ Colard, or Nicholas, lord of Mailly, and his eldest son Colard.

** John de Bethune, lord of Mareuil, Autrêche, &c. youngest son of John, lord of Vendeul and Vergier.

†† Simon, lord of Dommart and Claed, son of John de Craon, lord of Dommart, and brother of William, lord of Nouastre, and John, lord of Dommart, who was also taken prisoner at Azincourt, and died in 1420.

John the young, lord of Midens, brother of John IV., lord of Crequy, Canaples, &c. was also killed at Azincourt.

‡‡ Guy VI., lord de Rocheguyon, counsellor and chamberlain to the king. His son, Guy VII., was the last male of this illustrious house. I find nothing of his brother.

§§ Morinot de Tourzel, lord of Alegre. But I find in Moreri, that he lived to the year 1418.

‖‖‖ Heu, a family of Le Pays Messin, celebrated in the sixteenth century.

¶¶ Matthew and John de Humieres, sons of Matthew, lord de Humieres, and brothers of Philip de Humieres, made prisoner on the same day.

*** Renty, a branch of the house of Croy.

††† Henry Quieret, lord of Tours en Vimeu, died in 1406, leaving two sons, Guy, and Peter, lord of Haucourt, both *made prisoners* at Azincourt; but I find none of the family *killed* there.

‡‡‡ Guy III., de Nesle, of the family of Clermont-en-Beauvoisis.

§§§ Matthieu de Rouvroy, and Guillaume le Gallois, his brother,—descended in the female line from the old counts of Vermandois.

de la Porte, lord of Bellincourt, sir Yvain de Cramailles, the lord de Cerny in the Laonnois, sir Drieu d'Orgiers, lord de Bethencourt, sir Gobert de la Bove, lord de Savoisy, the lord de Becqueville * and his son sir John Marthel, the lord d'Utrecht, the seneschal d'Eu, the lord de la Riviere, de Tybouville, the lord de Courcy, the lord de St. Beuve, the lord de Beaumainnil †, the lord de Combouchis, the lord de la Heuse, the lord Viesport, sir Bertrand Painel, the lord Chambois, the lord de St. Cler, the lord de Montcheveul, the lord d'Ouffreville ‡, sir Enguerrand de Fontaines and his brother sir Charles, sir Almaury de Craon, lord de Brolay §, the lord de Montejan, the lord de la Haye, the lord de l'Isle-Bouchart, sir John de Craon, lord de Montbason ||, the lord de Bueuil ¶, the lord de Laumont-sur-Loire, sir Anthony de Craon, lord de Beau Vergier **, the lord d'Asse, the lord de la Tour ††, the lord de l'Isle-Gonnort, sir John de Dreux, sir Germain de Dreux, the viscount de Tremblay, sir Robert de Bouvay, sir Robert de Challus ‡‡, sir John de Bonnebault, the lord de Mongaugier §§, sir John de Valcourt, the lord de Sainteron, sir Ferry de Sardonne, sir Peter d'Argie, sir Henry d'Ornay, the lord des Roches, sir John de Montenay, the lord de Bethencourt, the lord de Combourt, the viscount de la Belliere ||||, the lord de la Tute, sir Bertrand de Montauban ¶¶, Bertrand de St. Gille, seneschal of Hainault, the lord de la Hamecte, the lord du Quesnoy, the lord de Montigny, the lord de Quiervran, the lord de Jumont, the lord de Chin, sir Symon de Havrech, the lord de Poctes, sir John de Gres, sir Allemand d'Estaussines, sir Philippe de Lens ***, and sir Henry, brothers to the bishop of Cambray, sir Michel du Chastellier and his brother Guillaume de Vaudripont, Ernoul de Vaudrigien, Pierre de Molin, Jean de Buait, George de Quiervran and his brother Henry, the lord de Saures, sir Briffault his brother, le Baudrain d'Aisne knight, sir Maillart d'Azouville Palamedes des Marquais, the lord de Bousincourt, the lord de Fresencourt, the lord de Vallusant, the lord de Hectrus, Guernier de Brusquent, the lord de Moy in the Beauvoisis, his son Gamot de Bournouville and his brother Bertrand, Louvelet de Massinguehen and his brother, sir Collart de Phiennes, Alain de Vendôme, Lamont de Launoy, sir Colinet de St. Py, the lord de Bos d'Ancquin, Lancelot de Fremeusent, the lord d'Aumont †††, sir Robinet de Vaucoux, sir Raisse de Moncaurel ‡‡‡, sir Lancelot de Clary, the lord de la Rachie, sir Guerard d'Herbaines, sir Guerard de Haucourt, sir Robert de Montigny, sir Charles de Montigny, sir Charles de Chastillon §§§, Philippe de Poitiers, the lord de Feuldes, the lord de St. Pierre, Guillaume Fortescu, Burel de Guerames, Robert de Potiaumes, the son to the bailiff of Rouen, the provost to the marshals of France, Bertrand de Belloy |||||, Jacques de Han, the lord de Baisir and Martel du Vauhuon his brother, Jean de Maletraicts, Raoul de Ferrieres, Raoul de Longeul knight, Henry de la Lande, sir Ernault de Corbie, lord d'Aniel, Jean Discoüevelle, sir Yvain de Beauval, sir Brunel Fretel, le Baudrain de Belloy knight, sir Regnault d'Azincourt, the governor of the county of Rethel, Ponce de Salus knight, lord of Chast l-neuf, the lord de Marquectes, Symmonet de Morviller,

* William Martel, lord of Bacqueville, often mentioned before. He was the last person distinguished by the venerable office of *Porte-orisflamme*.

† Robert VI. de Harcourt, lord of Beaumênil.

‡ Q. Offrainville? Denis de Longueil, lord of Offrainville, was killed at Azincourt, together with his elder brother, William lord of Longueville, and his son Robert.

§ Amaury de Craon, lord de Briolé, of the branch of La Suze.

|| John de Craon, lord of Montbazon and viscount of Châteaudun, *grand-échanson* de France.

¶ John, lord of Beuil, master of the cross-bows from 1396 to 1399.

** Antony, lord of Beauvergier, grand-pannetier de France.

†† Agne III., de la Tour, lord of Orliergues.

‡‡ Probably Robert de Chabannes, lord of Charlus, father of Stephen lord of Charlus, James, lord of La Palice, and Anthony, count of Dammartin.

§§ St. Maur, lords of Montgaugier, a house of Touraine.

|||| Anthony de Bellievre, ancestor of the Bellievres, presidents and chancellors, lived at this time; but it was a law-family, and Q. if any of the branches were addicted to arms?

¶¶ Oliver V., lord of Montauban, a great house in Bretagne, died soon after 1386, leaving five sons,—1. William, who died in 1432; 2. Robert, bailiff of Cotentin, at the siege of Orleans in 1420; 3. Bertrand, killed at Azincourt; 4. Renaud, lord of Crêpon; 5. John.

*** John de Recourt, castellan of Lens, brother to Charles, admiral of France, was killed at this battle; but I find no others of the family.

††† John Hutin, lord of Aumont, Chars and Chapes, échanson du roi, &c.

‡‡‡ John, lord of Montcavrel, was killed at this battle. He left only one daughter, in whose right Montcavrel passed into the family of Monchy.

§§§ Charles de Châtillon, lord of Sourvilliers and Marigni.

Gaspard de Chastillon and Hugh his brother, of the Chastillons, lords of Blois and la Bastie, were also killed.

||||| Hugh, lord of Bellay and Giseux, married Isabel de Montigny, lady of Langey. Bertrand his son. He had two other sons, one killed at Crevant, another at Verneuil.

Foleville, butler to the duke of Aquitaine, Gallois de Fougiers, sir Lancelot de Rubempré, Lyonnet Torbis, the lord de Boissay, Anthony d'Ambrine, sir Hector de Chartres the younger and his two brothers *, Tauppinet de la Nefville †, Thibault de Fay, the lord de Beauvoir-sur-Autre, Hue des Autels, the lord de Caucroy and his brother Eustace d'Aubrunes, Lancelot de Couchy, Jean de Launoy, sir Collart de Monbertant, sir Charles Boutry, sir Guy Gourle, with John Gourle his brother, le Bon de Sains, Anthony de Broly, Guillaume de Villers, lord d'Urendone, Floridas du Souys, the lord de Regnauville, Baughois de la Beuvriere, and his brother Gamart, le Plontre de Gerboal, Pierre Aloyer, Percival de Richebourg, the lord de Fiefes and his son the bègue de Quenoulles, Godfrey de St. Marc, the lord de Teneques, the lord de Herlin, Symon de Monchiaux, sir Maillet de Gournay and his brother Porus, Jean de Noyelle, Pierre de Noyelle, and Lancelot de Noyelle, sir Carnel de Hangiers ‡, Jean d'Authville lord de Vaverans §, Regnault de Guerbauval, William lord de Rin, Pierre Remy, Sausset d'Eusne, the lord de Haucourt in Cambresis, sir Guichard d'Ausne, the lord de Raisse ||, the lord d'Espaigny, the lord de Cheppon, Jean de Chaule lord of Bretigny, Jean de Blausel, Guillebert de Gubauval, Haudin de Beleval, sir Guerard de Hauressis, sir Louis de Vertain, sir Estourdy d'Ongines, with his brother Bertrand, sir Henry de Boissy lord of Caule, sir Arthur de Moy, the borgne de Noaille, sir Floridas de Moreul, sir Tristrain de Moy, sir Bridoul de Puiveurs, the lord de Verneul, Langhois de Guerbauval, the viscount de Dommart, Ponchon de la Tour, Godfrey de Prouville.

In short, the number of persons, including princes, knights, and men of every degree, slain that day, amounted to upwards of ten thousand, according to the estimates of heralds and other able persons. The bodies of the greater part were carried away by their friends after the departure of the English, and buried where it was agreeable to them. Of these ten thousand, it was supposed only sixteen hundred were of low degree, the rest all gentlemen; for in counting the princes, there were one hundred and six-score banners destroyed.

During the battle, the duke of Alençon most valiantly broke through the English line, and advanced, fighting, near to the king,—insomuch that he wounded and struck down the duke of York. King Henry, seeing this, stepped forth to his aid; and as he was leaning down to raise him, the duke of Alençon gave him a blow on the helmet that struck off part of his crown. The king's guards on this surrounded him, when, seeing he could no way escape death but by surrendering, he lifted up his arm, and said to the king, "I am the duke of Alençon, and yield myself to you;" but, as the king was holding out his hand to receive his pledge, he was put to death by the guards.

At this period, the lord de Longny, marshal of France, as I have said, was hastening with six hundred men-at-arms attached to the king of Sicily, to join the French, and was within one league of them when he met many wounded, and more running away, who bade him return, for that the lords of France were all slain or made prisoners by the English. In consequence, Longny, with grief at heart and in despair, went to the king of France at Rouen. It was supposed that about fifteen hundred knights and gentlemen were this day made prisoners: the names of the principal are—Charles duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Eu, the count de Vendôme, the count de Richemont, sir James de Harcourt, sir John de Craon lord of Dommart, the lord de Humieres, the lord de Roye, the lord de Cauny, sir Boors Quieret lord of Heuchin, sir Peter Quieret lord of Hamecourt, the lord de Ligne in Hainault, the lord de Noyelle, surnamed le Chevalier Blanc, Baudo his son, the young lord of Inchy, sir John de Vaucourt, sir Actis de Brimeu, sir Jennet de Poix, the eldest son and heir to the lord de Ligne, sir Gilbert de Launoy, the lord d'Ancob in Ternois.

* Hector de Chartres, lord of Ons-en-Bray, grand master of waters and forests in Normandy, father of Renaud, archbishop of Rheims and chancellor of France.

† Perhaps a son of the mareschal Neufville, who succeeded to the estates of sir Arnold d'Andreghen in 1370.

‡ I can find no such name as *Hangiers;* but John V. lord de *Hangest*, grand-master of cross-bows from 1407 to 1411, was killed here.

§ John de Mailly, lord of Authuille and Warans, one of the twenty-five sons of Giles, lord of Authuille. This was a branch of the lords de Mailly before-mentioned.

|| Guy II. de la Val, lord of Retz and Blazon, is said, by Moreri, to have died *before* 1416. He was father of the infamous marshal de Retz, by Mary of Craon.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.—ON THE DEPARTURE OF THE ENGLISH, MANY FRENCHMEN VISIT THE FIELD OF BATTLE TO SEEK THEIR FRIENDS, WHOM THEY BURY,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

When the king of England had on this Saturday begun his march towards Calais, many of the French returned to the field of battle, where the bodies had been turned over more than once, some to seek for their lords, and carry them to their own countries for burial, others to pillage what the English had left. King Henry's army had only taken gold, silver, rich dresses, helmets, and what was of value; for which reason the greater part of the armour was untouched and on the dead bodies; but it did not long remain thus, for it was very soon stripped off, and even the shirts, and all other parts of their dress were carried away by the peasants of the adjoining villages. The bodies were left exposed as naked as when they came into the world. On the Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the corpses of many princes were well washed and raised, namely, the dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, the counts de Nevers, de Blaumont, de Vaudemont, de Fauquemberg, the lord de Dampierre, admiral, sir Charles d' Albreth, constable, and buried in the church of the Friars Minors at Hesdin. Others were carried by their servants, some to their own countries, and others to different churches. All who were recognised were taken away, and buried in the churches of their manors.

When Philippe count de Charolois heard of the unfortunate and melancholy disaster of the French, he was in great grief, more especially for the death of his two uncles, the duke of Brabant and count de Nevers. Moved by compassion, he caused all that had remained exposed on the field of battle to be interred, and commissioned the abbot de Roussianville and the bailiff of Aire to have it done. They measured out a square of twenty-five yards, wherein were dug three trenches twelve feet wide, in which were buried, by an account kept, five thousand eight hundred men. It was not known how many had been carried away by their friends, nor what number of the wounded had died in hospitals, towns, villages, and even in the adjacent woods; but, as I have before said, it must have been very great. This square was consecrated as a burying-ground by the bishop of Guines, at the command and as procurator of Louis de Luxembourg, bishop of Therounne. It was surrounded by a strong hedge of thorns, to prevent wolves or dogs from entering it, and tearing up and devouring the bodies.

In consequence of this sad event, some learned clerks of the realm made the following verses:—

"A chief, by dolorous mischance oppress'd,
A prince who rules by arbitrary will,
A royal house by discord sore distress'd,
A council, prejudiced and partial still,
Subjects by prodigality brought low,
Will fill the land with beggars, well we trow.

Nobles made noble in dame Nature's spite,
A tim'rous clergy fear, and truth conceal,
While humble commoners forego their right
And the harsh yoke of proud oppression feel:
Thus, while the people mourn, the public woe
Will fill the land with beggars, well we trow.

Ah feeble woe! whose impotent commands
Thy very vassals boldly dare despise:
Ah helpless monarch! whose enervate hands
And wavering counsels dare no high emprize:
Thy hapless reign will cause our tears to flow,
And fill the land with beggars, well we trow*."

I shall here add the names of such principal persons as escaped death or imprisonment in consequence of this battle.

First, the count de Dampmartin, lord de la Riviere, sir Clugnet de Brabant, styling himself admiral of France, sir Louis Bourdon, sir Galiot de Gaules, sir John d'Engennes.

* I am obliged to my friend, the Rev. W. Shepherd, for the translation of these verses.

CHAPTER CXLIX.—KING HENRY EMBARKS AT CALAIS FOR ENGLAND, WHERE HE IS JOYFULLY RECEIVED ON HIS LATE SUCCESSES.—THE COUNT DE LA MARCHE GOES TO ITALY.

On the 6th day of November, when king Henry had refreshed his army in Calais, and when those prisoners who at Harfleur had promised to meet him there were arrived, he embarked for Dover. The sea on his passage was very rough, so that two vessels full of sir John de Cornewall's men were in great danger; and some of the fleet were driven to different parts in Zealand, but none of them were lost. The king of England, on his return home from such a victory, and his conquest of Harfleur, was most joyfully received by the nobles, clergy, and all ranks of men: he proceeded to London, accompanied by the French princes his prisoners. A little before this unfortunate battle, sir James de Bourbon, count de la Marche, had gone to Italy, magnificently attended, and had married queen Johanna of Naples, and thus acquired the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples: indeed, he for some time held quiet possession of them. He appointed sir Lourdin de Salligny his constable; and one of his captains was sir Here de Bruneul, lord de Thiembronne.

CHAPTER CL.—THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS PRINCES ARE MUCH GRIEVED ON HEARING THE MELANCHOLY EVENT OF THE BATTLE OF AZINCOURT.—OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

When news was brought to Rouen of the unfortunate loss of the battle of Azincourt, and the deaths of so many noble persons, the king of France and the princes with him were in the utmost consternation and grief. Nevertheless, within a very few days, at a council held in the presence of the king, the dukes of Aquitaine, Berry, and Brittany, the count de Ponthieu his youngest son, and some of his ministers, the count d'Armagnac was nominated constable of France, and orders were despatched to him in Languedoc, for him instantly to come to the king.

Duke John of Burgundy was in that duchy when he heard of the defeat and loss of the French. He, like the others, was much grieved thereat, particularly for the death of his two brothers, the duke of Brabant and the count de Nevers. Notwithstanding his sorrow, he made preparation to march a large force of men-at-arms to Paris without delay; but as the report of his intentions had reached the king at Rouen, he, with the princes, hastened to return thither before the duke should arrive, and came there on the eve of St. Catherine's day. In company with the duke of Burgundy were the duke of Lorrain and ten thousand men.

The Parisians, suspecting the object of the duke in this expedition, sent a solemn embassy to the queen of France at Melun, where she lay dangerously ill; but, in consequence of the information she received, she caused herself to be carried in a litter to Paris, where she was lodged in the hôtel d'Orleans with the duchess of Aquitaine, daughter to the duke of Burgundy. True it is, that the Parisians, and some of the king's ministers who had been favourable to the Orleans faction, against that of Burgundy, were very much alarmed, because the duke had in his company many who had been banished France, such as sir Helion de Jacqueville, sir Robinet de Mailly, master Eustace de Lactre, master John de Troyes, Caboche, Denisot de Chaumont, Garnot de Sanction and several more. They therefore prevailed on the king and the duke of Aquitaine to order sir Clugnet de Brabant, the lord de Barbasan* and the lord de Bocquiaux, to hasten to Paris with a sufficient body of men-at-arms for its defence, and for the security of the duke of Aquitaine. The count

* Arnaud-Guilhem, baron of Barbazan in Bigorre, first, chamberlain to Charles VII., afterwards governor of Champagne and the Laonnois, &c. The king gave him the title of "Chevalier sans reproche," and permitted him to take the fleurs-de-lys for his arms. He was seven years prisoner at Chasteau Gaillard, till delivered in 1430 by La Hire. He was killed at Belleville, near Nancy, in 1432, and buried with the highest honours.

d'Armagnac was again commanded to push forward to Paris as speedily as possible, and with as many men-at-arms as he could raise.

The duke of Burgundy, on his march thither, passed through Troyes and Provins, to Meaux in Brie, where he was refused admittance by orders from the duke of Aquitaine and the council, who had written to the governor on no account to suffer him to enter the town, which displeased him much. Upon this he proceeded to Lagny-sur-Marne, and quartered himself in the town, and his men in the country around, which suffered severely from them. On the other hand, many captains had raised their forces in Picardy, namely, sir Martelet de Mesnil, Ferry de Mailly, the brothers Hector and Philip de Saveuses, sir Mauroy de St. Leger, sir Payen de Beaufort, Louis de Varigines, and others. They despoiled all the country they marched through by Pont St. Mard to Lagny, whither the duke of Burgundy had summoned them. His army was so much increased that it now amounted to twenty thousand horse.

The king of Sicily, knowing that he was not beloved by the duke of Burgundy for having sent back his daughter, left Paris in an ill state of health, and went to Angers; but before his departure he was desirous of submitting their differences to the king and his council, provided he should be heard in his defence. The duke of Burgundy would not listen to his proposal, and returned for answer, to those who had brought the offer, that for the wrongs and disgrace the king of Sicily had done to him and his daughter, he would have his revenge when time and opportunity should serve. While he remained at Lagny-sur-Marne, he sent to the king and council at Paris, sir John de Luxembourg, the lord de St. George, and other able counsellors, to explain fully the cause of his coming, and to request that he and his men might be admitted peaceably into Paris for the security of his royal person. No other reply was made to this, but that the king would shortly send an answer to their lord the duke of Burgundy. John de Vailly, president of the parliament, with others of the council, were despatched to the duke; but after various embassies and conferences, he could not prevail on the king or the Parisians to admit him into the capital. They told him, that if he would consent to enter Paris simply as the duke of Burgundy, with his usual attendants, the king and council would not object to it; but this the duke would not do, for he knew that those who governed the king were his mortal enemies, and he would not trust his person with them.

CHAPTER CLI.—THE PARISIANS AND MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS WAIT ON THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE TO PROPOSE CERTAIN MEASURES OF PUBLIC SAFETY.—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF AQUITAINE.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE CONSTABLE IN PARIS.

The Parisians, and principally those of the university, seeing the discords and quarrels daily increase between the princes of the blood, to the ruin and the overturning of the kingdom, and the destruction of the people, went one day in a body to the duke of Aquitaine, and, in the presence of the duke of Berry, the count de Penthievre, and several nobles and prelates, demanded an audience, and liberty to state their grievances. Having obtained this, the first president of the parliament began an oration, choosing for his text, "Domine salva, nos perimus," from the gospel of St. Matthew, "Lord save us, or we perish." He very clearly and eloquently pointed out the various grievances the nation was labouring under, and named several evil doers, who were endeavouring to throw the kingdom into confusion by harassing and oppressing the people. When he had ended, the duke of Aquitaine instantly swore, on the word of a king's son, that henceforth all evil-doers, whatever might be their rank, should be indiscriminately punished according to their crimes; that justice should be impartially administered, and the clergy and people be maintained in peace.

On this, they departed, perfectly satisfied with the answer of the duke of Aquitaine; but he had not time to carry his intentions into execution, for a few days after he was seized with a fever, and died on the 18th of December, in the hôtel de Bourbon. His death occasioned many tears and lamentations among numbers of the nobility, and his servants; and it was reported to have been caused by poison,—for which reason, his body was kept in a leaden coffin four days at the above hotel. The different orders of clergy came thither to

pray beside it; after which, it was carried to St. Denis, and interred near to his royal ancestors.

Eight days afterward, the count d'Armagnac, who had been sent for by the council, arrived at Paris to receive the investiture of his constableship, by receiving from the king the sword of constable, and taking the usual solemn oaths. He thanked the king for the high honour he had conferred on him. The new constable had now a force of six thousand combatants at least, including those whom he found in Paris, and very shortly despatched Raymonnet de la Guerre, with four hundred helmets, to garrison St. Denis, and defend it against any attack from the duke of Burgundy. He strengthened in like manner other towns on the Seine, and had all the bridges and ferries destroyed.

The king, at this period, filled up the vacant offices caused by the misfortune at Azincourt, and appointed Jean de Corssay, a native of Berry, master of the cross-bows of France; sir Thomas de Lersies, bailiff of the Vermandois, and the lord de Humbercourt, bailiff of Amiens; the lord d'Aunay, a native of la Rochelle, to the same office at Senlis; sir Mansart d'Asne, bailiff of Vitry, and sir Brunet de Bans to the same at Tournay, with very many others.

CHAPTER CLII.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY ARRIVES AT PARIS.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY LEAVES LAGNY-SUR-MARNE.—THE CAPTURE OF SIR MARTELET DU MESNIL AND FERRY DE MAILLY.

The duke of Brittany at this time came to Paris to treat with the king, that the duke of Burgundy with his army might march into Brittany, but he was unsuccessful. Before he departed from Paris, he was violently enraged against sir Tanneguy du Châtel, provost of Paris, and abused him much, because he had imprisoned in the Châtelet the minister of the Mathurins, a doctor of theology, for having, in his presence, harangued the populace in favour of the duke of Burgundy. In a few days, however, he gave him his free liberty.

When the duke of Burgundy had remained at Lagny-sur-Marne six weeks, without having been able to prevail on the king and his council to permit him to enter Paris any otherwise than in his simple state, he marched away to Dampmartin, thence toward Rheims, and through the Laonnois, Tierrache, and Cambresis, to the town of Douay, and thence to Lille. He was, all the time, accompanied by a strong body of men-at-arms, who much oppressed the poor people on their march. On his departure from Lagny, some of the king's soldiers advanced to Pont à Vaire, and slew and made prisoners many of his men, at which he was highly displeased. From his long residence at Lagny, the Parisians, and others attached to the king, called him, in common conversation, Jean de Lagny. After some short stay at Lille, he went to visit his nephews in Brabant, namely John and Philip, sons to the late duke Anthony of Brabant, taking with him Philippe Maisne, by whom he governed that country. He appointed officers to those places in the counties of Ligny and St. Pol, that had been formerly held by count Waleran de St. Pol, maternal grandfather to these children.

When he was returned to Flanders, he ordered the lord de Fosseux, governor of Picardy, to cause his captains and their men-at-arms to retire from his territories of Artois and the adjoining lands; and, as many of these captains harassed the king's subjects, Remonnet de la Guerre, the provost of Compiegne and the lord de Bocquiaux, the king's governor of the Valois, secretly assembled, on the night of the 24th of January, a number of men-at-arms, and surprised the quarters of sir Martelet du Mesnil and Ferry de Mailly, in the country of Santerre *, where they had posted full six hundred men among the villages, who made havoc on all the country round about. Excepting such as escaped by flight, they were all slain or made prisoners: among the last were the two captains, sir Martelet du Mesnil and Ferry de Mailly, who were carried to Compiegne. On the day of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, the said sir Martelet and four other gentlemen, after having been tortured by the king's officers, were hung on the gibbet of Compiegne; but Ferry de Mailly, through the intercession of friends, obtained his free deliverance.

* Santerre, a small territory, of which Mondidier is the capital.

CHAPTER CLIII.—THE BISHOP OF ARRAS CAUSES THE SENTENCE THAT HAD BEEN PRONOUNCED AGAINST MASTER JEAN PETIT TO BE REVOKED.—THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY COMES TO PARIS.

In this same year, by the exertions of Martin Porce, doctor in theology, and bishop of Arras, and some other ambassadors from the duke of Burgundy, having sufficient authorities from him, the following judgment was obtained from the council of Constance.

"By the advice of the clergy, in whose name we issue the following sentence. We pronounce and declare, that the suits, judgments, burnings, prohibitions and executions, ordered by the bishop of Paris, against master Jean Petit, and all consequences that may therefrom have ensued, are null and void, and we now do annul and revoke the same. In regard to the costs that legally attach to this cause, we shall leave them to be taxed on sufficient grounds. In which sentence, I, Jourdan bishop of Alba, I, Anthony cardinal of Aquileia, I, Francis cardinal of Florence, do heartily acquiesce."

Thus the sentence of the bishop of Paris against master Jean Petit, was reversed and condemned by the council of Constance, the 15th day of January, 1415.

Not long after this, two knights arrived at Paris from the emperor Sigismund, to prepare the lodgings he was to have in that city, and lay in his purveyances. The castle of the Louvre was given to them for this purpose; and on the following Sunday, being Shrove Sunday, the emperor arrived at Paris, attended by about eight hundred horse. The duke of Berry, the cardinal de Bar, the constable, the chancellor, the provost of Paris and of the merchants, the sheriffs, and a noble company of the citizens in handsome state, went to meet him, and he was by them conducted to the Louvre. Some days afterward, he explained to the king and council the cause of his coming, which was to establish union in the whole church: he also made many offers of service to the king and his realm. A doctor of divinity, named master Guerrard Machet, then harangued him in the name of the king of France, with which he was much pleased.

Charles, king of France, was very sensible of the honour of this visit, and the two monarchs ate frequently together. On the first Sunday in Lent, the king of Sicily and his son-in-law, the count de Ponthieu, came to visit the emperor at Paris; and during the emperor's stay there, the highest honour and distinctions were paid him by the king and princes. When many conferences had been holden on the state of the universal church, and on other matters, he set out from Paris on the Wednesday before Palm Sunday, and was accompanied by the king of France as far as La Chappelle, between Paris and St. Denis, where they separated. The king of Sicily, the duke of Berry, and the cardinal de Bar, attended him to St. Denis, where he was most honourably received by the abbot and his clergy. He thence rode to Beauvais: the bishop of the place and the inhabitants had come out to meet him, and the bishop conducted him to his palace, where he was lodged.

The emperor there celebrated Easter, in company with the duke of Milan, uncle to the duke of Orleans, the archbishop of Rheims, and others, ambassadors from the king of France to his adversary the king of England. Leaving Beauvais, he crossed the bridge at St. Remy, and went to St. Riquier, because the townsmen of Abbeville would not admit his people, although he was in company with ambassadors going to England. From St. Riquier he went on a pilgrimage to St. Josse, where the abbot and the whole convent came out in procession to meet him, in the same state they would have done had he been king of France. After offering up his prayers, he made no present to the glorious friend of God, saint Josse. The emperor was clad in armour, having on the pummel of his saddle a Montauban hat, and over his armour a robe, on the front and back part of which was an ash-coloured upright cross, with a Latin motto round it,—"O how merciful God is!" Most of his attendants were armed, and well mounted; and from St. Josse, by way of Estaples, he went to Boulogne, but the townsfolk would not permit him to enter, at which he was so indignant that he would not accept the presents the inhabitants sent to him. After dining in the suburbs of Boulogne, he went to lie at Calais, whence the governor, the earl of Warwick, had come to meet him, accompanied by men-at-arms and archers. He was there most honourably

entertained, at the expense of the king of England, until the ensuing Wednesday, when he embarked for England.

During the time the emperor was at Paris, he one day went to the court of parliament, where the presidents and counsellors showed him every honour, and seated him, as was right, on the royal throne. The advocates then began to plead such causes as were before the court; and among others, was one of a Languedocian knight, called William Segnot, respecting the seneschalship of Beaucaire. It was claimed by two persons in right of the king's gift; but sir William proved, that no one could hold that office unless he were a knight. The emperor, hearing this, asked the esquire, in Latin, if he wished to be a knight; and on his replying in the affirmative, the emperor called for a sword, which being given him, he instantly dubbed the esquire a knight, who, by this means, obtained the office by sentence of the judges of the parliament. The king and his council, however, when they heard of this, were greatly angered against the judges of the court for having suffered it; for it seemed that this act had been done by the emperor, as having superior authority to the king of France, who, had he been present, would not on any account have permitted it. It was nevertheless passed over in silence, and no notice taken of it to the emperor.

CHAPTER CLIV.—A HEAVY TAX IS LAID ON THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE BY THE GOVERNMENT, TO THE GREAT DISCONTENT OF THE PARISIANS.—EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN CONSEQUENCE OF IT.

When the emperor had left Paris, a very heavy impost was laid on all France, by those who governed the king, namely, the queen, the king of Sicily, the duke of Berry and others. The populace, more especially such as were attached to the duke of Burgundy, were very clamorous against these lords; for many of the duke's friends had remained in the city, who were day and night practising on the means of his restoration to the king's favour, and to the government of the realm. To accomplish this, they had advised him to send secretly to Paris some well-informed and prudent persons, to whom they might resort and have advice in case of need. In compliance with their request, he sent thither sir Jennet de Poix, Jacques de Fosseux, the lord de St. Leger, and Binet d'Auffeu, who brought credential letters, signed by the duke, to those whom he knew to be attached to his party.

The Parisians, having thus entered into a conspiracy under pretence of the severity of the new tax, swore to rise in a body in the afternoon of Good Friday, and make prisoners of all that should oppose them. Their first object was to seize the provost of Paris, and, if he refused to sanction their conduct, they intended to kill him and then seize and confine the king. They were afterward to put to death the queen, the chancellor of France and numberless others, with the queen of Sicily; and after dressing the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry in some old clothes of the king, and shaving their heads, to carry them through Paris on two lean bullocks, and then put them to death. The day of action was however put off by some of the conspirators, who said that many of their intended victims might escape on Good Friday, from being at their devotions in and out of Paris, or at confession in the churches, or on pilgrimages, which would prevent them being found at their houses,—and that it would be better to defer the matter until Easter-Day, when they all promised to meet for the above purposes. This conspiracy was revealed by the wife of Michel Lallier, who sent letters to her lover, Bureau de Dampmartin, advising him to fly instantly from Paris. This he did; but, before his departure, sent information of it to the chancellor, as he was at dinner, who lost no time in hastening to the Louvre, to advise the queen and princes of the blood to save themselves by flight. His counsel was followed by all except the provost of Paris, who, arming himself and his men, to the number of fifty, suddenly took possession of the market-place, and seized some of the conspirators before they had armed themselves, in their houses, and imprisoned them in the Châtelet, which so confounded the other conspirators that an end was put to their project.

The provost, being reinforced with men at-arms, forced different houses, in which he found many gentlemen hidden, who were armed for this massacre. In the number, he seized

sir Almeric d'Orgemont, archdeacon of Amiens, dean of Tours and canon of Paris, with one of the presidents of the chamber of accounts and some masters of requests, Robert de Belloy, a very rich draper, the host of the hotel of the Bear, at the Porte Baudet, and many other considerable persons. The chancellor sent information of this conspiracy to the constable and marshal of France, then on the confines of Harfleur, who, without delay, despatched Remonnet de la Guerre, with eight hundred men, to the assistance of the princes in Paris, and concluded a truce with the English in Harfleur, from the 5th day of May to the 2nd day of June.

On Saturday, the 2nd of May, the above-mentioned prisoners were brought to the market-place and beheaded as traitors; but sir Almeric d'Orgemont, being an ecclesiastic, was, by orders from the council, delivered by the provost of Paris to the dean and chapter of Nôtre Dame, for them to try him: this was soon done; and he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment on bread and water.

The constable, on the conclusion of the truce, came to Paris, with three hundred men-at-arms, and, being attended by the provost with a very strong force, detached the iron chains from the streets, and sent them to the Bastille, at the same time taking away all armour and offensive weapons from the Parisians. Louis Bourdon came also to Paris with two hundred men-at-arms, and was followed by Clugnet de Brabant and the lord de Bosquiaux, governor of Valois, with another considerable body of men-at-arms. Those in Paris who were friendly to the duke of Burgundy were now in much perplexity, especially such as had been concerned in the late conspiracy; for they were punished without mercy, some publicly beheaded, others drowned in the Seine. The gentlemen whom the duke of Burgundy had sent to Paris escaped as secretly as they could, and were neither taken nor stopped.

When this business was over, numbers of men-at-arms were collected in the name of the king, by his ministers, throughout France; and in like manner did the duke of Burgundy, or permitted it to be done by those under him, so that the clergy and poorer sorts of people suffered greatly in various parts of the kingdom,—for there were few who defended them,—and they had no other support but their earnest prayers to God their Creator to take vengeance on their oppressors.

CHAPTER CLV.—THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY ARRIVES IN LONDON.—THE BROTHER TO THE KING OF CYPRUS COMES TO PARIS.—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BERRY.—MANY EMBASSIES TAKE PLACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1416.]

In the beginning of this year, the emperor of Germany arrived at London; and the king, accompanied by his princes, nobles, with great multitudes of the clergy and citizens, went out to meet him. During his stay, every honour was paid to him, and he was treated with great magnificence. A few days after his arrival, duke William of Hainault came thither also, attended by six hundred horse, to endeavour to make a peace between England and France. Ambassadors likewise arrived at London from various countries, and in the number were one hundred persons from the duke of Burgundy.

At this same time, the brother to the king of Cyprus, who was count of three cities, came to visit the king of France in Paris. The constable, Charles son to the duke of Bourbon, the provost of Paris, and many more, went to meet him; and they escorted him to the presence of the king and queen, who received him most graciously. On the 16th day of May, Jennet de Poix, Jacques de Fosseux, the lord de St. Leger, Binet d'Auffeu, Hue de Sailly, master Philippe de Morvillier, Guillaume Sanguin, and others of the Burgundy faction, were publicly banished at Amiens from the kingdom of France, on suspicion of having been concerned in the late plot against the royal family.

In these days, the duke of Berry, who was now at a very advanced age, was taken ill at his hôtel de Nesle in Paris, and was frequently visited by the king his nephew, at that time in perfect health, and by other princes of the blood. Notwithstanding the care of his physicians, he departed this life on the 13th day of June, without leaving a male heir,—so

that the duchy of Berry and county of Poitou reverted to the crown, and the king gave them to John de Touraine, his eldest son, and godson to the defunct. The heart of the duke of Berry was interred at St. Denis, his bowels in the church of St. Pierre-des-Degrez, and his body was carried to Bourges, and there buried in the cathedral church. He left two daughters; the eldest was countess d'Armagnac, mother to Amadeus duke of Savoy, and the youngest was duchess of Bourbon. The duke of Berry had, during his lifetime, given to his nephew and godson John duke of Burgundy, the county of Estampes, on certain conditions. On the duke of Berry's decease, the king appointed his youngest son Charles, afterward dauphin, to the government of Paris, under the management of his father-in-law the king of Sicily, and likewise gave him the duchy of Touraine.

The ambassadors from France, who had accompanied the emperor of Germany to England, namely the archbishop of Rheims, the lord de Gaucourt and others, now returned to the king; but, at the instance of the emperor, the bishop of Norwich and sir Thomas Erpingham, a knight of great renown, grand-master of the king's household, attended by seventy horsemen, went with him to Calais, as ambassadors from king Henry. At Calais they received passports from the king of France, and went to Montreuil, thence to Abbeville and Beauvais, where commissioners from the king met and honourably received them. A negociation was opened for a truce to take place between the two kings for a certain time, and also respecting the ransoms of some prisoners who had been carried to England in consequence of the victories of king Henry; but nothing was concluded, because the constable had besieged Harfleur by sea, and would not break up the siege, in consequence of which the English ambassadors returned home.

Soon afterward, the king of England sent the earl of Warwick and others as ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy at Lille, who concluded a truce between England and the duke, from St. John Baptist's-day, in this year, to Michaelmas-day in 1417, but only for the counties of Flanders, Artois, and the adjacent parts. The duke of Burgundy caused this truce to be publicly proclaimed at the usual places, to the great astonishment of many, who were surprised that such a truce should have been concluded independently of France.

CHAPTER CLVI.—JENNET DE POIX AND OTHERS, BY COMMAND OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, MARCH SECRETLY TO SAINT DENIS, AND MAKE INROADS ON DIFFERENT PARTS OF FRANCE.

In the month of June, sir Jennet de Poix, with the approbation of the duke of Burgundy his lord, collected four hundred men, who, hiding their arms in casks, divided themselves into companies, and went by different roads, disguised as merchants, to the frank fair of St. Denis. As the king was at St. Germain-en-Laye, and the constable in Normandy, many hid themselves on the road-side, and others entered the town as merchants, chiefly with the intention of seizing the chancellor, and Tanneguy du Châtel, provost of Paris. But while they were eating and drinking, the chancellor and Tanneguy passed unmolested through the town, and returned to Paris. When they heard of this, they hastened back in confusion to Picardy, carrying with them some prisoners and spoils from the king's territories, which greatly incensed the people.

On the other hand, Ferry de Mailly, with many men-at-arms, invaded the towns of Quesnel and Hangest, in Santerre, where he and sir Martelet had been made prisoners, and carried off a large booty, with many captives, whom, after they had miserably tortured them, they set at liberty for heavy ransoms. In like manner, sir Mauroy de St. Leger crossed the Seine, and during the night formed an ambuscade near to the castle of Chaulnes *; and in the morning, when the draw-bridge was lowered, his men rushed into the castle, and made themselves masters thereof, which was full of rich effects. Soon afterward, the peasants of Lihons †, and from other villages, who had therein deposited their goods, entered into a treaty with sir Mauroy; and for a considerable sum of money paid him and his people, he surrendered the castle to the lady-dowager, and marched away.

* Chaulnes, a town of Picardy, election of Peronne.

† Lihons, a town of Picardy, election of Peronne.

CHAPTER CLVII.—LIHONS, IN SANTERRE, PILLAGED BY MANY CAPTAINS WHO HAD TAKEN UP ARMS.—THE CAPTURE OF THE CASTLE OF BEAUMONT.—THE STORMING THE CASTLE OF NESLE.—AND OTHER MATTERS.

Sir Mauroy de St. Leger, soon after his last expedition to Chaulnes, made another, in conjunction with Jean d'Aubigny, to Lihons, in Santerre, which, with the priory, they completely plundered, ransoming the inhabitants for large sums, all of which they carried with them into Artois.

In this manner different companies were formed of nobles or others, but attached to the party of the duke of Burgundy, under various standards: the principal leaders were, St. Mauroy de St. Leger, sir Jennet de Poix, his brother David, the lord de Sores in Beauvoisis, Jean de Fosseux, Hector and Philippe de Saveuses, Ferry de Mailly, Louis de Varigines, sir Payen de Beaufort, sir Louis de Burnel, Jean de Donquerre, Guerard, bastard de Bruneu, and numbers of others, who, with displayed banners, invaded the territories of France; in particular, the countries of Eu and Aumale, and those lands in Santerre, as far as the river Oise, that belonged to such as were favourers of the Orleans party. In these parts they committed every sort of ravage, plundering the property, and making the inhabitants prisoners, as would be done to a country against which war had been declared. There were also other companies, formed by captains under pretence of their attachment to the duke of Burgundy; such as sir Gastellin, a Lombard knight, Jean de Gaingy, Jean de Clau, and Lamain de Clau, Savoyards, Jean d'Aubigny, the bastard de Sallebruche, Charles l'Abbé, the bastard de Thian, Matthieu des Près, Panchette, the bastard Penar, and others, who amounted to two thousand horsemen when they were all assembled. They for a long time quartered themselves on the territories of Burgundy as well as France, and did incredible mischief to both. Sir Gastellin and his men even took the castle of Oisy in the Cambresis, belonging to the daughter and heiress of sir Robert de Bar, and held it for a long time, using that and its dependencies as if they had been his own property.

About the same time, the lord de Sores, with six hundred combatants, marched to Pont Avaire*, and thence advanced toward Paris, and placed themselves in ambuscade at La Chappelle† until the gates should be opened. Shortly after their arrival, a man rode to them on a white horse from Paris, and having said a few words to the lord de Sores, he returned thither the same road he had come. While they remained, they made several men and women prisoners for fear of being discovered by them to the Parisians; but seeing their enterprise had failed, they sounded their trumpets, and retreated hastily toward Beaumont-sur-Oise. Their object had been to seize the king of Sicily by the aid of some of the Parisians. When they were near Beaumont, they sent fourteen of their men in advance, having upright crosses on their breasts, to tell the wardens of the gate that the king had sent them to guard the passes of the Oise against the Burgundians. By their speeches and appearance, they gained belief; but they had no sooner entered, than they killed the wardens, and kept possession of the gate. Their whole body attacked the castle, which they took, and slew the governor and his son. After they had made a great slaughter in the town, and pillaged it of everything, they marched away; but neither set fire to it nor the castle, carrying their plunder and prisoners with them to Mouy in Clermont, wasting all the country they passed through. From Mouy they marched by Montdidier to Nesle, in the Vermandois, belonging to the count de Dampmartin. Many other captains there joined them, among whom was sir Mauroy, before mentioned. They resolved to storm the town, and succeeded, notwithstanding the vigorous defence of the inhabitants, who well performed their duty. Many were killed and wounded, and numbers made prisoners; among the latter was the governor, sir Blanchet du Sollier. The town was plundered of everything; and it was at the time full of merchandise, on account of the fair. After remaining there about a fortnight, to sell their pillage and wait for the ransom of their prisoners, they departed, carrying on carts and cars the remnant of what they had gained, which was immense.

* Pont-Avaire. Q. if we should not read Pont-St.-Maixence, for the other is not in any map or gazetteer.

† La Chappelle, a village close to Paris.

When information of these proceedings was given to the king, the constable, and the grand council, they were much incensed at the duke of Burgundy, to whom they said these captains belonged; and to provide a remedy, the following edict was proclaimed throughout the realm.

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

"Since the most supreme and excellent, the sovereign King of kings, Jesus Christ our Creator, has, through his divine grace and clemency, selected us to govern and rule over the very renowned and most noble kingdom of France, it behoves us to exert our best endeavours to secure peace to our subjects, and that all disturbers thereof should be punished, in order that impartial justice be distributed, and our people live in peace and security.

"Whereas it has come to our knowledge, by the report of our council, and by others worthy of belief, and also by the great complaints, and doleful clamours of numbers of our subjects, as well as by the confessions of malefactors, justly put to death, the which we record in great sorrow and bitterness of heart, that Hector de Saveuses, Philippe de Saveuses his brother, Elyon de Jacqueville, Pierre de Sorel, Gotrant lord de St. Leger, Mauroy de St. Leger his son, Jacques de Fosseux, Calvin de Clau, Jean d'Aubigny, Fierebourg, Matthieu des Près, Jean de Poix, Daviod his brother, Camuset de Ligny, Gastellin, Cormeri, of the order of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the commander de Sagestre, Panchette, Henri de la Tour, Pierson Tube, Jean de Cauffour, Henri de Caffour le Valois, Jacques de Calivray, Ramon Marcq, Denisot de Baugis, Guillaume le Glois, Martelet Testart, Jacques le Masson, Benois de Bessin, Guillemot de la Planche de Douay, le Tor d'emprès Douay, Jean Pallemargue, Robinet le vicomte, la barbe de Craon, Jean Jaully Picard, Robinet de Bray, le curé de Vaulx, prestre, Jean Louis de Cumillers, Robin d'Ays, Guillaume Mignot Brebiettes emprès Compiegne, Thomas de Plaisance, le grand Thomas Mignot, Jacquet de Clavin, Perrin de Chevrerieres, Henri de Hailly, Jean de Peresin, Jean Bertrand butcher of St. Denis, Guillaume de Cormeuil, Guillaume de Chify du Brunet, master Robert trumpeter to our cousin of Burgundy, Perrin trumpeter to Jean d'Aubigny, Jennet one of the archers of the body guard of our said cousin of Burgundy, Jean de Vienon, Jean de Tourgney governor of Champlost*, Puissevin d'Aussorrcs, Charles l'Abbé, the bastard Cognart de l'Aussorrois, the bastard de Launois Guynis, Rousselet le batelier, Philippot Vezis de Sens, Estienne Guyart de Sens, Symon le Vigneron de Joigny, Estienne de la Croix, the son of the host at Sens, Colin de l'hôpital, the bastard de Chaullay, the bastard Guignart, three brothers du Moyne de Collanges sur Yonne, Jean de Duilly, Charlot de Duilly, and a company of *fuzelaires*, calling themselves *Begaux*, accompanied by numbers of others, disturbers of the peace, among whom are some whom the laws have for ever banished our kingdom for their wickedness, having assembled themselves in companies contrary to our will and express orders.

"This they daily persevere in doing and in overrunning divers parts of our realm, gaining by force or subtlety many towns and castles belonging to us, or to our noble vassals and clergy, and plundering them of all their wealth. Not content with this, they, like to perverse sinners, delighting in the effusion of blood, put to death and wound not only such as shall attempt to defend their properties but the peaceable and well-inclined inhabitants of the said towns and castles, who only wish to remain in tranquillity. But what has astonished us the most, and which we would not have believed if sad experience had not convinced us of it, they have frequently advanced even to the walls of our good town of Paris, the principal seat of government and justice of our realm, and have attempted to enter it by fraud, to commit similar crimes to those they had done in other towns; and more particularly, a few nights since they made one of these mad and foolish attempts. They have also marched large bodies of armed men to the gates of the said town, knowing, at the same time, that we, our very dear companion the queen, and our son the duke of Touraine, with others of our blood, were personally within it. They then endeavoured fraudulently to gain admittance, which, should they have effected, (but through God's pleasure they failed,)

* Champlost,—a town in Champagne, election of St. Florentin.

murders, thefts, rapines, rapes, and every horrid mischief would have ensued to the ruin of that town, and, consequently, to the destruction of the church and kingdom.

"We point out, therefore, the before-mentioned persons as guilty of these atrocious acts, and call on our faithful and loyal subjects to assist us heartily in putting an end to their very heinous misdeeds. There is very clear evidence of this last fact; for when they found they could not by any means enter our said town of Paris, like madmen they gallopped off for the town of Beaumont-sur-Oise, belonging to our very dear and well-beloved son and nephew the duke of Orleans, now prisoner in England, and on their march seized horses from the plough, and robbed and made prisoners every traveller they met. After this, they took the said town and castle by storm, plundered it, and killed or drowned very many of the townsmen. In like manner they took the town of Nesle in Vermandois, and had before done the same to our town of Chablis*, to the castle of Néant, belonging to the monks of La Charité sur Loire, with numbers of other castles, towns and villages, laying violent hands on women of all descriptions, violating them like beasts, pillaging churches and other sacred edifices, of which we are every day receiving the most melancholy accounts and lamentations. Greater mischiefs our ancient enemies the English would not, nor could not do; but these wretches, perversely wicked, add daily sin to sin, publicly showing themselves rebels, and disobedient to our positive commands. They thus render themselves deserving of the severest punishments, and unworthy of the smallest grace, by holding ourselves and our sovereign power in perfect contempt. In consideration of the many and repeated complaints and lamentations made to us, by such numbers of our vassals and subjects, calling on God, our Creator, and on us for vengeance for the innocent blood that has been so cruelly shed,—we foreseeing that unless a stop be put to these atrocities, the whole kingdom will be ruined, and which we firmly believe to be the ultimate object of the before-named persons, have called together the princes of our blood, the members of our grand council and courts of parliament, with other barons and nobles of our realm, that they might advise on the best and most speedy measures to be adopted for the crushing this unnatural rebellion.

"After many consultations on the said matters, we having the utmost dread lest the divine judgment should fall on our head and on our kingdom, for the blood of the just that has been so abundantly and cruelly shed, and being ever desirous that peace and justice may be observed in our realm, do make known, and declare all the aforesaid persons, with their allies and associates, rebels to us and to our government. And because we at this moment are fully employed in the war that exists between us and our enemies the English, who have invaded our country, and cannot therefore act as we should wish against these said rebels and their allies: we therefore give full power and authority to all our loyal subjects to take up arms against them, to put them to death, or to confine them in prison to suffer the punishment due to their crimes, and to take full possession of all their properties moveable or immoveable, by force of arms, and to slay such as may oppose them, without their having cause for any letters of pardon whatever.

"We therefore command, by these presents, the bailiff of Amiens, or his lieutenant, solemnly to proclaim three times a-week, with sound of trumpet, in all the usual places where proclamations have been made within his district, full licence and authority for any one to seize the persons and effects of the before-named rebels, and to put them to death, should need be, without danger of process or suit being hereafter made against him or them for so doing. The said bailiff, or his lieutenant, will attend to the observance of the above, so that nothing arise through his neglect to our prejudice, or to that of our kingdom. That greater confidence may be put in these presents, we order, that exact copies be made, and sent to those parts where the original cannot be proclaimed, and that equal faith be given to them. In testimony whereof, we have had our seal affixed to these presents. Given at Paris, the 30th day of August, in the year of Grace 1416, and of our reign the 36th."

Thus signed by the king, on the report of his great council, and countersigned "Ferron."

This edict was solemnly proclaimed in Amiens the 12th day of September, and thence sent to all the provosts within the bailiwick of Amiens, to be proclaimed by them throughout their provostships. The provosts of Beauquesnes, of Montreuil of St. Riquier, and of Dour-

* Chablis, diocese of Langres, famous for its wines.

lens, through fear of the duke of Burgundy, dared only to proclaim it once, and in their own courts, when few people were present.

Soon after, Remonnet de la Guerre was ordered by the king and constable to Noyon and Nesle, to aid sir Thomas de Lersies, bailiff of the Vermandois, in defending the country against the Burgundians. War was now openly declared between the contending factions in that and divers other places of the realm. In truth, wherever any of the king's officers could lay hands on the partisans of the duke of Burgundy, none escaped, whether nobles or not, from being sentenced to death; and more especially all who fell into the hands of the governor of Noyon and the parts adjacent were put to death without mercy,—insomuch that many trees near to that town were marvellously laden with such fruits.

CHAPTER CLVIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY INCREASES HIS MEN-AT-ARMS.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE LORD DE LA TREMOUILLE.—THE DUKE OF CLARENCE EMBARKS A LARGE ARMY FOR HARFLEUR.

The duke of Burgundy, when he heard of this edict, so prejudicial and disgraceful to himself and his friends, was more than ever indignant and irritated against those who governed the king. He very much increased the number of his men-at-arms, and even consented to their quartering themselves on his own territories in the Cambresis, Tierrache, Vermandois, Santerre, and the whole country from the Somme to the sea-coast, toward Montreuil and Crotoy. Justice was now no longer attended to or maintained in those parts; and the powerful nobles cruelly treated churchmen and the poorer ranks. With regard to the provosts and others of the king's officers of justice, few, if any of them, dared to do their duty. The tradesmen could not venture abroad with their goods out of the fortified towns without paying tribute for passports, under risk of being robbed and murdered.

At this time the widowed duchess of Berry espoused the lord de la Trémouille,* who was not beloved by the duke of Burgundy; and because this duchess was in her own right countess of the Boulonois, the duke sent the lord de Fosseux, then governor of Artois, to take possession of the town of Boulogne. This was done, but the lord de Moruel† remained governor of it in the king's name, against the English. At this same period, the duke of Clarence, brother to the king of England, sailed from the port of Sandwich with three hundred vessels full of English, whom he led to Harfleur, and destroyed the French navy under the command of the constable of France, who had for some time besieged that town. Many were killed on board the fleet; but when the duke of Clarence had revictualled it, and supplied his losses, he sailed back to England much rejoiced at his good success.

CHAPTER CLIX.—THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY AND THE KING OF ENGLAND COME TO CALAIS.—DUKE JOHN OF BURGUNDY MEETS THEM THERE.—THE MATTERS THAT WERE THEN TRANSACTED.

About the feast of St. Remy, in this year, the emperor of Germany and the king of England came to Calais, attended by numbers of nobles. The duke of Burgundy there met them, and was most honourably received; and the duke of Gloucester, brother to king Henry, went to St. Omer as hostage for the duke of Burgundy, where he was nobly entertained by the count de Charolois, and by other great lords appointed for that purpose.

* George, lord of la Trémouille, Sully, Craon, Jonvelle, &c. by descent; count of Boulogne, Auvergne, and Guisnes, by marriage with Jane, heiress of those counties, and widow of the duke of Berry. Moreri says he was made prisoner at Azincourt, though not mentioned in the list of prisoners by Monstrelet. He was successively conservator of waters and forests, grand-chamberlain of France, and lieutenant-general of the duchy of Burgundy. His wife, the duchess of Berry, brought him no issue; but on her death in 1423, he married the heiress of l'Isle Bouchard, and had several children.

† Thibaud, lord of Moreuil and Coeuvres, assumed the family-name of Soissons from his great-grandmother, wife of Bernard V., lord of Moreuil. He married Margaret de Poix d'Arcy, by whom he had many children, and died in 1437. His son Waleran succeeded in right of his mother, to the lordships of Poix, Quesnes, &c.

However, when the count de Charolois visited the duke of Gloucester the day after his arrival, attended by some of the lords of his council, to do him honour and keep him company, the duke had his back turned towards him as the count entered the apartment, and was so engaged in talking to some of his attendants that he forgot to make the usual salutations to the count, but said, shortly enough, "You are welcome, fair cousin," but without advancing to meet him, and continued his conversation with the English. The count de Charolois, notwithstanding his youth, was much hurt and displeased at this conduct, although at the moment he showed no signs of it.

In the conferences held at Calais, the king of England earnestly requested the duke of Burgundy not to assist the king of France against him, in which case he would divide some of his future conquests with him; promising at the same time not to attack any of his territories, or those of his allies or well-wishers. The duke refused to agree to this; but the truce that existed between them was prolonged until Michaelmas-day in the year 1419.

At that time, as I was informed, the duke of Burgundy did homage to the emperor for his counties of Burgundy and Alost. When he had remained in Calais nine days, and finished the business on which he had come, he took leave of the king and returned to St. Omer, whence the duke of Gloucester came to Calais. The king of France and his ministers were much astonished at this visit of the duke of Burgundy, and believed for certain that he had allied himself with king Henry, to the prejudice of the king and kingdom of France.

CHAPTER CLX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY GOES TO VALENCIENNES, IN OBEDIENCE TO A SUMMONS WHICH HE RECEIVES FROM THE DAUPHIN.—THEY MUTUALLY SWEAR FRIENDSHIP TO EACH OTHER.

On the return of the duke of Burgundy from Calais, duke William count of Hainault sent ambassadors to him, to request that he would meet the dauphin his son-in-law, which he refused, because he had frequently sent to his brother-in-law, duke William in Holland, to desire he would bring the dauphin into those parts, and it had not been complied with. The dauphin, nevertheless, wrote letters with his own hand to the duke of Burgundy, to come to him at Valenciennes, who promised the messengers that he would be there,—and indeed he went thither on the 12th day of November.

Duke William went out of Valenciennes the length of a league to meet him, carrying with him the dauphin. On the morrow such matters were discussed and agreed on as shall be hereafter mentioned, in the presence of the countess of Hainault, the count de Charolois, the count de Conversan, and many other able knights and esquires, and the ministers of the three parties, namely sir Jean de Luxembourg, sir Jacques de Harcourt, the chancellor to the dauphin, Baudouin de Fresnes, treasurer of Hainault, Robert de Vandegrès, Jean bastard of Blois, master Eustace de Lactre, the lord d'Antoing, the vidame of Amiens, the lord de Fosseux, the lord d'Ancre, the lord de Robais, the lord de Humbercourt, sir Hue de Launoy, sir Guillaume Bouvier, governor of Arras, sir Athis de Brimeu, sir Andrieu de Valines, master Philippe de Morvillers, and many more.

First, the duke of Burgundy offered himself and his services to the dauphin, and promised on his oath to serve the king his father and himself to the utmost of his power, against all their enemies. This promise the dauphin received with pleasure, and, in return, made oath that he would aid and defend the duke of Burgundy against his enemies and all ill-wishers to him or to his subjects. The dauphin then affectionately requested the duke to join the king in the defence of his realm against the attacks of the English, which he promised and swore he would. He next required of the duke that he would keep the peace that had been concluded at Auxerre. The duke replied that he would most willingly do so, for he was very desirous of maintaining that peace, and that he wished ill to no one but to the king of Sicily. The dauphin was satisfied with this answer, and made offer to the duke that if there were any articles in the peace which he wished to have altered, or if he desired others to be added, as well in regard to what had passed then as since, it should be done. All present then made oath to the duke of Burgundy for the observance of what had been said,

and duke William and the duke of Burgundy mutually swore to maintain brotherly affection, and that they would endeavour to establish a good government for the king of France and the dauphin, that they would mutually support each other, as well when absent as present, by risking their persons in maintaining whatever they should have agreed upon.

Duke William added, that in respect to the war between France and England, his predecessors had no way interfered, and that he intended in this matter to follow their example, lest his countries should suffer for it. Duke William afterward promised the duke of Burgundy, that he would not intrust the dauphin to the hands of any person of whom he was not sure, for the better security of the engagements just entered into; and that within fifteen days he would visit the queen of France, and would arrange matters with her so that he should regain her friendship and support for the good of the king and realm. When all these matters had been concluded, the duke of Burgundy and his people returned to Douay.

CHAPTER CLXI.—DUKE WILLIAM COUNT OF HAINAULT CARRIES HIS SON-IN-LAW THE DAUPHIN TO ST. QUENTIN, AND THENCE TO COMPIEGNE, WHERE HE DIES.—THE CONDUCT OBSERVED ON THIS JOURNEY.

On the 14th day of November, duke William carried back the dauphin to his castle of Quesnoy, whither ambassadors of different ranks were sent by the king and queen to recal the dauphin to the presence of the king in Paris; but, notwithstanding their remonstrances, he remained at Quesnoy until after Christmas. Duke William then conducted him to St. Quentin in the Vermandois, where they waited for the queen until the Epiphany; and because the queen would not come to St. Quentin, the duke carried the dauphin to Compiegne, where he was lodged in the king's palace. Shortly after, the countess of Hainault came thither with her daughter the dauphiness, and a large company.

The queen came in great state from Paris to Senlis, accompanied by her son the duke of Touraine and her son-in-law the duke of Brittany, and the great council of the king. At the same time, the young duke d'Alençon, and other lords of his age, went to Compiegne to pay their court to the dauphin. Negotiations now took place between Senlis and Compiegne. The countess of Hainault carried the dauphiness to visit the queen at Senlis, when, after spending some time together in much cheerfulness, they went back to Compiegne, and the queen returned to Paris, whither the negociations were transferred between duke William, the ministers of the dauphin, and ambassadors from the duke of Burgundy. True it is, that at this time the dauphin sent letters, sealed with his great seal, to the bailiffs of Vermandois and Amiens, and other places, commanding them to proclaim a cessation of warfare on all sides, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects; but they were of little service to the poor people, for the men-at-arms did not the less overrun and oppress the country.

On the last day but one in March, duke William declared in the full audience of the king's council at Paris, that he would unite the dauphin with the duke of Burgundy, or carry the dauphin back to Hainault, if measures were not instantly taken for restoring peace to the kingdom. The ministers, hearing this, resolved that the duke should be arrested and confined until he had given up the dauphin to the king his father. The duke was secretly informed of this by a friend, and on the morrow very early, under pretext of performing a pilgrimage to St. Maur-des-Fosses, and returning to Paris in the evening, he hastened with only two attendants to Compiegne. He found the dauphin most dangerously ill, insomuch that he died on Palm Sunday: his disorder was an imposthume in the ear, which burst and suffocated him. When dead, he was put into a leaden coffin and buried at St. Corneille*, in the presence of duke William, his lady, and the dauphiness, who gave large sums for masses to be said for the welfare of his soul. The duke and his family returned in great grief to Hainault.

It was commonly reported that the dauphin had been poisoned by some of those who governed the king, because he and his elder brother had been too much attached to the duke of Burgundy.

* St. Corneille de Compiegne,—an abbey near that town.

CHAPTER CLXII.*—THE NEAPOLITANS REBEL AGAINST THEIR KING, JACQUES DE LA MARCHE, AND MAKE WAR ON HIM.—THEY TAKE THE QUEEN PRISONER.—THE CONSEQUENCES THAT FOLLOW.

This year the Neapolitans rebelled against king James count de la Marche, and would have made him prisoner had he not been informed in time of their intentions. They confined the queen, and made a bitter war against him and his supporters. The constable and the lord de St. Maurice, his father-in-law, were imprisoned. The king, for his greater security, embarked on board a brigantine for the castle del Ovo, leaving a good garrison in Castel Nuovo. This war lasted until the 27th day of October in the same year, when peace was made on condition that all the French who held any offices in the kingdom should depart and return to their own country, excepting the very few employed personally to serve the king.

On the conclusion of the peace, the king and queen returned to Castel Nuovo, when all persons renewed their oaths of allegiance, promising to consider him as their king during his life, but that he was no way to interfere in the government of the kingdom. His establishment of guards, attendants, and horses, were all arranged according to the pleasure of the Neapolitans. On the day the king returned to Castel Nuovo, there were great rejoicings throughout the town, with bonfires, and illuminations on the terraces of the houses, and on the morrow there was a grand ball at the castle. But on the third day, the king was so strictly watched that none were allowed to speak to him but in the presence of those who had seized the government, and the French gentlemen were not permitted to take leave of him on their departure. The rulers of the kingdom soon after obliged the queen to join their party, lest the two when united might be over much for them: however, in conformity to their oaths, they showed the king and queen all outward respect, but governed the country as they willed. The chief of these usurpers was of one of the greatest and richest families, called Hanequin Mournil, one in whom the king had placed most confidence of all the Italians. The king was for a long time kept under this restraint: at length he escaped, and fled by sea to Tarentum, which had been given to him as a principality,—but he was, soon after, driven out of the kingdom. The duke of Anjou, son to king Louis, went thither on his expulsion, and was well received in the city of Aversa; but it was not long before he was forced out of the realm by the king of Arragon.

In regard to king James, besides the rebellion of his subjects, the queen likewise, old and capricious, was much displeased and jealous of his being a lover to young ladies of the country and neglecting her. This was also the cause why the nobles whom he had brought from France with him were generally hated.

CHAPTER CLXIII.—THE EARL OF DORSET, GOVERNOR OF HARFLEUR, MAKES AN INCURSION INTO THE COUNTRY OF CAUX, AND IS COMBATED BY THE FRENCH.—THE EMPEROR CREATES THE COUNT OF SAVOY A DUKE.

At this same time, the earl of Dorset, who commanded in Harfleur, one day marched three thousand English combatants toward Rouen, and thence made a circuit through the country of Caux, where he remained three days doing great mischief with fire and sword. In the mean time the garrisons and nobles of those parts collected together under the lord de Villequier to the amount of three thousand men also, and met the English near to Valmont, who instantly attacked them; but the French defended themselves so valiantly, the English were defeated, and eight hundred left on the field of battle. The remainder retreated with the earl into a garden surrounded by a strong hedge of thorns, and therein continued the rest of the day without the French being able to gain further advantage over them, although they took much pains. In the evening the French retired to a village hard

* See Giannone, lib. 25, cap. 1 and 2, for an account of these events, which are not very accurately related by Monstrelet.

by to refresh themselves; but the earl of Dorset, doubtful of the event, on the morrow marched out of the garden with his men about day-break, and pushed forward to Harfleur. The French, perceiving this, pursued them, and overtook them in the marshes, about two leagues from that town, when they renewed the battle; but, as the French were not all come up, they were defeated, and two hundred slain,—among whom was their commander, the lord de Villequier, and other nobles of that country.

The emperor of Germany, on his return home, passed through Lyons, where he was desirous of creating Amadeus count of Savoy a duke,—but the king of France's officers would not permit it. He was very indignant at this, and went to a small castle called Moulnet that belongs to the empire, and he there created him a duke. On his coming to France, through the interference of duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen of France, and others of the Orleans faction, he had been of the opposite party to the duke of Burgundy, but on his return he had changed his sentiments, and liked better the Burgundy faction than that of Orleans.

CHAPTER CLXIV.—DUKE WILLIAM, COUNT OF HAINAULT, DIES AT BOUCHAIN.—JOHN OF BAVARIA DECLARES WAR AGAINST HIS NIECE, DAUGHTER TO THE LATE DUKE WILLIAM.

[A. D. 1417.]

At the commencement of this year, duke William and his duchess, after their return from Compiegne, went to visit the duke of Burgundy at Douay, when many conferences were holden on the state of public affairs, and on the answers duke William had received from the queen of France and the king's ministers. When these were ended, duke William returned to his castle of Bouchain, where he was seized with a violent illness that put an end to his life in a few days. His body was carried to Valenciennes, and buried in the church of the Minorite friars. He left one only daughter by the duchess, called Jacquelina of Bavaria, who, as his legal heiress, took possession of all his inheritances, which fell to her on the decease of the duke. Nevertheless, John of Bavaria, her uncle on her father's side, made opposition to this, on pretence that the succession of the late duke Albert, his father, had not been fairly divided in regard to him; adding, that Jacquelina could not lawfully succeed to the country of Holland; and, with the consent of the inhabitants, he gained possession of Dordrecht and some other towns, which acknowledged him for their lord. He soon after declared open war against her, and resigned into the hands of the pope his bishopric of Liege, which bishopric was put into commission. He made this resignation to strengthen his claims against his niece,—and shortly married the duchess of Luxembourg, the widow of duke Anthony of Brabant, brother to the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CLXV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS LETTERS TO MANY OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN FRANCE, DESCRIBING THE STATE OF THOSE WHO GOVERN THE KINGDOM.

In these days, the duke of Burgundy sent letters, open and closed, to many of the chief towns in France, to stir them to rebellion, and to join his faction,—which letters were of the following tenor:

"John duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders and Artois, palatine of Burgundy, lord of Salines and Mechlin, to all to whom these presents shall come, health and peace.

"Whereas, by divine grace, we had in former times the government of the kingdom of France; but since we have withdrawn ourselves therefrom, persons of low degree, and of doubtful birth, have seized the management of public affairs, with the sole intent of appropriating to themselves, by open or secret means, the treasure of the realm; and so outrageous has been their conduct, that my lord the king, his family, and officers, were kept in the utmost penury. They neither paid nor suffered to be paid the usual royal charities, nor did they see to the repairs and maintenance of the various garrisons, with things absolutely necessary for them; for notwithstanding the immense sums yearly raised by taxes and loans, scarcely any part of them were applied to public uses, or for the welfare of the kingdom. We therefore,

having fully considered all these matters, and how nearly we are by blood connected with my lord the king, being his cousin-german, and holding from him the duchy of Burgundy and counties of Flanders and Artois, and that we are in a double degree father and dean of the peers of France, and that our various and great obligations to him and to his crown are well known, have determined to provide a sufficient remedy for the above evils, and that restitution be made to the public treasury to the utmost of our power.

"We have had the above facts demonstrated by our ambassadors, in the presence of the grand council at the Louvre in Paris, presided by our very dear lord and son, the duke of Aquitaine, lately deceased, whose soul may God pardon! requesting at the same time, that from his good sense, and for the acquittal of his conscience, he would check these said abuses, and attend to the better government of the state. In this matter we were joined by the members of the university of Paris, who sent us letters to that effect, and which were publicly read in the church of St. Genevieve at Paris; and at that time there were appearances that our remonstrances would be listened to. But their real intentions were otherwise; for it is notorious that we have met with nothing but tricks and dissimulations of all sorts, and perseverance in their evil government, whence have proceeded these intestine wars; although we have never ceased to urge our remonstrances against the present ministers, by able clerks, as well of the parliament and university as otherwise, by prudent knights, and other wise citizens, in whose presence ordinances were published by our said lord the king, and sworn to in his court of justice without any novelties being introduced or exception of persons made.

"Nevertheless, grievous as it may be to relate, the contrary to these ordinances has been done; and it is a well-known fact, that the wretches have found means to keep me from the presence of our said lord the king. Soon after these edicts were annulled, and every sort of disorder was committed, taxes upon taxes were laid, loans on loans, reductions of offices, banishments, beheadings, and innumerable despotic acts done, to the very great dissatisfaction of my said well-beloved lord and son, lately deceased, and to which he had resolved to put an end, by ordering us to come to him with a competent number of men-at-arms, notwithstanding any orders we might receive to the contrary; and, as proofs thereof, I have in my possession three letters written and signed with his own hand, containing the above commands. In obedience to these orders, we came to St. Denis, and advanced toward the town of Paris, but could not gain admittance to his person; for the affair was become known to the aforesaid evil advisers, who instantly laid hands on our very redoubted lord and his son, confining them in the castle of the Louvre for a considerable time, with the drawbridges raised and gates closed. They also imprisoned the greater part of the king's servants, thus illegally depriving them of their liberties, although they had certain intelligence upwards of a year prior to this, that the enemies of the kingdom were preparing to invade it; but through their damnable avarice and concupiscence of wealth, they made no provision whatever to resist them. Hence it happened that our said lord and king has lost one of the finest seaports in his realm, the key to his country, and has suffered the almost total destruction of his chivalry; and none can foresee the infinite misfortunes that may now ensue, but which God avert. We also, bound by our royal duty toward our sovereign, have assembled for his service the greatest possible force we could to defend his kingdom, as we are bounden to do by every tie. But the aforesaid evil advisers have ordered several cities and towns not to permit us to enter them, and have forbidden them to supply our men with provision, as if we had been public enemies; but, notwithstanding such atrocious conduct, our vassals and subjects have been, and still are, strongly attached to his majesty's person.

"They have likewise, heaping grievance on grievance, imprisoned a great number of notable inhabitants of many towns well affected to the king, but who saw with displeasure the miserable state the nation was reduced to by their wicked measures. But the worst part of their conduct has been the poisoning of the said deceased well-beloved lord and son (as the manner of his death plainly showed,) the moment he was made acquainted with their wickedness, and testified a resolution to remedy the various evils they had caused; and this was done to increase and strengthen their authority.

"When we witnessed their fury, to avoid all manner of quarrel as much as in us lay, we

retired to our countries of Flanders and Artois, and to our very dear brother the count of Hainault, to explain to our well-beloved nephew, my lord the dauphin, lately deceased, whose soul may God receive! the honesty of our intentions, and the bad consequences that would infallibly ensue if the present public measures were continued. We did not expect to have done this immediately, because our foresaid lord and nephew was in Holland, and could not instantly come to us in Hainault, from the dangers of the sea: nevertheless, on his arrival at Valenciennes we waited on him, and explained fully many matters, and our desire for a general peace with all so inclined, excepting king Louis of Sicily, with whom we had cause for quarrel that greatly affected our honour and estate: with these explanations he was very well satisfied, as was our aforesaid brother. For the more effectually accomplishing this peace, and for the better considering of other public affairs, they went from Valenciennes to St. Quentin, in the Vermandois, and thence to Compiegne; but these wicked ministers, by their deceits, attempted to detain our brother in Paris, when he was about to proceed on his journey toward Compiegne, with an earnest desire of attending to the before-mentioned business, not supposing that any attempt would be made against his person while he was endeavouring to conclude measures of such interesting importance. They would, however, have succeeded in their attempt, had not his good sense provided a timely remedy, by hastily leaving Paris with few attendants. He arrived at Compiegne early in the day, although the distance from Paris is twenty leagues. Soon after his arrival, a grievous misfortune befel us; for about vespers of that same day, our very dear lord and nephew was taken so dangerously ill that he shortly after expired, having his cheeks, tongue, and lips greatly swelled, and his eyes starting out of his head,—in such wise that it was a most melancholy sight, considering that such are the usual appearances of those who die by poison. These aforesaid rapacious ministers poisoned him, as they had done our very redoubted lord and son his brother, which we now relate with grief, believing firmly that all the honest and good men of the kingdom will be sorely displeased when they shall hear of these deaths.

"In this state remained public affairs while these infamous poisoners, who governed the realm, would not listen to our terms of peace, nor take pity on the poor people of France, destroyed through their quarrels. In truth, the tempers of these men must be wretched, who are only desirous of evil, and who have broken or infringed six treaties, solemnly sworn to, namely, those of Chartres, Bicêtre, Auxerre, Pontoise, Paris, and of Rouvres in Burgundy. We shall not detail, at this moment, how these treaties have been broken,—for it would take too much time, and it is notorious to every one. We only mention the circumstance, that you may be thoroughly acquainted with the wickedness of these false, disloyal and perjured traitors, who add murder, rapine and poison to their crimes, who are without faith, and made up of treasons and cruelty. We also make known to you, that we, in former times, bore patiently, as became us, all the insults and persecutions that were heaped on our person,—having in our memory, what is to be found in history both sacred and profane, that it was usual for the friends of God and of the public good to be bitterly persecuted for their virtuous actions.

"Nevertheless, it is our fixed intention to follow up our measures, with the aid of our Creator, and our whole force, with that of our relations, friends, vassals, and well-wishers to the king and crown of France; and to prosecute to conviction those who are guilty of these poisonings, their accomplices and adherents, so long as God shall grant us life. At the same time also, we shall urge on those reforms of grievances already begun by us, that press so heavily on the poor people under the names of gabelles, tithes and other exactions; and we have determined to employ every force we can collect to obtain so desirable an object.

"To this end, we entreat and summon you, on the faith and obedience you owe to my aforesaid lord, and on your love of the public weal, to eschew the crime of high treason,—and require that you, and each of you, do aid, counsel and assist in the punishment of these destroyers of the noble house of France, who are guilty of murders, treasons and poisonings, as you are bounden to do by every law natural and divine. By your conduct, we shall know whether you possess charity, loyalty, virtue, and the fear of God,—and whether you be desirous of repressing cruelty, disloyalty, vanity and avarice. This can alone save the

kingdom of France from ruin. By this alone, my lord the king will recover his power, and be obeyed and honoured, which is the utmost extent of our wishes in this world, and which it seems to us you should be most desirous of also. Thus the kingdom will be at peace, the churches supported, the wicked punished, and the injuries done to the people will cease. Surely these are objects more worthy and fit to occupy your attention than seeking the favour of these false and infamous traitors in contempt of the grace of God.

"Doubt not of our intention to revenge the insults that have been shown us; for we promise, on the faith and loyalty we owe to God, to our aforesaid lord, and to the public welfare of his realm, that our sole bent and will is to prevent, to the utmost of our power, my aforesaid lord and his kingdom from being completely destroyed, which these disloyal traitors are compassing to accomplish,—and that satisfactory justice be done on them, according to the advice and opinions of those who shall assist us in these our intentions. For this end, we offer peace to all who shall be inclined to accept of it from us, excepting Louis, king of Sicily, for the better prosecution of our intentions to support the king and his realm,—being resolved to persist in these loyal measures until death, without offering any conciliatory terms to these profligate traitors and poisoners. This business has been too long delayed; for it may be clearly seen that the aforesaid traitors are determined on the total ruin of the royal house of France and the whole of the nobility, and that they are resolved to deliver up the kingdom to foreigners; but we have firm reliance and hope in God, who knows the secrets of every heart! that we shall obtain a happy issue to our enterprise by means of the good and faithful subjects of the realm, whom in this case we will support to the utmost of our power, and maintain for ever in the fullest enjoyment of their liberties and franchises. We will also exert ourselves that in future no taxes, impositions and gabelles, may be ever again paid in France; and we will proceed against all who shall say or act to the contrary by fire and sword, whether they be universities, corporations, chapters, colleges, nobles, or any others, of whatever condition they may be.

"In testimony whereof, we have signed these presents with our own hand and our privy seal, in the absence of the great seal, in our castle of Hesdin, the 24th day of April, 1417, after Easter."

These letters were sent to the towns of Montreuil, St. Riquier, Abbeville, Dourlens, Amiens, Corbie, St. Quentin, Roye, Mondidier, Beauvais, and to many other places; and by their means several principal towns and corporations were strongly excited against those who then governed the king.

CHAPTER CLXVI.—SIR LOUIS BOURDON, KNIGHT, IS ARRESTED AND EXECUTED.—THE QUEEN OF FRANCE IS BANISHED TO BLOIS, AND THENCE TO TOURS.

About this time, while the queen of France resided with her court at the castle of Vincennes, she was visited by the king her lord. On his return to Paris in the evening, he met sir Louis Bourdon, knight, coming thence, and going to Vincennes, who, on passing very near the king, made a slight inclination of his head as he rode by, and gaily pursued his road. The king instantly ordered the provost of Paris to follow and arrest him, and to take especial care to give a good account of him. The provost performed his duty in obeying this command, and confined sir Louis in the Châtelet of Paris, where he was, by command of the king, very severely tortured, and then drowned in the Seine.*

Some few days after, by orders from the king, the dauphin, and those who governed in Paris, the queen, accompanied by her sister-in-law the duchess of Bavaria, was banished to Blois, and thence to reside at Tours in Touraine, with a very private establishment. She was placed under the guard of master William Torel, master John Picard, and master

* The count of Armagnac had persuaded the king to believe that Sir Louis de Bourdon had been guilty of certain gallantries with the queen. It is uncertain whether there was any foundation for the report, but the former behaviour of Isabella towards the duke of Orleans certainly laid her open to suspicion. From this moment she did not hesitate to intrigue with the duke of Burgundy, even against the dauphin, being willing to sacrifice her own son, to revenge herself upon her enemies.

Laurence du Puys, without whose consent she could not do anything, not even write a letter, however pressing the occasion. She thus lived a considerable time very unpleasantly, expecting, however, daily to receive worse treatment. The dauphin, by the advice of his ministers, took possession of the immense sums of money the queen had placed in different hands in Paris. The three above-mentioned warders of the queen had been appointed by those who governed the king and the dauphin, to prevent her from intriguing or plotting anything to their prejudice.

CHAPTER CLXVII.—THE COMMONALTY OF ROUEN PUT TO DEATH THEIR BAILIFF, SIR RAOUL DE GAUCOURT.—THEY SEIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TOWN.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE DAUPHIN AT ROUEN.

In these days, by the instigation of the partisans of the duke of Burgundy, some wicked persons of the lower ranks in the town of Rouen rose in rebellion. The leader was one Alain Blanchart, who was afterward governor of the town. They first went armed, and with staves, to the house of the king's bailiff, sir Raoul de Gaucourt*, knight, at whose door they knocked loudly, and said to those within (although it was about ten o'clock at night), "We want to speak to my lord the bailiff, to deliver up to him a traitor whom we have just arrested in the town;" the servants bade them detain their prisoner in safe custody until the morrow: however, in consequence of their importunity and violence, the door was opened to them. The bailiff instantly arose from his bed, and, having wrapped himself up in a large cloak, came to speak to them; but he had no sooner made his appearance, than some of the party, who had disguised their faces, cruelly murdered him. They then left the house, and went to that of his lieutenant, John Leger, whom they also put to death, and thence to different parts of the town, and killed ten other persons; but many of the municipal officers, such as the viscount and receiver-general, having had information of what was passing, fled to the castle, into which they were admitted by sir James de Bourbon the governor.

On the morrow morning, the commonalty again assembled in great numbers, and marched in arms to the castle, with the intent of forcing an entrance, but were prevented by the governor, who had under his command one hundred of the king's troops to defend it. At length, after many parleys, it was agreed that sixteen of the most notable citizens should be admitted, to remonstrate with the governor on some matters that much concerned him. Upon their admittance, they offered many excuses for the murder of the bailiff and of the others, declaring that the whole commonalty of the town would be rejoiced if the perpetrators could be discovered and punished. They were greatly alarmed as to the conduct of the king and the dauphin when they should hear of these deaths, and requested the governor would permit them to have the guard of the castle, but it was refused. They then required that the gate which led to the country should be shut up, which was also refused. Upon this they declared, that should the king and the dauphin attempt to enter their town with an army, admittance should be denied,—at the same time beseeching the governor to apologise for them to the king and the dauphin. The governor replied, that he would make excuses for them in proper time and place, provided they did not refuse to admit them into the town should they come thither.

After this conversation, the citizens returned home; and, a few days after, what they dreaded came to pass,—for the dauphin marched two thousand men out of Paris to Pont-de-l'Arche, whence he sent the archbishop of Rouen, brother to the count de Harcourt, to that town, to exhort the inhabitants to a due sense of obedience.

On the archbishop's arrival at Rouen, he found several of the canons of the cathedral church under arms, and intermixed with the citizens, to whom he displayed the proclamation of the dauphin. They in answer said, that it had been unanimously decreed that he should not enter the town with his army; but that if he would come with few attendants, and engage to pay his expenses, they would agree to it, but not otherwise. The archbishop,

* Raoul V., lord de Gaucourt. His son, Raoul VI., was grand-master of France.

seeing he could not conclude anything satisfactory, returned to the dauphin, and related all he had seen and heard. Upon this the dauphin sent for sir James de Bourbon, and fixed his quarters at St. Catherine's on the hill. On the arrival on sir James he said, "Cousin, return to your castle, and admit by the gate leading to the country two hundred men-at-arms, and as many archers, whom we will send thither." The townsmen were greatly

Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Rouen.—Murder of the Bailiff.—From an original drawing.

enraged on hearing of this reinforcement being admitted into the castle; however, within three days, the dauphin, by negotiation, entered Rouen with his whole army; he rode straight to the cathedral to offer up his prayers, and thence to the castle, where he was lodged.

In the course of eight days, a treaty was made with the townsmen, which confirmed them in their obedience,—for all that had passed was pardoned, with the exception of the actual murderers of the bailiff. The dauphin, having paid his expenses, departed for Paris with his army, where he appointed the lord de Gamaches *, bailiff of Rouen, with orders to inflict exemplary punishment on such of the murderers as should be duly convicted. Some of them were punished; but Alain Blanchart absented himself for some time; and when he returned to the town he enjoyed great authority and power, as shall hereafter be related.

* John de Roualt, lord of Gamache and Boismenard.

CXLVIII.—THE DEATH OF LOUIS KING OF SICILY.—THE CONDUCT OF THE LEADERS OF COMPANIES.—THE OVERTHROW OF RAYMONNET DE LA GUERRE.—THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TOWN OF AUMALE.

In these days, king Louis, father-in-law to the dauphin, died, leaving three sons and two daughters,—Louis*, who succeeded to his crown, René, afterward duke of Bar†, and Charles‡. One of his daughters was married to the dauphin §, and the other, named Yolande ||, was but two years old. By his death the dauphin lost an able counsellor and friend; the more to be lamented, as the greatest confusion now reigned in many parts of France, and justice was trampled under foot.

The foreigners also that were attached to the party of the duke of Burgundy, such as Gastellimas Quigny, and others before-named, robbed and plundered all the countries they marched through, and every person, noble or not, even such as were of the same party as themselves. Infinite mischiefs were done by them to poor countrymen, who were grievously oppressed. These foreign companies bent their march toward the Boulonois, intending to treat it as they had done other districts; but some of the inhabitants assembled during the night, under the command of Butor, bastard of Croy, and made an attack on the quarters of the lieutenant of John de Clau, named Laurens Rose, whom they put to death, with several of his men: the rest were robbed of all they had. In revenge for this insult, the bastard de Thian, one of the captains of these companies, seized a very proper gentleman called Gadifer de Collehaut, whom he hanged on a tree. However, these strangers, seeing they were likely to be strongly opposed, speedily retreated from the Boulonois, and, shortly after took the town and castle of Davencourt belonging to the heirs of the lord de Hangest. When they had rifled it of its furniture, they set it on fire, so that it was totally destroyed, and thence marched to lay siege to Neuf-châtel sur Eusne.

Sir Raymonnet de la Guerre, and sir Thomas de Lersies bailiff of the Vermandois, collected a considerable force in the king's name to raise the siege, and to overpower these foreigners; but as their intentions were known, the besiegers marched to meet them, and in the end completely put them to the rout, taking and killing full eight-score: the remainder, with Raymonnet and sir Thomas de Lersies, saved themselves by flight, and took refuge in such of the strong towns belonging to the king as they could first gain. After this defeat, those of Neuf-châtel surrendered the town, which the foreigners, having plundered it of its valuables, set on fire, and then departed for the Cambresis, where they did infinite mischiefs.

At this same period, but in another part of the kingdom, John de Fosseux¶, Daviod de Poix, Ferry de Mailly, sir Louis de Thiembronne, Louis de Varigines, Guerrard bastard de Brimeu, and some other captains of companies attached to the duke of Burgundy, crossed the Somme near to Blanchetaque, with full twelve hundred combatants, and, passing through Oisemont, went to Aumale, belonging to the count de Harcourt. They quartered themselves in the town, and then made a sharp assault on the castle; but it was so well defended by the garrison, that very many of the assailants were dreadfully wounded. When they were retreating, and during the night, they, through mischief or otherwise, set fire to the town, which, with the church, was completely burnt. It was a great pity, for it was a town that carried on a very considerable commerce. John de Fosseux and his accomplices then marched away to quarter themselves in the town of Hornoy, and in the adjacent villages in the county of Vimeu, which district they totally plundered; and after three days, they

* Louis III., eldest son of Louis II., king of Sicily, &c., by Yoland, daughter of John I., king of Arragon and Yoland de Bar. Louis III. was born in 1403; adopted by Jane II., queen of Naples; married Margaret of Savoy; and died in 1434, without issue.

† René, born in 1408, duke of Lorraine, in right of his wife Isabel, daughter of Charles the Bold; and of Bar, in right of his grandmother, Yoland of Arragon.

‡ Charles, count of Maine, &c., born in 1414.

§ Mary, married to Charles, dauphin of France, in 1422.

|| Yoland, married to Francis, duke of Bretagne, in 1431.

¶ Although the reader would, from the manner in which Monstrelet relates the actions of these captains, be led to believe that they were acting solely on their own account, as was too often the custom of the "Free Companies," yet there can be little doubt that they were acting under the orders of the duke of Burgundy, since we find that John de Fosseux was very shortly after employed by him as his ambassador to the French towns.—Ed.

conducted their prisoners, with the cattle, sheep and pigs, across the Somme, at the place where they had before passed.

In like manner similar excursions were made into the countries of the Beauvoisis, Vermandois, Santerre, Amiennois, and other districts under the king's government,—in all of which the inhabitants were grievously oppressed.

CHAPTER CLXIX.—THE KING'S GARRISON IN PERONNE CARRIES ON A SEVERE WAR AGAINST THE COUNTRIES ATTACHED TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

During these times, the town of Peronne, situated on the river Somme, was strongly garrisoned by forces sent thither by the constable of France in the king's name, under the command of sir Robert de Loyre. They consisted of one hundred men-at-arms well appointed, one hundred Genoese cross-bowmen, and the same number of other combatants; and they made very frequent excursions, day and night, over the countries attached to the duke of Burgundy and his allies, bringing to their garrison considerable plunder of cattle and other effects. In like manner did the garrison of the castle du Main, belonging to sir Collart de Calville, make war in the king's name on all the allies and supporters of the duke of Burgundy.

The towns of Corbie and Amiens suffered much from these continued attacks; and the inhabitants of the latter town, by command of the duke of Burgundy, were forced to banish sir Robert d'Ensne the king's bailiff, Hugh de Puys the king's advocate, and some others, because they had acted with too much vigour, and contrary to his good pleasure, against several of his adherents. He had even declared, that he would make war on them if they pretended to support them against his will. They consequently left the town and went to Paris, where they made heavy complaints against the duke to the king and council, who were very far from being satisfied with the conduct of the duke, who was urging on matters from bad to worse.

CHAPTER CLXX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AMBASSADORS TO MANY OF THE KING'S PRINCIPAL TOWNS TO FORM ALLIANCES WITH THEM.—THE OATHS THAT WERE MADE ON THE OCCASION.

The duke of Burgundy sent the lords de Fosseux, de Humbercourt, and master Philip de Morviller, as ambassadors, to several of the king's principal towns, with letters-patent from the duke, addressed to the magistrates and commonalty. They first went to Montreuil, which instantly assented to his proposals, then to St. Riquier, Abbeville, Amiens and Dourlens; and at each place they had their letters publicly read to the commonalty; after which master Philip de Morviller notably harangued them on the good intentions of the duke to provide for the public welfare, and with such effect that all the above towns formed alliances with the ambassadors, which they solemnly swore to maintain, and mutually exchanged the acts drawn up for this purpose.

The tenour of that of the town of Dourlens was as follows.

"To all those to whom these presents shall come; John de Fosseux lord de Fosseux and de Nivelle, David de Brimeu lord of Humbercourt, knights, and Philip de Morviller, counsellors and ambassadors from the very high and puissant prince, our much redoubted lord the duke of Burgundy, on the one part, and the governor, mayor, sheriffs, and resident burghers of the town of Dourlens on the other part, greeting. We make known, that we have entered into and formed a treaty of concord and amity, the terms of which are as follow.

"First, the said governor, mayor, sheriffs, and resident burghers, will aid and support the said duke of Burgundy in his endeavours to restore the king our lord to the full enjoyment of his power and liberty, so that his realm may have uninterrupted justice, and commerce an unrestrained course.—Item, they will assist the said duke to the utmost of their power, that the king and his realm may be wisely and well governed, and secured against all enemies. They will admit him and his army into their town, allowing him to have a superiority of force, and they will, for money, supply him and his men with whatever provisions or

necessaries they may require, they taking on themselves the guard and defence of the town, and permitting all merchants, as well of the town as otherwise, to bring into it, without molestation, whatever merchandises they may please.—Item, during the time the said duke shall remain in possession of the town of Dourlens, he shall not arrest, or cause to be arrested, any of the inhabitants, of whatever rank or condition, without a judicial inquiry having previously been held; and should any of the officers of the said duke commit an injury or insult on the inhabitants, he or they shall be severely punished by those to whom the cognizance of such cases belongs.—Item, the townsmen of Dourlens, of every degree, shall have free liberty to repair to the countries of the said duke on their affairs, without let or hindrance, either personally or otherwise.—Item, my lord the duke will support and defend the townsmen of Dourlens against all who may attempt to injure them, for having entered into this treaty in favour of the king and our aforesaid lord.—Item, it is not the intention of our said lord the duke to place any garrison in Dourlens, nor to claim any right of dominion over the said town; but he is contented that the town shall be governed in the king's name, as it has heretofore been, to the honour of the said town, and to the advantage of the public weal.

"The said town engages, on the other hand, never to admit any garrison from the party in opposition to the said duke.—Item, should there be any persons in the said town of Dourlens who may any way injure and attempt to retard the operations of the said duke, by speech or action, and the same be proved by legal evidence, they will cause such person or persons to be most rigorously punished as it behoves them to do.—Item, since the said town has been of late heavily oppressed in its agriculture, more especially in the harvest of this present month of August; and since many cattle have been carried away by men-at-arms avowing themselves of the Burgundian party, by which the labourers and the poor people are much distressed, and unless a remedy be speedily applied, must quit their habitations. We, therefore, the inhabitants of Dourlens, most humbly supplicate you, my lords ambassadors, that you would, out of your goodness and discretion, remonstrate with the duke on these matters, that such remedies may be applied as the urgency of the case requires, and the people of Dourlens will pray for your present and future welfare.—Item, for the more effectual security of the aforesaid articles, and of each of them, the said ambassadors and the said governor, sheriffs, and resident burghers of the town of Dourlens have exchanged the said articles, sealed with their seals, and signed by the sworn clerk of the shrievalty of the said town.

"We the said ambassadors, by the powers vested in us by our very redoubted lord, and we the governor, mayor, &c., have promised, sworn, and agreed, and by these presents do punctually promise, swear, and agree, to preserve every article of this treaty, without any way the least infringing of it, under penalty of confiscation of our goods, without the smallest diminution. In testimony of which we have affixed our seals to these presents, in the town of Dourlens, the 7th day of August in the year of Grace 1417."

CHAPTER CLXXI.—KING HENRY OF ENGLAND RETURNS TO FRANCE WITH A LARGE ARMY, AND TAKES MANY TOWNS AND FORTRESSES.—THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, WHERE POPE MARTIN IS ELECTED HEAD OF THE CHURCH.

King Henry of England, accompanied by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, a number of other nobles, and a numerous army, landed at the port of Touques in Normandy, with the intent to conquer the whole of that duchy. The royal castle at Touques was speedily invested on all sides, which caused the governor, sir John d'Engennes, to surrender it within four days, on condition that he and the garrison should depart with their effects. Within a short time afterwards, the following towns and castles surrendered to king Henry without making any resistance: Harcourt, Beaumont-le-Roger, Evreux, and several others, in which he placed numerous garrisons. He then opened negociations for the surrender of the towns of Rouen and Louviers. The other towns in the duchy were astonished at the facility of king Henry's conquests, for scarcely any place made a defence.

This was caused by the divisions that existed among the nobles, some taking part with the king and others with the duke of Burgundy, and therefore they were fearful of trusting each other. The constable had besides drawn off the greater part of the forces in this district to Paris, to be prepared to meet the duke of Burgundy, whom he daily expected in those parts with a large army.

At this period, by orders from the holy council at Constance, Italy, France, England, and Germany, selected four discreet men from each nation, who entered the conclave with the cardinals of the Roman court, to elect a pope, on the eve of Martinmas-day. During the time they were shut up in conclave, Sigismund emperor of Germany, and king of Hungary and Bohemia, was seated on his royal throne without the doors of the conclave, having on his head an imperial crown, and in his hand the sceptre, surrounded by a numerous body of princes, knights, and men-at-arms. By the grace of the Holy Spirit (it is to be believed), they unanimously elected for pope the cardinal Colonna, a native of Rome. He bore for arms a shield vermilion, having a column argent in the centre surmounted with a crown or. He was conducted to the cathedral church, and consecrated by the cardinal of Ostia, dean of the cardinals, and took the name of Martin V.

This nomination was instantly published throughout all nations, for which the clergy and people returned thanks to God, with the exception of the city of Paris; for they were afraid this new pope and the emperor of Germany would be more favourable to the king of England and the duke of Burgundy than to the king of France, his son, the count d'Armagnac and others of the king's council.

CHAPTER CLXXII.—THE LORD DE CANNY IS SENT BY THE KING OF FRANCE AMBASSADOR TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, WHOM HE FINDS AT AMIENS.—THE ANSWER HE RECEIVES FROM THE DUKE.

The duke of Burgundy had been a long time in making his preparations for a successful issue to his enterprise; and when all things were ready, he marched his army from Arras on St. Laurence's day, toward Corbie, with the intent to continue his march to Paris. On the same evening that he arrived at Corbie, Raoul de Roye, abbot of the place, departed this life, to the great sorrow of the duke. After remaining some days at Corbie, he went to Amiens, where he was most honourably received by all ranks, and carols were sung in the streets he passed through to his lodgings, at the house of master Robert le jeune, his counsellor.

Before he left Amiens he appointed a new set of officers, namely, the lord de Belloy governor, the lord de Humbercourt bailiff, Andrew Clavel attorney-general; and he changed others according to his good pleasure. During his stay at Amiens, letters were presented to him, signed by the king himself, by sir Aubert lord of Canny and Varennes, who said, "Very noble prince, and renowned lord, it will appear by these letters from the king our lord that I am commanded to enjoin and order you in his name, that you do instantly lay aside the expedition you have undertaken, by disbanding your army, that you return to your own country, and that you write him your reasons why you have raised this army contrary to his orders." The duke instantly replied, "You, lord de Canny, are, if you please, or if you do not please, of our kindred, by the Flanders line; notwithstanding which, in good truth, I have a great mind to have your head struck off for having brought me such a message." The lord de Canny, greatly terrified at this speech, fell on his knees, and humbly begged that he would hold him excused, for that he had been constrained to obey the king's commands, showing, at the same time, the instructions that had been given him by the king and council. The knights who surrounded the duke taking the part of the lord de Canny, he was somewhat appeased, but said he would not inform him of his intentions, and that another should carry his answer to the king; that he should not pay any regard to the prohibitions the king had sent, but would march his army to Paris as speedily as he could, and reply, face to face, to his majesty, to all the charges he had made against him.

The duke, notwithstanding, ordered his council to draw up separate answers to the articles

of the instructions given to the lord de Canny, as well as to the different charges made by the king, which he gave to the lord de Canny, making him at the same time promise that he would deliver this writing into the hands of the king and of none other. It contained also the names of the traitors in the king's council, and such of his officers as wished the destruction of the duke. The lord de Canny, having finished his business, left Amiens and returned to the king at Paris.

Here follow the instructions given to sir Aubert de Canny lord de Varennes in the name of the king and council, prescribing his mode of proceeding with the duke of Burgundy.

"He will first address the duke of Burgundy, and say that the king and my lord the dauphin are greatly astonished at his conduct towards the king and his highness, considering how near related to them he is by blood, and under what obligations he lies to them, as he has often avowed by his speeches, and by his various letters. He will strongly remonstrate with him on the open warfare which his vassals, subjects, and allies are carrying on against the king, by taking towns and castles by storm, and committing numberless cruelties by fire and sword against the liege subjects of the king, as bad or even worse than his enemies the English could have done. He will remonstrate with him, that his officers, and others attached to him, make the inhabitants of many of the king's towns swear obedience to the duke of Burgundy, forbidding them henceforward to pay any taxes or subsidies which they have usually done to the royal treasury, which is an astonishing act of authority against the honour and dignity of the king. He will likewise declare, that the above acts having been done so nearly at the time of the invasion of the English, it has caused many persons to suspect they were committed for their advantage, and to prevent the king from making resistance against them, and that the duke of Burgundy is their sworn ally.

"The lord de Canny, for these reasons, will, in the king's name, insist that the duke of Burgundy do henceforth abstain from such acts, more especially from attacking any of the towns in France, laying siege to them, and forcing the inhabitants to take illegal oaths. He will, at the same time require, that all the men-at-arms who have been assembled shall be disbanded, and sent to their different homes; for, considering the manner and time in which they have been collected, the king is firmly persuaded they have been thus raised to afford succour to the English, and to harass the king and his realm. Item, to induce the duke to comply, sir Aubert will dilate on the great dishonour he will incur, and the shame and reproach that will fall on him and his family, should he persevere in his present conduct; and at the same time gently entreat him to consider well these matters, and not to inflict such disgrace on the memory of his good father, who was so valiant and loyal, and who enjoined him, on his death-bed, to be ever obedient to the king and to his commands. Item, sir Aubert will, in like manner, remonstrate on all these matters with the barons, knights, esquires, and others who may have accompanied the duke of Burgundy, and to whom he may gain access, requiring them, in the king's name, not to fall off from that loyalty which they and their predecessors have always shown to the king and his realm, nor to disgrace themselves by listening to evil advisers, or by any act to draw on themselves and successors the opprobrium of being reported in times to come not only disobedient to their king, but even favourers of the enemies of the kingdom. Item, in the execution of these instructions, sir Aubert will act in the most gracious and polite manner,—and, before his return to Paris, will request to have answers in writing from all to whom he shall have addressed himself.

"Item, should the duke of Burgundy, or any of his partisans, say, that those who have at present the government of the king, have showered on him, the duke, so many and gross insults that they were not longer to be borne,—sir Aubert will reply, that supposing any of those about the king's person should have done anything displeasing to the duke, that is not a sufficient reason why he should endeavour to destroy the kingdom, as he is daily doing, nor why he should favour and give support to the English, the king's enemies, at the expense of his own honour and that of his posterity; for he might have expressed his dissatisfaction in a more decent and becoming manner. Item, sir Aubert will besides say, that in compliance with the requests of the late lord of Hainault, whose soul may God pardon! and from a sincere wish for peace with the duke of Burgundy and all others, the king had granted many considerable gifts, which ought to have been very agreeable to the duke, for

they were much to his profit, and to that of his dependants. Nevertheless, the king's hand is not so closed but that he is well inclined to show great courtesy and favours to the duke of Burgundy, and all others in his service, should there be occasion, and should they perform that duty they are bounden to do. Item, should it be necessary, sir Aubert shall have given to him copies in writing of the answers which the king made to the complaints of the duke of Burgundy, and of the acts that he said had been done to his prejudice, for him to show such answers to the barons, knights, esquires, and others of the nobility who may be attached to, or in the service of the duke of Burgundy.

"Given at Paris, the 2nd day of August, in the year of Grace 1417."

Signed by the king: countersigned, "FERREMENT."

Here follows a copy of the answers which the duke of Burgundy made to the articles of the instructions in the name of the king, and given to sir Aubert de Canny, lord de Varennes.

"In the first place, with regard to the astonishment of the king at the conduct which the duke of Burgundy holds in opposition to his majesty, considering how nearly related he is to him by blood, and how very much he has been obliged to him,—the duke replies, that he is in truth his relation and vassal, and bound to serve him before all and against all; and it is from his warm affection and attachment that he is so anxious and pressing to procure a reform in the government of the realm, as well in regard to what personally concerns the king, the queen, and his children, as in the repairs of his palaces, the maintenance of strict justice, and a more equitable management of the public finances, as may be clearly proved by various royal ordinances. These reforms have been solemnly sworn to be pursued by the perseverance of the duke of Burgundy, in the presence of the king holding a bed of justice; but, through the intrigues of those who now surround the throne, and who shall hereafter be named, these measures have not only been interrupted, and then laid aside, but the finances of the king, his realm, and in general of all the resident subjects in the kingdom, have been most shamefully dissipated. They have even attempted to destroy, in body and estate, the duke of Burgundy, his well-wishers, and such of them as they could apprehend; and have employed the arms of the spiritual court against them, to effect the dishonour and damnation of his fair reputation, and of the renown of himself, and posterity; but the duke of Burgundy did obtain from the council of Constance a sentence in his favour, which clearly demonstrates the upright conduct of the duke, and the wickedness and hatred of his enemies.

"Item, with respect to what concerns the subjects of Burgundy, and others who avow their attachment to the duke, making open war on the king's towns and subjects, &c.—the duke of Burgundy replies, that when he perceived those about the king's person were persevering in their rigorous acts, and that they were unwilling to listen to any wholesome reforms for the welfare of the state, and that insult was added to insult upon him, by every violent means, the duke of Burgundy found himself obliged to send notice, by letters-patent, of these harsh proceedings, to many of the principal towns within the realm, signifying, at the same time, his good intentions, and the means he proposed to remedy them; and it was for this purpose he issued his summonses for assembling men-at-arms and archers. Thanks to God, he had now under his command, for the service of the king and the welfare of the kingdom, six thousand knights and esquires, and an army of thirty thousand combatants, all well-wishers to his majesty, his realm, and loyal subjects. During the march of this army, the duke approached several large towns, the inhabitants of which, knowing his good intentions, opened their gates to him. This army has forced many places, full of plunderers, to surrender to him in the king's name, and he has regarrisoned them with good and loyal subjects to the king, who are incapable of committing anything dishonourable to his majesty, themselves, or their country; and this has been done with the full approbation of these towns and the adjoining countries.

"Item, respecting the charge that has been made against the officers of the duke of Burgundy, for having induced several towns to swear obedience to him, and having afterward forbidden them to pay any taxes to the king, &c., the duke of Burgundy replies, that if he has received the oaths of allegiance from any city or town, it has been done that they

might persevere in their loyalty towards the king, and for the good of his realm, to the confusion and disgrace of those who prevent a peace being made, and who are the destroyers of the kingdom. Such as may have joined the duke of Burgundy, and are obedient to him, have been induced so to do from a knowledge of his upright intentions, and a confidence that his love for the king and kingdom exceeds that of all others. It is not true, under respect to the king, that such towns have been forbidden to pay any of the taxes due to the crown; but it may have been that they were ordered not to pay them to those false traitors the present ministers, but to reserve them to be employed for the king's service at proper times and places,—and this should be considered as praise-worthy; for of all the immense sums they have received, the greater part have been shamefully mismanaged, and taken from the king to be divided among themselves and the enemies of France, to the irreparable loss of the king, his realm, and chivalry, as is well known to all the world. The duke, however intends, when he shall be admitted to the presence of the king, to propose the abolishing of the most oppressive taxes, and that the good subjects of the realm may again enjoy their ancient rights and privileges in a reasonable manner.

" Item, in regard to the charge made against the duke of Burgundy, that his conduct has been influenced by his friendship for England, and that what he has done has been with a view to support the English in their invasion of France, and that the duke of Burgundy is their sworn ally,—the duke replies, that such an imagination could not have been formed in the heart of any honest man. The English have formerly invaded France without opposition, (although the same traitorous ministers governed the king and his realm), and to the great loss of the French chivalry. It is therefore to be supposed that since the English gained such success from the weak administration of his majesty's ministers, they intend to persevere in hopes of further advantages; and they have even taken the town of Harfleur, one of the strongest sea-ports in Normandy. This ought to be treasured up in the memories of all the noble chivalry attached to the duke of Burgundy, whom these wicked traitors wish to denounce as being disinclined to make any resistance to the English; and, with all due respect to the king, those who shall say that the duke of Burgundy is the sworn ally of the English, lie wickedly and damnably.

" Item, respecting the request made to the duke of Burgundy, that he would disband and send to their homes the troops he has assembled, the duke replies, that now the false and disloyal conduct of these traitors is very apparent, for every one knows that they have not raised any powers to oppose the English; and that it is at this moment more necessary than ever to have a sufficient force for the defence of the king and kingdom, especially such faithful and loyal knights and esquires as compose the duke's army, instead of disbanding and dismissing them to their homes; and it is clear that the conduct of the ministry tends more to favour the enemy, and oppress the king and country. Those noble men who compose the duke's army should particularly observe, that these traitors consider them as disloyal to their king, and enemies to their country. The duke also declares, in the most positive manner, for himself and his companions, that he will not disband his army, but will continue to proceed according to the tenor of his public letters declaratory thereof.—Item, with regard to the dishonour and disgrace in which he, the duke of Burgundy, will involve himself and family should he persevere in his present line of conduct, and, according to the remonstrances of sir Aubert de Canny, cover thereby his worthy and valiant father's memory with infamy, who, on his death-bed, strictly enjoined him to be ever obedient to the king and to his commands,—the duke replies, that his father, of worthy memory, whose soul may God pardon! was, as it is truly said, ever loyal and faithful to the king; and it was from his knowledge of the weak and wicked government of France at the time of his decease, that he ordered his son faithfully to serve the king and crown of France without sparing his person or fortune; and it has been for this reason that the duke of Burgundy has adopted the present measures, as the sole means for the reformation and reparation of the king's government. These measures have not been adopted by him of a sudden, but deliberately, and after maturely weighing the consequences with his council; and should he now change his conduct, he would be very justly blamed and reproached,—for this reason, therefore, he is resolved to proceed therein.

" Item, with respect to sir Aubert de Canny remonstrating with the lords, barons, knights and esquires attached to the duke of Burgundy, on the above matters,—the duke replies, that the conduct he has hitherto held and proposes to pursue, with God's pleasure, has been with the advice and approbation of his barons, knights, esquires, and other notable persons, and he therefore shall give full liberty for any such remonstrances to be made to them; for the more they shall be conversed with on these matters, the more fully will they be made acquainted with the iniquities of those who prevent a peace, and disturb the good intentions of the duke of Burgundy.—Item, in regard to the polite and gracious manner in which sir Aubert de Canny is ordered to make these remonstrances, and to declare the king's prohibitions to him and to his company, &c.—the duke replies, that not having any consciousness that such commands and prohibitions were proper to be made him, knowing for a certainty that they are not the real sentiments of the king, who on the contrary loves him affectionately, and is very earnest to see him, having often demanded his presence, he is aware that these false and wicked traitors have drawn up these instructions in an underhand manner, and that at this moment, when the enemy have landed in the kingdom, it is not a time to obey such orders and prohibitions; but this force, as well as the aid of all loyal subjects, ought now to be exerted in the defence of the country. Even supposing the enemies had not effected their invasion, the duke of Burgundy would not have suffered such false traitors to hold the government of the kingdom.

" Item, respecting what is said of the duke of Burgundy and of others in his company, that supposing those who have the management of the king should have done acts displeasing to them, and added insults to insults, these were not sufficient reasons to authorise the duke to endeavour to destroy the kingdom, or to afford aid and advice to the English,—the duke replies, that in addition to what he has before said, and other innumerable instances too long to relate, it is notorious that the present ministers, namely, sir Henry de Marle, the bishop of Paris, sir Tanneguy du Châtel, sir Burel de Dammartin, master Stephen de Mauregard, master Philip de Corbie, with several others, have been the principal promoters, and leaders in those iniquitous measures, disturbers of the peace of the realm, and guilty of many other excesses and great crimes, as shall be detailed more at large hereafter. The duke of Burgundy, therefore, has not assembled his forces to destroy the kingdom, or to favour the English, but to drive the present ministers from power, and from about the person of the king; and he will never desist from this praiseworthy intention so long as life may be granted him,—for they are not such persons as should have authority, not being worthy by birth, knowledge, experience, or loyalty; and it is become a subject of contempt and laughter that persons of such low estate, and of so small a share of knowledge or experience, should have intrusted to them the expulsion of the English. The barons and principal persons of the realm should weigh this matter well, and not suffer themselves to be thus supplanted by persons of no understanding or birth; for they have shown themselves of weak capacity in daily committing acts of the utmost cruelty on the liege subjects of the king, under pretence of maintaining justice and order.

" Item, in respect to what relates to the king having (at the solicitations of the count de Hainault, whose soul may God pardon!) from a love of peace, granted to the duke of Burgundy and those who had served him, many handsome gifts, but which the duke made light of,—the duke replies, that from his anxiety to preserve peace and union in France, which he has ever felt and feels from the bottom of his heart, he waited on my lord the dauphin lately deceased, and my lord of Hainault, to whose souls may God show mercy! and after much conversation relative to a peace, the duke of Burgundy offered them a schedule of his terms for the conclusion thereof, with all who may be desirous of partaking of it, with the exception of king Louis of Sicily, lately deceased, on account of disputes that existed between them: with this proposal, the dauphin and the count de Hainault were perfectly satisfied. For the accomplishment of which, they were to meet at Compiegne, as every despatch would be necessary, the sooner to put an end to the miseries of war. However, those traitors who surround the king, by their intrigues, protracted the business for three months, or thereabout, without coming to any final decision. The count de Hainault at length went to Paris, and, by means of the queen, procured from these traitors

a sort of agreement to the offers of peace, with which he was satisfied; but during these negotiations, he privately learnt, that it was intended to arrest him and the queen, and imprison them, that they might manage the dauphin as they should please; and this information caused the count de Hainault to quit Paris precipitately and return to Compiegne, where soon after the dauphin was carried off from this life in a most wicked and damnable manner*, which has been before related in different letters-patent from the duke of Burgundy.

"After the dauphin's decease, the count de Hainault returned to his own county, whither was addressed the answer of the king's ministers to the proposals for peace, which much displeased him: he said, that since the death of the dauphin they had changed their minds, and totally altered and perverted what had before been agreed upon. This answer he sent to the duke of Burgundy, who, having maturely considered it with his council, found it was highly derogatory to the honour and welfare of the king and his realm, as well as to himself the duke of Burgundy, and paid no regard to it. Instigated, however, by such conduct, he despatched into several parts of the kingdom a manifesto declaratory of the ruin of the country were the present ministers continued in power, and his firm resolution to do everything to prevent it, by driving them from about the person of the king. This declaration he presented himself to the count de Hainault during his last illness, who having heard the contents read, was very willing that it should be published throughout his dominions, saying that it was well done of the duke of Burgundy; for the traitors that surrounded the king were worse than imagination could form an idea of, making at the same time an offer of his personal services, should God grant him the grace to recover from his illness; and should sickness detain him, he offered the duke the aid of his vassals, friends, wellwishers, and money. He then swore, by a round oath, that if he had not suddenly left Paris, the traitors intended to have arrested the queen and himself, as is now notorious from their subsequent conduct to the queen; for they laid hands on her, and took possession of everything she possessed, to the great disgrace of the king and of all his family.

"It is likewise true, that when the duke of Burgundy was at Lagny, the duke of Brittany ran great risks at Paris, and was forced to depart thence because he was desirous of procuring a peace to France. The count de Hainault also added, with a great oath, that were the English at one of the gates of Paris, and the duke of Burgundy at another, they would permit the English to enter the city rather than the duke of Burgundy. All these things did the count de Hainault say in the presence of madame de Hainault, my lord de Charolois, my lord de St. Pol, the treasurer of Hainault, John the bastard, master Eustace de Lactre, my lord de Champdivers, and several others. It is very clear that the king's ministers have no inclination to promote the good of the realm; for they have lately caused the declaratory letters of the duke of Burgundy to be publicly burned in the courts of the Palace at Paris, in which the duke offered peace to all who were willing to accept of it from him, as has been before related. This act is but a poor revenge on their part, and a pitiful weakness thus to burn a few skins of parchment.

"Item, to conclude; that all persons may know the will and intention of the duke of Burgundy, he thus declares publicly that he shall persist in his present line of conduct until he shall have had a long audience of the king, to remonstrate with him on the enormous abuses committed by the present government, and to lay before him the means of reformation, which are such as must be satisfactory to his majesty and to every honest man in the kingdom,—notwithstanding the duke had offered, by his declaratory letters, peace to all, but which the king's ministers would not accept, and have persevered in their wickedness. The duke of Burgundy, desirous of procuring peace to the kingdom, which is in so great want of it, is willing to lay aside all thoughts of revenge for the numerous insults offered him, and again proposes peace on the same terms on which he has before done."

When the duke of Burgundy had, as he thought, fully answered all the charges made against him in the paper of instructions given by the king's order to the lord de Canny, a fair copy was written thereof, and delivered to the lord de Canny, who took leave of the duke and returned to the king at Paris, carrying the above answers with him.

* See chapter 161.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.—THE LORD DE CANNY, ON HIS RETURN FROM HIS EMBASSY TO PARIS, IS ACCUSED BY THE ROYAL COUNCIL.—ORDERS ARE ISSUED AGAINST THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

PREVIOUSLY to the return of the lord de Canny to Paris, his secretary had given copies of the instructions, and the duke of Burgundy's answer, to many of his friends, insomuch that they made them public long before they were laid before the king and his ministers. In consequence, when the lord de Canny had an audience, to make his report of the embassy, he was told in full council, "Lord de Canny, you have shown yourself very unworthy of the king's confidence by thus distributing copies of the king's instructions and the duke of Burgundy's answer, of which this is one of them, that you have dispersed at Amiens, Paris, and elsewhere, among your friends and acquaintance, with no good intent toward the king's service." The copy was compared with the original, signed by the duke's own hand, and found perfectly similar, to the great confusion of the lord de Canny, who, in excuse, said they must have been distributed by his secretary, who had fled from his service.

The lord de Canny was, notwithstanding, carried prisoner to the bastile of St. Anthony, where he was confined a long space of time, even until the taking of Paris; for the ministers were very much displeased that the duke of Burgundy's answers should have been made public in so many places; and whatever they may have affected, they were greatly alarmed at the duke's power, for they had been informed that the greater part of the principal towns, and the commonalty throughout the kingdom, were favourable to him, as well as many of the principal lords and gentlemen.

When they found from the duke's answers that he was determined to persevere in his enterprise of marching his army to Paris to demand an audience of the king, they were more uneasy at their situation than before; for they knew they would be driven from their places, and many of them criminally punished, should he succeed in his object. To obviate this as much as in them lay, they caused letters to be written in the king's name, and sent to all the chief towns in France, to command them neither to admit within their walls the duke of Burgundy or any of his partisans, nor to pay any obedience to them. They also placed garrisons at all the passes and other important places; and the constable even remanded his men from Normandy for the greater security of Paris.

Thus whilst the king of England was making good his landing in France with an immense army, as has been said, he found no difficulties in adding to his conquests,—and, from the effect of these internal divisions, he met with scarcely any resistance.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY CONTINUES HIS MARCH TOWARD PARIS.—SEVERAL TOWNS AND FORTS SURRENDER TO HIM, IN WHICH HE PLACES CAPTAINS AND GOVERNORS.

AFTER the duke of Burgundy had remained some days in Amiens, and had delegated the government of his dominions in Picardy to his eldest son the count de Charolois, with an able council to assist him, he departed thence and returned to Corbie, and continued his march to Mondidier. During this time, the lady of the castle of Mouy promised that she would no longer permit her people to make inroads on the territories of the duke. He was accompanied to Mondidier by the young count de St. Pol, sir John de Luxembourg, and many other great barons, such as the lord de Fosseux and his three brothers, sir Philip, sir James, and sir John, sir Jennet de Poix, Hector, Philippe, and le bon de Saveuses, the lord de Rambures, sir Burnel, and Louis de Varigines, and others. He went from Mondidier to Beauvais,—in which place he was received on certain assurances in the name of the duke of Burgundy, in like manner as had been done at Amiens.

To this town the lord de Fosseux had previously marched, and caused the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty, to be harangued by master Robert le jeune, advocate and counsellor to the

duke of Burgundy, on the sincere and loyal affection the duke bore to the king and realm, as well as to the whole royal family. He explained the object of the duke's enterprise as being to reform the abuses in the government of the kingdom, which had been caused by those persons of low degree and weak understandings that had usurped the management of the king and his council. The townsmen of Beauvais were well satisfied with this harangue, and finally consented to admit the duke, and as large a force as he should please, into their town. The duke, in consequence, marched thither from Mondidier, and was most joyfully received, carols being sung in all the streets through which he passed. He was lodged at the bishop's palace, and tarried there eight whole days,—while his army was quartered in the adjacent country, which suffered severely therefrom, although it was abundantly supplied with every necessary.

During his stay at Beauvais, some of the inhabitants from Gournay, in Normandy, were deputed thither by the governor and commonalty, to submit themselves to his obedience, and to offer attachment to his party. The duke received them kindly, and made them swear obedience and loyalty to the king and himself, which they instantly complied with. He acquitted them of gabelles, subsidies, and all taxes, as he had done to those of others of the king's towns that had submitted themselves to him.

In the meantime Hector and Philip de Saveuses, sir Elyon de Jacqueville, and some other captains, made an excursion to Beaumont-sur-Oise, in the hope of gaining that pass; but it was well defended by the constable's men within the place, and they were forced to return by the town of Chambly-le-Haubergier, where they pillaged from churches and other places, and brought a very considerable booty to the duke their lord at Beauvais, who, a few days after, sent great part of his army to quarter themselves at Chambly and in the neighbouring villages. Shortly after, the duke departed from Beauvais with the remainder of his army, the whole of which was so considerable that it was estimated, by those who ought to know, at sixty thousand horse.

By the intrigues and solicitations of a gentleman called Charles de Mouy, the lord of Isle-Adam * joined the party of the duke of Burgundy, and delivered up his town and pass to John de Fosseux, Hector and Philip de Saveuses, who placed therein, as a garrison, a sufficient number of their men-at-arms. When the duke was informed of this, he was very much rejoiced that the lord de l'Isle-Adam had joined him, and delivered up the passage through his town.

On the other hand, John de Luxembourg crossed the river Oise, with a number of men-at-arms which he had at Presy, in small boats, making their horses swim the river; and he quartered them at a village hard by. The morrow, he led the greater part of them to Senlis, of which town sir Robert d'Esne was bailiff for the king, having under him about sixty combatants. He made a sally with his men on foot against those of John of Luxembourg, and a grand skirmish took place. However, the majority of the commonalty of the town were not well pleased that sir Robert should thus wage war on the friends of the duke of Burgundy: and on the ensuing night, when John of Luxembourg had retreated, the townsmen rose, seized sir Robert d'Esne and all his men, after eight or ten had been killed, and carried him to prison; but through the interference of some of the principal inhabitants, he was permitted to leave the town with his men and baggage, and he went thence to Mont-Epiloy. The next day those of Senlis sent very early for John of Luxembourg, before whom they swore obedience to the duke of Burgundy. He received their oaths in the names of the king and duke, promising loyalty and good behaviour, and appointed Troullart de Moncruel, bailiff of Senlis, with other officers according to his pleasure. When this was done, John of Luxembourg returned to the duke of Burgundy.

* Charles, son of Ancel de l'Isle-Adam, lord of Puysieux, and grand-échanson of France, killed at Azincourt.

CLXXV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY CROSSES THE RIVER OISE WITH HIS ARMY AT L'ISLE-ADAM. — HE BESIEGES AND CONQUERS BEAUMONT AND PONTOISE, — WHENCE HE REMOVES HIS QUARTERS TO L'ARBRE-SEC.

When the duke of Burgundy had repaired the bridge at l'Isle-Adam, the greater part of his army passed over under the command of the lords de Fosseux, de Vergy, and de Salnoe, and were lodged in the open fields, and under hedges and bushes, within the distance of a league from where they had crossed the river. On the morrow they decamped, and marched in battle array to Beaumont-sur-Oise, and quartered themselves in the town, and around the castle, in spite of the resistance made by those within it. Sir Jennet de Poix, with four hundred combatants under his banner, advanced to a village a league further, and on the road toward Paris, which he fortified, and kept possession of until the whole army was dislodged. The duke of Burgundy was encamped on the other side of the river, and had his artillery pointed to batter the castle of Beaumont from across the Oise; and they kept up so brisk an attack that the castle was damaged in several places. The besieged, seeing they were in danger of being taken by storm, surrendered to the will of the duke of Burgundy. Fifty-two persons were found in the castle, nine of whom were beheaded, and their bodies hung by the arms to trees; the rest, or the greater part, were set at liberty on paying a heavy ransom; and the lord de Vergy, marshal of the army, received, by right of his office, all the effects that were found in the castle.

The duke of Burgundy revictualled this castle, and gave the command of it to a Burgundian gentleman called John de Torsenay. After this conquest, the duke ordered the van, which was on the opposite side of the river, to advance toward Paris and to quarter themselves at the abbey of Morbuisson, and other places near to the town of Pontoise, while the duke should encamp on the side toward Beauvais, and by this means the town would be surrounded on all sides. On their arrival, the garrison made a sally, but were repulsed and driven back; and the duke soon after had his artillery pointed against the gates of Pontoise, making other preparations to subdue them. When the townsmen noticed these things, they opened a parley, and, five days after, surrendered the place to the duke, on condition that their lives and fortunes should be spared. They also promised not to bear arms against him until Christmas-day ensuing; but this they did not keep, for on his arrival at Paris they continued their warfare against him as before. There were within the town three captains having banners, namely, the bastard de S. Terre, Tromagon and Maurigon, natives of Gascony, who marched away together under the passport of the duke, and, crossing the bridge at Meulan, went to Paris. After their departure, the duke, with a few attendants, entered the town to examine it, and was well received by several of the townsmen who had been long attached to him. When there, he issued a proclamation throughout the army, forbidding all persons to enter the town but such as were especially ordered so to do. To prevent the provisions within the place from being wasted or destroyed, he appointed, in the king's name, and in his own, the lord de l'Isle-Adam governor of it.

When these things were done, the duke marched away, taking the road to Meulan, from which place terms were offered him; for the men-at-arms who had been posted there by the constable had marched away, in company with those from Pontoise to Paris. The duke ordered his whole army to be drawn up in battle-array between Pontoise and Meulan, that he might see it in order of battle, as if in the presence of the enemy. The spot where the soldiers were drawn up, was a handsome plain at the foot of a hill; and it was a very agreeable sight to him, for there were a number of nobles and gentlemen handsomely equipped, and willing to serve him against all his opponents: the principal, and those of name, were as follows.

First, count Philip de St. Pol, son to duke Anthony of Brabant, and nephew to the duke of Burgundy, sir John de Luxembourg, the lord d'Antoing,* the lord de Fosseux and his

* John de Melun, lord of Antoing, (son of Hugh, son of John I., viscount of Melun, grandfather of the count of Tancarville.) He was constable of Flanders, viscount of Ghent, and died very old in 1484.

three brothers, the vidame of Amiens, Anthony lord of Croy, the lord d'Auxi, sir Jennet de Poix, the lord d'Inchy, the lord de Humieres, sir Robinet de Mailly and two of his brothers, the lord de Rambures, sir John de Vaucourt and his brother Louis, the younger de Renty, the lord de Varigines, the lord de Cohem, sir Alliamus de Gappamus, sir Hue Burnel and his son sir Louis, Robert le Roux, Robert de Bournouville, sir Charles Disque, the lord de Fremeusent, the lord de Humbercourt bailiff of Amiens, sir Charles de Lens, the lord de Noyelle, the lord de Longueval, sir Payen de Beaufort, sir Pierre Kieret lord de Ramecourt, George la Personne, sir Hue de Launoy and his brother sir Guillebert, the lord de Briauté, sir David de Brimeu and his brother James, the lord de Saint-Leger and his son sir Mauroy, David de Bouflers, sir John de Courcelles, John de Flavy, sir Elyon de Jacqueville, the lord de Mesnil, Charlot de Dully, the bastard de Namur, sir Gastellain Vas, John de Guigny, John d'Aubigny, the bastard de Thian, Charles l'Abby, Matthew des Près, the lord de Jaucourt, Guerard bastard de Brimeu, Emard de la Riviere and his father Philip, Gadifer de Mazinqbec and his brother Thierry.

From the county of Flanders were the lord d'Eustenu, the lord de Comines, the lord de Gruthuse, the lord de Roubaiz, Robert and Victor, bastards of Flanders, sir Victor de Rabbecque, Robert de Mauvignes, Henry de Disquemude, sir Roland de Velereque, Hector de Venront, the bastard de Collequent, and several others.

From Burgundy were the lord de Vergy, marshal of Burgundy *, sir Anthony de Vergy, Louis de Châlons † son to the prince of Orange, the lord de Salines, sir John de la Trémouille lord de Souvelle ‡, sir Regnier Pot §, the lord de Montagu, the lord de Neuf-Châtel ||, the lord de Château Vilain, the lord de Châteauvieux, the lord de Rochefort ¶, the lord de Thy, sir John de Cotte-brune, the lord d'Ancre, the lord de Toulongeon, sir William de Champdivers, the lord de Gastellus, sir John de Digonne, sir Anthony de Toulongeon and his brother Andrew, le veau de Bar, bailiff of Auxi, Henry de Champdivers, sir Gautier de Rupes, Andrew de Salines, Regnault de Moncouvin, Anthony de la Marche, sir James de Courtjambe, lord of St. Liebault, the lord de Rausse, Pierre de Digonne, sir Peter de Bauffremont, Emard de Viene, John and Clavin du Clau, with many other noblemen from various countries, who, with their men, were drawn up in most handsome array for two hours,—during which time the duke of Burgundy, attended by some of his most confidential advisers, rode along the ranks, bowing to each battalion as he passed, and thanking them most graciously for the honour and service they did him. In truth, it was a pleasant spectacle to see so many nobles with the flower of their men-at-arms, thus handsomely drawn out.

When the review was over, he marched his army across the Seine, at the bridge of Meulan; and then John de Fosseux and Hector de Saveuses, with no more than two hundred combatants, advanced by Val-de-Galie to a castle called Bayne, that belonged to the abbot of Fécamp, who was within it. He made his peace with them by means of his relation Louis de Saint-Saulieu, who was with Hector; and it was agreed that a party of their men should remain in the castle, to guard it against others of the Burgundians,—and in consideration of a sum of money, they gave the abbot an agreement signed with their seals: but a few days afterward, by the consent of Hector de Saveuses, as reported, Philip de Saveuses, and others in his company carried off all the effects, and did much damage to it. The duke of Burgundy continued the march of his army until he came to Mont-Rouge: whence Paris could be plainly seen. He there encamped himself and his army, and the number of tents was so great, that they had the appearance of a considerable town. The duke ordered sir John de Luxembourg to march his men to St. Cloud, who, having quartered them near to the bridge, made an attack on a small tower at the end of it, near the town: it was soon taken and set on fire, as well as the mills under the bridge, when some large

* John the Great, lord of Champlite, marshal of Burgundy. He died in 1418. His eldest son, William, died in his life-time, leaving John IV., lord of Champlite, on the death of his grandfather, and seneschal of Burgundy. Anthony, second son of John the Great, was count of Dammartin.

† John de Châlons, prince of Orange in right of Mary of Baux, his wife. He died in 1418, and was succeeded by his son, Louis the Good, here mentioned.

‡ John de la Trémouille, lord of *Jonvelle*, was brother to George de la Trémouille, who married the duchess of Berry, as before mentioned.

§ Regnier Pot, lord of la Prugne.

|| Thibauld VIII., lord of Neuf-Chastel and Blammont, son to the lord of Neuf-Chastel, killed at Nicopolis.

¶ James, lord of Rochefort and Bussy, son of John de Rochefort, bailiff of Auxois.

bombards were pointed against the tower of St. Cloud, which greatly damaged it in many places; but it was not taken, for continual reinforcements came from Paris to defend it.

When the duke of Burgundy had remained for eight days on Mont-Rouge, he decamped with his army, and advanced a league nearer to Paris, to a hill whereon was a withered tree, on which he fixed his standard, and thence was this encampment called "The camp of the withered tree." He remained here also for eight days; and as many of his men were quartered in the villages close to Paris, several skirmishes took place between them and the Parisians, although no great losses ensued on either side. The foragers from the duke's army scoured the country for eight leagues round, and brought to the camp great booties of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs, to the ruin of the poor peasantry.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS HIS HERALD TO THE KING OF FRANCE IN PARIS.—THE ANSWER HE RECEIVES.—THE SIEGE OF MONTLEHERY,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

During the time when the duke of Burgundy was encamped at the withered tree on Mont-Chastillon, before Paris, he sent one of his heralds called Palis, who was afterwards Flanders king at arms, with letters to the king and the dauphin of France. On his arrival at the gates of Paris, he was led to the count d'Armagnac and the king's ministers, who bade him address the dauphin, and give to him his letters, for that he could not be admitted to the presence of the king,—which he did, shortly detailing the object of his mission from the duke of Burgundy. The dauphin, who had been well instructed what answer he was to make, replied in a great rage, "Herald, contrary to the will of my lord the king and of us, thy lord of Burgundy has already destroyed several parts of the kingdom, and, by his persevering in his conduct, he plainly shows that he is not our well-wisher as he signs himself. If he be anxious that my lord and ourself should consider him as our relative, loyal vassal and subject, let him march to combat and conquer the king of England, the ancient enemy of this realm, and then return to the king, when he shall be well received. Let him no longer say that my lord the king and ourself are kept in servitude at Paris, for we both of us enjoy our full liberty and authority; and do thou be careful that thou repeat what we have just said, aloud to the duke of Burgundy, and in the presence of his army." After this speech, the herald returned to his lord, and repeated to him what the dauphin had said, which made no great impression on the duke, for he considered it as the speech of those who governed the king.

When the duke perceived that he could not gain admittance to Paris, and that his partisans in that city were unable to perform what they had promised him, he decamped from Mont-Chastillon, with his whole army, to lay siege to Montlehery. The inhabitants, knowing the power of the duke, and thinking they should not be supported, entered into a treaty to surrender the castle, if within eight days they were not succoured by the king or the constable. They sent information of this treaty to the constable, but it was of no avail, for no succours were sent,—and they delivered up the castle conformably to their agreement. In like manner were reduced to the obedience of the duke of Burgundy, the castles of Marcoussy, Dourdan, Palaiseau, and some other forts in the neighbourhood. During the siege of Montlehery, the duke detached a part of his army to the castle of Doursay, who lodged themselves in the town, in front of the castle, and there pointed some cannons to batter the walls and conquer it; but a large body of the constable's men attacked their quarters at break of day, and slew the greater part of them. Those who escaped fled to the quarters of the duke of Burgundy, crying, "To arms!" for that the enemy were marching in great force against them. The duke instantly drew up his army in battle-array on the plain, as if the enemy had been in sight. The leaders of the detachment sent to Doursay, were the lord de Salines, the lord de Toulongeon, and some other captains from Burgundy; and at this surprise were made prisoners, sir Geoffroy de Villers, a knight from the Rethelois, with fifty other gentlemen.

While this was going forward, the duke despatched sir Elyon de Jacqueville, John de

Guigny, John du Clau, and other captains, with sixteen hundred combatants to Chartres,—which place, with Estampes, Gallardon, and other towns and forts, surrendered to the duke of Burgundy. Jacqueville remained governor of Chartres. In like manner, sir Philip de Fosseux and Robert le Roux were sent to the lady de la Riviere at Auniau, who promised that she would not admit any garrisons into her forts of Auniau and Rochefort, that would carry on war against the duke of Burgundy or his wellwishers.

At this time, numbers of towns, castles, and noblemen joined the duke, in the expectation that he would succeed in his enterprise and obtain the government of the kingdom. In the towns which submitted to his obedience, he would not allow any taxes to be raised excepting that on salt, which gained him great popularity among the inhabitants and peasantry of the countries round. He also sent letters to many of the principal towns in France, of the following tenour.

"John duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders and Artois, palatine of Burgundy, lord of Salines and Mechlin. Very dear and good friends, you have known, from melancholy experience, the miserable system of government which is adopted in this kingdom, as well with regard to the king as the country, by those who have seized the management of our lord the king, without respect or care for his royal majesty; but, forgetful of every thing, they have impoverished his estate, and his own personal wealth, which formerly acquired for him great renown among Christian princes. His government was, anciently, celebrated for the equity of the courts of justice, which was administered indiscriminately to the poor as well as to the rich; but the present ministers have so greatly neglected it that it has fallen off, and is now directed according to their pleasure, while all parts of his majesty's dominions are in a state of anarchy, and a prey to the bitter enemies of the kingdom, by the destruction of the nobles and other supporters of the dignity of the crown. Heavy taxes, under various pretences, have been and are raised, to the great vexation and ruin of the nobility, clergy, citizens and commonalty, who groan under them.

"To obviate and reform these and similar abuses, we have taken up arms, as it is well known to you; for we have frequently and publicly summoned these ministers to desist from such practices, declaring that otherwise we should ourselves provide a remedy, for the benefit of our said lord the king, so that an adequate provision might be made for his establishment, his kingdom be better governed, and the lost territories recovered. And again, while we were lately before Paris, we sent our herald to our said lord the king, with sealed letters, in which we repeated the grounds of our conduct, supplicating him that we might be permitted to approach his sacred person, and make offer of our personal services to him as to our sovereign lord: but the present ministry would not allow these letters to be given to our said lord, and sent them back to us. They forbade our herald to return again, and continue their usual mode of government to the destruction of the realm and of all his majesty's loyal subjects, because they know that we are averse to their measures, which are daily becoming from bad to worse. It is this which engages us to persevere in our resistance, whatever may be the consequences thereof, that they may no longer continue their wicked practices, and that commerce may have free course, and the kingdom may be governed according to justice. Such is our firm intention that we may loyally acquit ourselves; for it has been pronounced by the holy court of Rome, that it behoves us to attend to the government of the kingdom, considering the unfortunate state of the king and the youth of the dauphin, rather than the count d'Armagnac, or those who style themselves council to the king. In confirmation of this, we have annexed to these presents the decree that was pronounced by the holy college in the presence of a very learned doctor, our ambassador to the court of Rome.

"We therefore summon you in the name of our said lord, and earnestly request you on our part, that you take the above subjects into your serious consideration, and form such conclusions as may be honourable to our aforesaid lord, and to the preservation of his lineage and dominions; and that all his subjects may enjoy peace and justice, and that these our intentions may be adopted by you, is the earnest object of our wishes. We request, that on the 20th day of October next ensuing, you would depute to us not less than two well instructed persons, at whatever place we may be, with whom we may advise, with sufficient powers to form any treaties in your names, and in those of the prelates, chapters, and all dependencies on your jurisdiction.

"Be careful that herein you fail not, from the love you bear our aforesaid lord, ourselves, and his realm. Should you desire anything from us, you have but to mention it, and we will do it to the utmost of our power. Written at Montlehery, the 8th day of October."

Underneath is a copy of the schedule from the college of cardinals, annexed to the duke of Burgundy's mandatory letter.

"I, Lievin Nevelin, doctor en decret, ambassador from the sacred college of cardinals, to the most mighty and puissant prince my lord the duke of Burgundy, have presented to him, on the part of the sacred college, letters sealed with three seals, namely, that of the dean of the cardinal-bishops, of the dean of the cardinal-priests, and of the dean of the cardinal-deacons, which are my credential letters, and which I have explained to my lord the duke, by offering to him, from the sacred college, the words of the holy prophet David, 'Domine, refugium factus es nobis;' that is to say, 'Lord, in times of trouble we seek refuge in thee.' In continuing my discourse from the above text, and for many reasons comparing the sacred college to king David, I have laid before my said lord of Burgundy the state of the holy council of Constance, and the labours of the cardinals to restore union to the church. I afterwards explained to him, that all Christendom was now united, except as it were a single grain in a bushel of wheat, namely, the dominions of the count d'Armagnac, who still obey Pietro della Luna, and whose adherents have been declared schismatics and guilty of heresy. I then explained, that I was sent by the sacred college as ambassador to him, not simply as duke of Burgundy, but as the representative of the crown of France, and to whom the government of that country legally belonged, to make to him certain requests and propositions from the sacred college; and I mentioned the reasons why I was deputed to him, and not to the king, to my lord the dauphin, the count d'Armagnac, or to the king's ministers. These reasons were, as the sacred college bade me inform him, because my lord the king was overwhelmed with a sore disorder, because my lord the dauphin was too young in years, and because the count d'Armagnac had relapsed into schism, and some of the king's ministers, adherents to the count, were suspected of being schismatics also.

"True it is, that the said count d'Armagnac has not been pronounced schismatic; but at the public sessions of the council, when Pietro della Luna was dethroned, and declared schismatic and heretic, he was personally accused by the king of the Romans, and the procurator-fiscal of the said council, and has since relapsed into schism, notwithstanding the frivolous excuses made in his behalf by master John Gerson.

"I made three requests to my said lord of Burgundy; the first was, that he would be pleased to have in his protection the sacred college, the pope, and the proceedings of the said general council, by guarding and maintaining them in their ancient rights, liberties, and privileges. Secondly, that should any one write, or cause to be written in time to come, any things against the said holy college or pope, he would not give faith to such writings. Thirdly, that my said lord would approve of whatever acts the said sacred college should issue, as well touching the election of the pope as the reformation of the holy church."—At the end of this schedule, the said Lieven had put his sign-manual.

CHAPTER CLXXVII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY LAYS SIEGE TO CORBEIL.—HE MARCHES THENCE TO CHARTRES AND INTO TOURAINE, ON THE SUMMONS OF THE QUEEN OF FRANCE, WHO ACCOMPANIES HIM ON HIS RETURN.

When the duke of Burgundy had submitted to his obedience the castle of Montlehery, and re-furnished it with provision and stores, he marched his army to lay siege to Corbeil on the side toward Montlehery. He planted many cannons and other engines to batter it in vain; for the constable and the king's ministers had strongly garrisoned the place with men-at-arms, who made a vigorous defence against the duke, and daily slew his men by their cannon and other shot. The garrison was continually supplied, as well by land as by water, with provision, ammunition, and all other necessary articles. In short, after the duke had remained about three weeks before Corbeil, seeing he was unable to conquer it, and that his army was much harassed by the continued rains, and by an epidemic disorder which

carried off many, he raised the siege, and departed from before Corbeil on the 28th day of October, taking the road to Chartres. The duke left behind, in his camp, many warlike engines, and great quantities of provisions which merchants had brought to his army: all of these things the besieged carried into their town, on the departure of the duke, and were highly rejoiced that their enemies had left them. During the siege of Corbeil, sir Mauroy de St. Legier was struck with a bolt from a cross-bow so severely on the leg that he was maimed, and limped all his life after.

The real cause of the duke of Burgundy's breaking up the siege of Corbeil so suddenly, was a private message which he received by a confidential servant from the queen of France, then resident at Tours in Touraine, to request he would come and release her from her state of confinement, as she thought herself in much danger. The duke, in consequence, had sent one of his secretaries, called John de Drosay, to make further inquiries, and to conclude a treaty with the queen. The queen promised to accompany the duke provided he would come to fetch her; and, for a confirmation thereof, she gave the secretary a golden signet to present to his lord. This signet was known by the duke, for he had often seen it; and on his arrival at Chartres, on the eve of the feast of All-saints, attended by the greater part of his nobles, and those of the men-at-arms best mounted and equipped, he suddenly set off, taking the road through Bonneval and Vendôme to Tours. When he was within two leagues of that place, he sent forward the lords de Fosseux and du Vergy, with eight hundred combatants, who posted themselves in ambuscade half a league distant from Tours; at the same time despatching a trusty messenger to inform the queen of the duke's arrival.

On hearing this, she called to her master John Torel, master John Petit, and master Laurens du Puy, her principal wardens, and told them she wished to hear mass at a church without the town, called Marmoutier, and that they must prepare themselves to accompany her. They exhorted her to lay such thoughts aside, but in vain; for she shortly after issued out of Tours, and carried them with her to the aforesaid church. The lords in ambuscade almost instantly advanced in front of the church, and sent Hector de Saveuses forward to the queen with about sixty combatants. Her warders approached her as she was hearing mass, and said, "Lady, here is a large company of Burgundians or English;" but she, like one unsuspicious of what was intended, ordered them to keep near her. Hector de Saveuses then entered the church, and saluted her in the name of his lord the duke of Burgundy. She, in reply, asked where he was; when he said that he would instantly be with her. After these words, she commanded Hector to lay hands on masters John Torel, Petit, and Laurens du Puy: the last she hated much, for he addressed her very rudely, without raising his hand to his hood, and never bowing to her; beside, she could not any way act without the consent of Laurens du Puy. Finding he could not escape being arrested if he remained, he flew out of the church, and entered a small boat by the back-yard to cross the river Loire, but in such haste that he fell into the water, and was drowned: the others were taken prisoners.

All this passed about nine o'clock in the morning: at eleven the duke of Burgundy waited on the queen, and paid her the respect that was her due, which she returned, and said, "Most dear cousin, of all men in the kingdom I ought to love you the most, for having laid aside every other thing, and complying with my request to come hither and deliver me from prison, and which, my dear cousin, I shall never forget; for I clearly see that you have always loved my lord, his family, his kingdom, and the public welfare." They afterward dined together with much cheerfulness in the said church; after which, the queen sent notice to the inhabitants of Tours that she and her cousin the duke of Burgundy would make a public entry into their town; but, by the advice of the governor, the inhabitants delayed a little in their answer: however, at last they complied with what had been demanded, when the governor retired into the castle, and the queen and the duke, with their attendants and escort, made their entry. The duke was handsomely received and entertained in Tours; after which, the queen sent a passport and orders for the governor to come to her, whom she commanded to deliver up the castle, which he did, though much against his will. When the duke had tarried three days with the queen, he appointed Charles l'Abbé governor of the town and castle, with two hundred combatants for its defence. He took an oath carefully to guard and defend it in the name and on behalf of the duke of Burgundy; but this oath he was very unmindful of, for

in the following year he surrendered both town and castle to the dauphin, while he was continued governor, taking a similar oath.

The queen and the duke of Burgundy caused proclamation to be made through Tours, that no one was to pay any subsidies or taxes but that on salt. They then departed for Vendôme, where was issued a similar proclamation, and then continued their route through Bonneval to Chartres, where they arrived the 9th day of November. The queen was accompanied by four carriages, containing twenty women. She had only one knight with her, called sir Robert le Cyne, with whose prudence and discretion she was well pleased.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.—THE QUEEN, ON HER ARRIVAL AT CHARTRES, WRITES TO SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN FRANCE.—SOME NEW ORDINANCES ARE MADE FOR THE BETTER GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM.

On the queen's arrival at Chartres, it was resolved that she should write letters in her own name to all those towns that had submitted to the obedience of the duke of Burgundy. A copy of that addressed to the town of Amiens now follows.

"Very dear and well-beloved,—you know that by the intrigues and damnable avarice and ambition of some persons of low degree, who have seized the person and government of my lord and his kingdom, unnumbered mischiefs have arisen, as well by the molestation of those of his royal family as by the destruction and loss of many parts of his realm; more particularly in the duchies of Aquitaine and Normandy, where the utmost confusion reigns, without these the present ministers any way attempting to check or prevent it; but, on the contrary, they have conceived a mortal hatred against all that are gallant and loyal, by confiscating their fortunes, or putting them to death. They continue in their wickedness, though they know we are anxious to labour for the reparation of all these evils, and to procure peace to the realm; for, through the grace of God, we are competent so to do, as queen and wife to our aforesaid lord, according to the terms that had been begun by our son and our cousin of Hainault, whose souls may God receive! But they, knowing our intentions, took care to keep us at a distance, that their iniquities might be hidden, and that they might keep possession of their places. By such means do they daily apply to their own profit the whole amount of the revenue, without any part being allotted for the use of my said lord, or for the security and welfare of his kingdom. They have, under false pretences and most disloyally, robbed my said lord, ourself, and our son the dauphin, so that we have not wherewithal to maintain our establishments, or to defray our expenses; insomuch that they have acquired so great power that all must obey their wills, and it is very probable that the government of my lord and his realm may fall into the hands of strangers, which God forbid!

"When our very dear and well-beloved cousin, the duke of Burgundy, shall have put an end to such shameful abuses, he offers peace to all who may be inclined to accept of it, by his letters patent that have been published in various parts of the realm; but those persons above mentioned having refused to accept his terms, our cousin has taken up arms, in company with a large number of knights and esquires, with the intent to drive the above traitors from the government of this kingdom. They, however, to resist the said duke, and prevent him from approaching the person of our said lord, have remanded to Paris all the men-at-arms from their different garrisons, thereby leaving the kingdom a prey to its ancient enemies the English. This conduct clearly shows their wicked intentions; but the greater part of the nobility, prelacy, and the chief towns, have united themselves to our said cousin, sensible of the loyalty of his conduct, for the good of our said lord and the welfare of his realm. All who are any way related to us by blood should be warmly attached to our said cousin, for it concerns them much; and they should know, that quitting his siege of Corbeil, he came to set us at liberty, and deliver us from the hands of our late jailers.

"We have accompanied our said cousin to the town of Chartres, as was reasonable, where we shall advise together on the most effectual means of regaining those parts of the kingdom that have been conquered, and for the preservation of the remainder, without any further dissembling, by the aid and support of all the vassals, friends, allies, and subjects of my

aforesaid lord. For this reason, therefore, very dear and good friends, we ought to have the government of this kingdom, with the advice and assistance of the princes of the blood, and for which we have the authority of letters patent irrevocably passed by the great council, and in the presence of the princes of the blood, such as uncles, cousins-german, and others related to the crown. We have also full and competent knowledge of your good and loyal intentions regarding the dominions of our said lord; and even that you are willing, in conjunction with our said cousin, to use your utmost endeavours, even to the shedding your last drop of blood, for the obtaining so necessary and desirable an object.

"We summon and require you, in the name of my aforesaid lord, and expressly command you from ourselves, that you remain steady to the orders of our said cousin, notwithstanding any letters or commands you may receive to the contrary in the name of my aforesaid lord, or in that of my son the dauphin, and also that you do not suffer henceforward any sums of money to be transmitted to the present rulers of the realm under any pretext whatever, on pain of disobedience and disloyalty to my said lord, and of incurring the crime of rebellion toward him and toward us. In so doing you will perform your duty, and we will aid, succour, and support you against all who shall attempt to injure or hurt you for your conduct on this occasion.

"Very dear and well-beloved, we recommend you to the care of the Holy Spirit. Given at Chartres, the 12th day of November."

It was afterward determined in the council of the queen and the duke of Burgundy, that master Philip de Morvillers should go to the town of Amiens, accompanied by some notable clerks of the said council, with a sworn secretary, and should there hold, under the queen, a sovereign court of justice, instead of the one at Paris, to avoid being forced to apply to the king's chancery to obtain summonses, or for any other cases that might arise in the bailiwicks of Amiens, Vermandois, Tournay, and within the seneschalships of Ponthieu, with the dependencies thereto attached. A seal was given to master Philip de Morvillers, having graven upon it the figure of the queen erect, with her hands extended towards the ground; on the right side were the arms of France on a shield, and on the left a similar shield with the arms of France and Bavaria. The inscription around it was,—"This is the seal for suits-at-law, and for sovereign appeals to the king." It was ordered that the seals should be imprinted on vermilion-coloured wax; and that all letters and summonses should be written in the queen's name, and in the following terms:—

"Isabella, by the grace of God, queen of France, having the government of this realm entrusted to her during the king's illness, by an irrevocable grant made to us by our said lord and his council." By authority of this ordinance and seal the said master Philip de Morvillers collected large sums of money. In like manner another chancellor was appointed for the countries on the other side of the Seine, under the obedience of the queen and the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.—SIR ELYON DE JACQUEVILLE IS DRAGGED OUT OF THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY IN CHARTRES BY HECTOR DE SAVEUSES AND HIS ACCOMPLICES, WHO PUT HIM TO DEATH.

At the time when the duke of Burgundy resided in Chartres at his hotel behind the church of our Lady, so serious a quarrel arose between sir Elyon de Jacqueville, knight, and Hector de Saveuses, that high words passed between them in the presence of the duke. Within a few days after, Hector collected from twelve to sixteen of his friends, determined men; and in this number were his cousin-german the lord de Crevecœur, his brother le bon de Saveuses, Hue de Bours, and an arrogant fellow called John de Vaulx, on whose account this quarrel had arisen between them,—for a short time before Jacqueville had robbed this de Vaulx, who was related to Hector. These, with some others to the number before stated, one day with a premeditated design entered the church of our Lady, and met Jacqueville returning from the hotel of the duke of Burgundy. Hector and his friend instantly addressed him, saying, "Jacqueville, thou hast formerly injured and angered me, for which thou shalt be punished," when, at the moment, he was seized by him and his

accomplices and dragged out of the church, and most inhumanly hacked to pieces, during which he most pitifully cried to Hector for mercy, and offered a large sum of money for his life, but all in vain, for they never left him until they thought he was dead. They quitted the town of Chartres without delay, and went to a village two leagues off, where Hector's men were quartered. After their departure, Jacqueville caused himself to be carried in the melancholy state he was in to the duke of Burgundy, and made bitter complaints of the cruel usage he had met with,—adding that it was in consequence of the loyalty and truth with which he had served him.

The duke, on seeing him thus, was greatly affected, insomuch that he immediately armed himself, and, mounting his horse, rode through the streets with few attendants, thinking to find Hector and his accomplices, but he was soon informed that they had left the town. Many of the nobles now waited on the duke and appeased his anger as well as they could, such as sir John de Luxembourg, the lord de Fosseux, the marshal of Burgundy, and several more. However, he ordered the baggage and horses of Hector to be seized, and then returned to his hotel, whence he sent the most expert physicians to visit Jacqueville,—but they were of no avail, for within three days he died. Numbers were convinced that could the duke have laid hands on Hector and his accomplices he would have had them put to an ignominious death, for he declared he would never during his life pardon them: nevertheless, within a few days Hector, somehow or other, made up his quarrel with the duke, who consented to it on account of the important affairs he had now on his hands.

CHAPTER CLXXX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES HIS WHOLE ARMY TO PARIS TO FORCE AN ENTRANCE.—HE THEN CARRIES THE QUEEN OF FRANCE TO TROYES,—AND OTHER EVENTS.

When these matters had been concluded, the duke of Burgundy marched his army from Chartres, through Montlehery, toward Paris, with the intention of forcing an entrance into that city by means of some of the Parisians his partisans. To succeed in his plans, he sent forward Hector de Saveuses, with his brother Philip, the lord de Sores, Louis de Varigines, and several other captains, with six thousand combatants, to the porte de Louvel de Chastillon*, near to the suburbs of Saint Marceau; but a little before their arrival their coming was betrayed by a skinner of Paris to the constable, who instantly reinforced that part of the town with a large body of his troops,—so that when Hector and his men approached the gate to enter therein, he was sharply repulsed, and himself wounded on the head by a bolt from a cross-bow. Finding he had failed, from his intentions having been discovered, he retreated within the suburbs of St. Marceau to wait the coming of his lord the duke of Burgundy. The constable did not suffer them to remain quiet, but, making a sally with three or four hundred of his men, vigorously attacked the Burgundians, killing some and taking others. The Burgundians rallied and renewed the combat so courageously that they forced the enemy to fall back within the town, and rescued some of the prisoners they had made. In this affair, John, eldest son to the lord de Flavy, behaved remarkably well: he was the banner-bearer to Hector de Saveuses, and advanced it to the very gates of Paris, for which he was greatly praised by the duke when it came to his knowledge.

Several of the partisans of the duke were, at this moment, beheaded in Paris, while he remained in battle-array half a league distant, waiting for intelligence from those whom he had sent in advance. When he learned that his attempt had been discovered, he remanded his men from St. Marceau, and marched his army back to Montlehery, attended always by the young count de St. Pol, his nephew. At Montlehery he disbanded all his Picards, namely, sir John de Luxembourg, the lord de Fosseux, and the other captains before-mentioned, ordering them to the different towns on the frontier until the winter should be passed. To sir John de Luxembourg was given in charge the town of Mondidier and the adjacent country; Hector and Philip de Saveuses were posted with their men in Beauvais; the bastard de Thian was appointed governor of Senlis; the lord de l'Isle-Adam had in charge

* See for this in Sauval's "Antiquités de Paris."

Pontoise and Meulan; the lord de Cohen and several more returned to their own habitations in Picardy and the adjoining countries.

The duke of Burgundy went from Montlehery to Chartres, where, having ordered governors for that and the neighbouring places, he departed with the queen of France and his Burgundians for Troyes and Champagne, taking the road toward Joigny, whither he was pursued by the count d'Armagnac, constable of France. The constable followed the duke for a long way with the intention of combating him, should he find a favourable opportunity; and in fact, when the queen and the duke were lodged in Joigny, some of his captains, with about three hundred combatants, made an attack on the quarters of the lord du Vergy and the Burgundians, which much alarmed and dispersed them. The whole of the duke's army were in motion, and soon drawn up in battle array on the plain; and a detachment was ordered to pursue the enemy, who drove them as far as the head-quarters of the constable, about a league distant from Joigny. The lord de Château-vilain was one of the principal commanders of this detachment, and pursued the enemy the farthest. On their return, a sufficient guard of men-at-arms was appointed at Joigny, where, having remained five days, they continued their march to Troyes, and were magnificently and honourably received by the inhabitants and magistrates of that town.

The queen was lodged in the palace of the king her lord, and she received all the taxes and subsidies due to the crown by the town of Troyes, and from all other places under the obedience of the duke of Burgundy. By the advice of the duke, the duke of Lorraine was sent for to Troyes; on his arrival, the queen appointed him constable of France; and a sword was presented to him, on his taking the usual oaths, thus displacing the count d'Armagnac from that office. The duke of Burgundy now dismissed the greater part of the Burgundian lords, and remained in Troyes almost all the winter. He nominated John d'Aubigny, John du Clau and Clavin his brother, commanders on the frontiers of Champagne with a large force of men-at-arms, who carried on a vigorous war on the party of the constable.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.—JOHN OF BAVARIA MAKES WAR ON THE DUCHESS HIS NIECE IN HOLLAND.—THE CONQUESTS OF HENRY KING OF ENGLAND IN NORMANDY.

During these tribulations, John of Bavaria was carrying on a severe warfare against his niece the duchess Jacquelina, and his men had conquered the town of Gorcum, with the exception of some towers that held out for the duchess. So soon as she heard of this, she assembled a considerable body of men-at-arms, and accompanied by the countess of Hainault her mother, carried them by sea to the town of Gorcum, as it is situated on the coast. By the assistance of her garrisons, she gained admittance into these towers, and shortly after gave battle to the troops of John of Bavaria with such success that they were totally routed, and from five to six hundred were slain or made prisoners: among the last, the principal was the damoiseau Derke*. The only one of note that was killed on the side of the duchess was Videran de Brederode†, a man well skilled in war, and commander in chief of her forces, whose loss gave her great pain. She caused several of her prisoners to be beheaded for their disloyal conduct towards her. After this event, Philip, count de Charolois, eldest son to the duke of Burgundy, was sent to Holland to appease this quarrel. He took much pains with both of the parties, his uncle and cousin-german; but as he found he could not succeed to establish peace between them, he returned to Flanders.

At this time the king of England had a large army in Normandy, and conquered many towns and castles: indeed there were few that made any resistance,—for the several garrisons had been ordered by the constable to Paris, and to the adjacent parts, to oppose the duke of Burgundy, as has been before stated. King Henry came before the town of Caen, which was very strong and populous, and made many attacks on it, but with the loss of numbers of his men. At length, by continued assaults, he took it by storm, and slew six hundred of the besieged. The castle held out for about three weeks,—in which

* Damoiseau Derke, *i. e.* William, lord of Arckel, who was killed at Gorcum. [Damoiseau was a term of honour applied to youths of gentle blood.—Ed.]

† Walrave, lord of Brederode, also killed at Gorcum.

were the lord de la Fayette*, the lord de Montenay, and sir John Bigot, who surrendered it on condition that the king would promise that they should march out with their baggage and persons in security.

Caen.—From an original drawing.

After this conquest, the king of England caused the strong town and castle of Cherbourg to be besieged by his brother the duke of Gloucester; it was the strongest place in all Normandy, and the best supplied with stores and provision. This siege lasted for ten weeks, when sir John d'Engennes, the governor, surrendered on condition of receiving a certain sum of money for so doing, and a sufficient passport for him to go whithersoever he pleased. He went thence to the city of Rouen after it had been taken by the English, and, on the faith of some English lords that his passport should be renewed, remained there until the term was expired; but in the end he was deceived, and king Henry caused him to be beheaded,—at which the French greatly rejoiced, as he had surrendered Cherbourg, to the prejudice of the king of France, through avarice.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.—SIR JAMES DE HARCOURT ESPOUSES THE DAUGHTER OF THE COUNT DE TANCARVILLE.—THE DEFEAT OF HECTOR DE SAVEUSES.—THE CONSTABLE LAYS SIEGE TO SENLIS.

About this period, sir James de Harcourt† espoused the heiress of the count de Tancarville, with whom he had possession of all the count's estates; and he placed garrisons in the whole of his towns and forts, to defend them against the English. At this time also, Philip de Saveuses being in garrison with his brother Hector in Beauvais, set out one day with

* Gilbert III., lord of la Fayette, marshal of France, counsellor and chamberlain of the king and dauphin, seneschal of the Bourbonnois, &c. &c.

† James II. de Harcourt, lord of Montgomery, who was taken prisoner at Azincourt, married to Margaret, only daughter and heiress of William de Melun, count of Tancarville, killed at Azincourt.

about six score combatants, to make an inroad on the country of Clermont, as he had frequently done before. On his return, he passed by a castle called Brelle, in which were assembled a body of men-at-arms belonging to the constable, who suddenly made a sally with displayed banners on Philip and his men. The latter were overpowered by numbers, and put to the rout, nor was it in the power of their captain to rally them, so that they were pursued almost to Beauvais, and some killed, and the greater part made prisoners. Philip de Saveuses, grieved at heart for this misfortune, re-entered that town. Within a few days after, having recovered some of his men, he went to Gournay in Normandy, whereof he had been appointed governor, with the consent of the inhabitants. Hector de Saveuses had some dissensions with the inhabitants of Beauvais, and was forced to quit the town shortly after the departure of his brother.

On the following Candlemas, king Charles, attended by the count d'Armagnac his constable, and a considerable number of men-at-arms, set out from Paris for Creil, where he staid many days. As his men were passing near to Senlis, which was garrisoned by the duke of Burgundy, they were attacked, and several killed and made prisoners, to the great vexation of the constable. The constable, a few days after this, by the king's orders, laid siege to Senlis, and had several large engines of war pointed against the walls, which greatly harassed the inhabitants. They therefore sent messengers to sir John de Luxembourg and to the lord de Hangest, requiring them, in behalf of the duke of Burgundy, to send aid to Senlis. These lords having consulted the count de Charolois and his council, assembled a large force, and marched to Pontoise, and thence towards Senlis, with the intent to raise the siege; but they received intelligence that their enemies were too numerous, and they could only detach one hundred men, whom they sent into the town by a gate that had not been guarded by the constable, with orders to tell the besieged to be of good cheer, for that they should, without fail, be speedily succoured.

Sir John de Luxembourg and the lord de Hangest returned, with their men-at-arms, through Pontoise and Beauvais to Picardy, without attempting anything further at this time. On the other hand, sir Tanneguy du Châtel, provost of Paris, took the town of Chevreuse, and was laying siege to the castle, when he was hastily ordered to leave it, and join the king and the constable at the siege of Senlis; on which account he left a part of his men at Chevreuse, and obeyed the orders he had received.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO MONTEREAU-FAUT-YONNE TO TREAT OF A PEACE WITH THE QUEEN AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE INHABITANTS OF ROUEN TURN TO THE BURGUNDY FACTION.

Shortly after, king Charles and his constable sent as their ambassadors to Montereau-faut-Yonne, the archbishop of Rheims, the bishops of Paris and of Clermont in Auvergne, John de Harcourt count d'Aumale, sir Mansart d'Esne and sir Regnault de Merquoiques knights, master Guerard Marchet, the Judge Maye, John de Lolive, with others, to the number of sixteen, able persons, to treat of a peace between them and the queen and the duke of Burgundy. On the part of the queen and the duke, the following ambassadors were sent to Bray-sur-Seine; the archbishop of Sens brother to sir Charles de Savoisy, the bishops of Langres and of Arras, sir John de la Tremouille lord de Jonvelle, the lord de Courcelles, sir James de Courtjambe, Coppen de Viefville, master Peter Cauchon, since bishop of Beauvais, John le Clerc, since chancellor of France, Gilles de Clamecy, master Thierry le Roi, John le Mercier, James Beaulard and master Baudet de Bordes. These ambassadors had passports given them from each party; and on their arrival at Montereau and Bray, they fixed upon the village of la Tombe, which was half way between these two towns, as the place to hold their conferences in. To this place the lord de la Tremouille was ordered with a body of men-at-arms for the security of their persons.

This conference lasted for about two months,—during which the ambassadors of both sides frequently had recourse to their lords personally, or by writing, in hopes of bringing the business to a happy conclusion. At the same time, union was restored to the universal

church; for after the consecration of pope Martin he released pope John from prison, who threw himself on the mercy of the reigning pontiff. He was very kindly received by him, and even created a cardinal,—but he died within a few days afterward.

About this period also, the inhabitants of Rouen, who were very favourable to the duke of Burgundy, sent secretly for some of the captains of his party, whom, with a body of men-at-arms, they admitted into their town, namely, sir Guy le Bouteiller, Lagnon bastard d'Arly, and instantly joining them, they made a sharp attack on the castle, which the king's men held out against the town, and continued it so long that the garrison surrendered on condition that they might retreat with safety. Sir Guy le Bouteiller was nominated governor. Lagnon d'Arly behaved so gallantly at this attack, that he acquired great renown, and the good will of all the inhabitants of Rouen. The king of France and his ministers were very much displeased at this event; but, to say the truth, the greater part of France was torn to pieces by intestine wars and divisions: the churches and poor people were ruined, and justice was nowhere obeyed.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY VISITS THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND.—THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS TAKES THE OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE QUEEN AND HIS FATHER THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE SIEGE OF SENLIS IS RAISED BY THE PICARDS.

[A. D. 1418.]

At the beginning of this year, John duke of Burgundy arranged the establishment of the queen of France in Troyes; and having ordered some of his captains, such as Charlot de Dueilly, John du Clau, John d'Aubigny, and others, with two thousand men-at-arms, to march to Senlis and combat the army of the king and the constable, he took leave of the queen, and set out from Troyes to Dijon to visit his duchess and daughters. Having resided there some time, he departed for Montmeliart to meet Sigismund emperor of Germany, with whom he had a conference. This being finished, they separated with many tokens of respect for each other, and the duke returned to Burgundy.

During this time, Philip count de Charolois came to Arras, and by commands from the queen and his father, he convoked all the barons, knights, esquires, and clergy of Picardy, and other parts under his obedience, to meet him on a certain day in Arras. On their being assembled, they were required by master Philip de Morvillers to swear allegiance to the queen and the duke of Burgundy against all persons whatever, excepting the king of France; which oath they all took, namely, sir John de Luxembourg, sir James de Harcourt, the vidame of Amiens, the lords d'Antoing and de Fosseux, the lord d'Auxois, sir Emond de Lombers, and many more, who declared they would serve him with their lives and fortunes so long as they should breathe. Those who had been deputed from the principal towns were required to raise a certain sum of money from their constituents. The meeting was then adjourned to Amiens, where they were desired to assemble,—for within a few days the count de Charolois would go thither to consult on further measures for the relief of Senlis. The different commanders were ordered to raise as many men-at-arms and archers as they possibly could by that day.

The count de Charolois was at Amiens on the appointed time, whither also came the aforesaid lords, and a number of deputies from the great towns. There were likewise some from Rouen, who had been sent to request advice and support from the count as the representative of the duke of Burgundy, adding, that they were daily expecting to be besieged by king Henry's army; that they had often been under the obedience of the duke in preference to the king, the dauphin, the constable, and all others; and that should they fail of having succours from him in whom was their only hope, they could not expect them from any other person. The count, by advice of his council, replied by requesting them to nourish such good intentions, and that within a short time they should have, with God's pleasure, effectual aid. Letters addressed to the magistrates and principal citizens in Rouen, were also given them, with which they returned.

When this matter had been settled, the count de Charolois directed master Philip de Morvillers to declare to the assembly of nobles and others from the towns, who were collected in the great hall of the bishop's palace, that it would be necessary and expedient for each of the towns to make a free gift in money, and for the clergy to pay half a tenth, for the carrying on the war. This business, however, could not be hastily concluded; and in the mean time messengers arrived from those in Senlis, who brought letters to the count to say that if they were not succoured on or before the 19th of April, they must surrender the place to the king and constable, having given hostages to that effect. The count and his council, on receiving this news, determined to provide a remedy; and he was very desirous of marching thither himself, but his council would not consent to it: he therefore ordered, as principal commanders of the reinforcement, sir John de Luxembourg and the lord de Fosseux, having under them the whole of the forces in Picardy and on the frontiers.

These commanders, having collected their men, marched off in haste, and arrived at Pontoise on the 17th of April, when they resolved to proceed during the night of the morrow for Senlis. Their army might amount to about eight thousand combatants, who gallantly took the field at the appointed time. A body of light troops were ordered to advance to different places on the road toward Senlis, to gain intelligence of the enemy. With Sir John de Luxembourg and the lord de Fosseux were le veau de Bar bailiff of Auxois, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, sir Emond de Bonberch, the lord d'Auxois, Hector and Philip de Saveuses, Ferry de Mailly, Louis de Varigines, sir Philip de Fosseux, James and John de Fosseux, the lord de Cohen, sir Janet de Poix, the lord de Longueval, the lord de Miraumont, and in general all the nobles and gentlemen of Picardy, who made a handsome appearance with vanguard, rearguard, and main battalion, and thus marched to within a league of Senlis.

The lord d'Armagnac, constable of France, was closely besieging the town of Senlis, when he received intelligence from his scouts that the nobles of Picardy were approaching with a large army to offer him battle: in consequence he commanded his men to arm without delay, and advance in battle array to the plain, that he might avoid being attacked in his camp. The besieged, observing about day-break great bustle and confusion in the enemy's camp, with good order and courage made a sally from the town, set fire to the tents and quarters of the constable, killed numbers of the sick and others, whom they found in the camp, and returned to the town with a large booty in sight of their enemies. The constable, vexed at this, sent them a summons to surrender the town according to their promise, but on their answering that the time was not yet expired, he caused the heads of four of the hostages to be cut off, their bodies to be quartered, and hung on a gibbet. Of these four two were gentlemen, namely, Guillaume Mauchelier and Boudart de Vingles: the two others were citizens, named Guillaume Escallot and master John Beaufort, king's advocate in the town. The remaining two (for there were six in all), sir John Durant, priest, and a monk of St. Vincent, were carried prisoners to Paris. In revenge, the besieged beheaded sixteen of the constable's men: two were hanged, and two women were drowned. The count d'Armagnac then marched his army in battle array to the Pas-de-Larron, between Criel and Gouvieux, to wait for the enemy; and despatched some of his captains to see the king at Criel and make him take the road toward Paris.

Sir John de Luxembourg and the lord de Fosseux had advanced so rapidly with their army that they were rather beforehand with the king, and halted at a place called l'Estoing, where the king and his army must pass. Soon after, the van of the constable made its appearance, and the light troops of both sides began a sharp skirmish, when many lances were broken, and men-at-arms unhorsed, slain, or terribly wounded. Upon this, the king and the constable sent two heralds to these lords to know who they were, and what they wanted. The lord de Luxembourg made answer, "I am John of Luxembourg, having with me the lord de Fosseux and many other noblemen, sent hither by the duke of Burgundy to serve the king, and to succour the good town of Senlis against the count d'Armagnac, whom, and his abettors alone, we are ready to combat, if he be willing to afford us an opportunity, but not against the king; for we are ready to serve him as his loyal vassals and subjects."

The heralds returned with this answer to the king and the constable, when the latter said

aloud, "Since neither the duke of Burgundy nor his son be with their army, we cannot gain much by battle: I therefore advise that we retreat, for these are soldiers only anxious for plunder, who have not themselves much to lose." The constable had already heard that Charlot de Dueilly and other captains were in great force toward Dammartin: therefore he made the king and his army retreat in order of battle toward Paris, ordering a sufficient number of his ablest combatants to his rear, to prevent the enemy from giving them any disturbance. Thus, without halting at any place, did king Charles and his constable, the count d'Armagnac, march back to Paris, to the great vexation of many of the Parisians, who murmured loudly against the constable.

Sir John de Luxembourg and the lord de Fosseux returned with their army to Pontoise, very much rejoiced to have accomplished their object without any considerable loss or inconvenience. It would take up too much time were I to detail all the skirmishes that took place: suffice it to say, that very many on both sides behaved gallantly. The lord de Miraumont commanded the Picard archers, and, according to his orders, kept them in handsome array. When these lords had refreshed themselves at Pontoise, they all went to their different homes. They were very much esteemed for their good conduct and valour in this expedition by the duke of Burgundy, the count de Charolois, and by all of that party. The bastard de Thian, governor in Senlis, Troullart de Moncruel, sir Mauroy de St. Legier, and the other captains within the town during the siege, had repaired the towers and walls which had been much damaged by the engines of the constable, and then kept up a more severe warfare against the king's party than before.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.—THE CARDINALS D'ORSINI AND DI SAN MARCO COME TO FRANCE TO APPEASE THE QUARRELS OF THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYAL.—A PEACE IS MADE AT MONTEREAU, BUT NOT KEPT.

During the time the duke of Burgundy resided in his duchy, he was visited by the cardinals d'Orsini and di San Marco, who had been sent by the pope to France to endeavour to make up the quarrels between the king, the queen, and the duke of Burgundy. The duke paid them every respect, and feasted them magnificently, and declared that he was ready to make peace with all who wished it, and for this purpose had sent ambassadors to Bray-sur-Seine to meet others from the king. On this the cardinals left Burgundy, and, passing through Troyes, went to Bray and Montereau, where they were handsomely received by the ambassadors from each party. Thence the cardinal di San Marco went to Paris, and in the presence of the king, his constable, and ministers, explained the object of his mission, and the infinite advantages that would result from a peace. After he had been much honoured by the lords of the court, he returned to the ambassadors at Montereau, where he and the cardinal d'Orsini remained the whole time of the negotiations, going daily to the church of La Tombe, wherein the conferences were held.

They laboured so diligently in this business that a treaty was drawn up and sworn to by the ambassadors, in the presence of the cardinals, on condition that the ambassadors should carry copies of it to their respective lords, and if the terms were not approved of by them, each party was to remain in the same state as before any negotiations were begun. Thus some of them went to Paris to wait on the king and constable, and others to Troyes to the queen and the council of the duke of Burgundy. These last, on being shown the treaty, very much approved of it, and sent it to the duke for his approbation,—who, having examined it with his ministers, returned for answer that he accepted it wholly without exception,—that he would cheerfully swear to its observance, and cause all of his party to do the same.

In like manner the ambassadors from the king and the constable, on their arrival at Paris, laid a copy of the treaty before the king, the dauphin, some of the principal ministers, and most leading citizens, who were well satisfied that the king should sign it. But when it was shown to the count d'Armagnac, to the chancellor, the provost of Paris, and Raymonnet de la Guerre, they were highly indignant thereat, and said plainly that they would never

remain in the room where the king should sign it as it then was. The chancellor even declared, that the king might seal it himself, for that he never would. The bishop of Paris, many of the citizens, and several of the ministers of the king and dauphin, who were very desirous of peace, were thunderstruck on hearing these declarations, and advised the dauphin to call a meeting at the Louvre on this matter. He did so; but the constable would not attend, saying, that those who had agreed to such a peace, and those who advised the king to consent to it, were traitors. By these means the peace was prevented; all negotiations were broken off, and both parties remained in the state they were in before, without peace or truce. This, however, created very great hatred among the Parisians to the constable, who nevertheless ordered detachments against the castles of Montlehery and Marcoussy, possessed by the Burgundians, but who were obliged to surrender them to the king's forces. The constable regarrisoned them for the king.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.—KING HENRY OF ENGLAND CONQUERS MANY TOWNS IN NORMANDY.—THE CAPTURE OF THE COUNT DE HARCOURT, IN AUMALE, BY HIS COUSIN SIR JAMES DE HARCOURT.

At this season, as has been before noticed, king Henry of England was in great force in Normandy, where he conquered towns and castles at his pleasure; for scarcely any resistance was made against him, owing to the intestine divisions of France. He thus easily gained possession of the towns of Evreux, Fallaise, Bayeux, Lisieux, Coutances, Avranches, St. Loth, and many more. Through fear of king Henry, the count de Harcourt had retired within his castle of Aumale, with all his dependants; whither on a certain day, under the appearance of a visit to pay his compliments, came his cousin sir James de Harcourt, attended by about sixty combatants. He purposely dismounted at the gate of the castle, which, on his being recognised, was instantly opened, and every honour was paid him by the officers of the count. Part of his men entered with him, and he went to the count, who joyously received him, saying, "Fair cousin, you are welcome." Sir James had ordered the remainder of his men to come to the castle when they had put up their horses in the town; and shortly after some conversation together respecting the wars now going on in France, seeing the opportunity was proper, sir James took the count by the hand, and said, "My lord, I make you a prisoner in the king's name." The count, much astonished, replied, "Fair cousin, what do you mean? I am the king's man, as you know, and have never acted to his prejudice." However, in spite of his protestations and claims of kindred, or any other excuses, he was detained a prisoner and placed by sir James under a secure guard. On the morrow, after sir James had seized on all the moveables within the castle, and appointed a part of his men for its defence, he departed, and carried the count with him to the castle of Crotoy.

Sir James by these means got from the count a beautiful chesnut horse with a short tail, which was afterward famous as a war-horse. After that day the count remained prisoner to his cousin, but he was frequently transported from one castle to another; and it was commonly reported that he was thus kept prisoner with the consent of his son, John de Harcourt, count of Aumale.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.—THE CITY OF PARIS IS TAKEN BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE PARISIANS TURN TO HIS PARTY.—THE CONSEQUENCES THAT FOLLOW.

You have already heard how the Parisians were much discontented with the count d'Armagnac and others of the king's ministers, because they would not accept of the treaty of peace that had been made with the duke of Burgundy. They were much afraid of this duke and his army, and saw clearly that if he was not reconciled to the king and the dauphin they must remain in their present uncomfortable state for a long time. Numbers of them were strongly attached to him, and wished him to have the government of the

kingdom,—but in fact they knew not how to accomplish it, for they were very narrowly watched, and dared not hold any meetings to communicate together, because the ministry had always ready a body of men-at-arms to punish them on the slightest appearance of rebellion. Notwithstanding this, some daring youths of the commonalty, who had formerly been punished for their demerits, adventured to have a conference with the lord de l'Isle-Adam at Pontoise, where he was in garrison. These youths were six or seven in number; and the principal were, Perrinet le Clerc, son to John le Clerc, Ferron, John Thiebert, son to Michael Thiebert, butcher, Perron Bourdechon.

The lord de l'Isle-Adam concluded a treaty with them, that he would assemble as great a number of men-at-arms as he could, and, on the 29th day of May ensuing, would march them to the gate of St. Germain des Pres at Paris, which they engaged to have opened to him. On this they separated; and the lord de l'Isle-Adam collected, as privately as he could, about eight hundred men-at-arms, among whom were, le veau de Bar, bailiff of Auxois, the lord de Chastellus, the lord de Chevreuse, Ferry de Mailly, Louis de Varigines, Lionnet de Bournouville, Davoid de Guoy, and others. These the lord de l'Isle-Adam led to the appointed rendezvous on the day fixed on, where he found Perrinet le Clerc, who had stolen from behind his father's pillow the keys of the gate of St. Germain, to whom they had been intrusted, and the aforesaid youths. The gate was opened according to their promise, and some of the Parisians came out to speak with the lord de l'Isle-Adam and the others: they assured them that they might enter the town in security, and that they would conduct them whithersoever they pleased. Upon their report, the Burgundian lords and their men, armed ready for battle, entered the town on horseback. It might be about two hours after midnight; and Perrinet le Clerc, seeing them within the town, locked the gate and flung the keys over the wall.

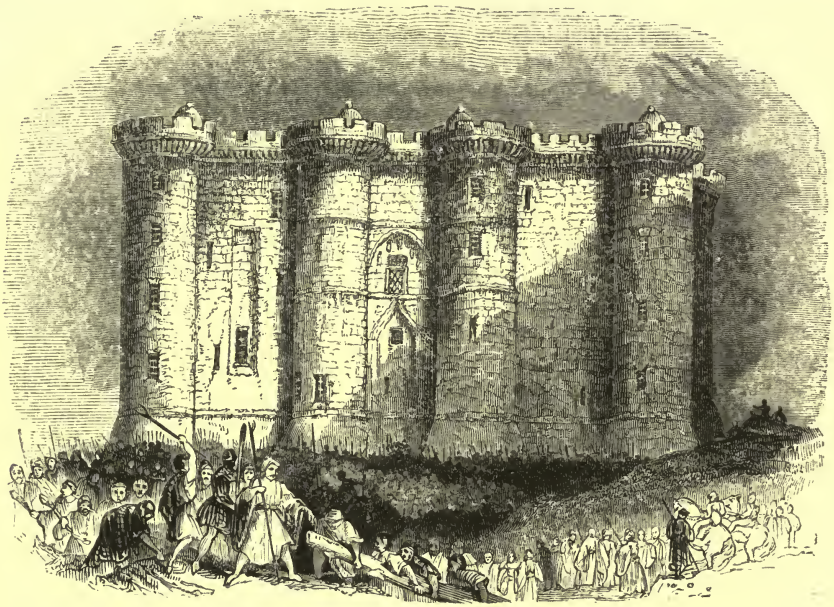
They began their march in silence toward the Châtelet, where they met about four hundred of the Parisians ready armed to join them: they then, with one accord, resolved to make attacks on the houses of the different ministers of the king, and ordered two parties to parade the streets, shouting, "that all who wished for peace must unite with them in arms." This cry brought great multitudes of the populace to join them; and they hastened to attack the houses of the ministers of state. One party went to the king's hotel of St. Pol, where they broke down doors and windows, and were not satisfied until they had spoken to the king, who was forced to grant them all their demands. They shortly after made him mount his horse, as well as the brother to the king of Cyprus, and ride with them through the streets of Paris. Another party went to the hotel of the constable to seize him; but he had been advertised in time of their intent, and had escaped in disguise to the house of a poor man adjoining his own. Some went to the hotels of the chancellor and Raymonnet de la Guerre, whom they arrested. Tanneguy du Chatel, provost of Paris, hearing the uproar, hastened to the hotel of the dauphin, and, wrapping him up only in a blanket, carried him to the bastille of St. Anthony, whither numbers of their friends had retired on the first appearance of the insurrection.

During this night and the two following days, the Burgundian lords, and the populace of Paris, plundered the houses of the ministers, and of their favourites and adherents, whom they robbed of everything. An infinite number of prisoners were made, and confined in the palace, the Louvre, the Châtelet, and in other places: among them were the bishops of Bayeux, Senlis, and Coutances, sir Hector de Chartres, sir Enguerrand de Marcoignet, and others. The lord de l'Isle-Adam went himself to the hotel de Bourbon, where he found Charles de Bourbon*, then about fifteen years of age, whom, having awakened, he demanded which party he was of: he replied, "Of the king's party;" upon which the lord de l'Isle-Adam made him rise, and conducted him to the king, with whom he remained during all the time these sad events were passing.

Great part of the men-at-arms attached to the constable and to Tanneguy du Chatel had retired within the bastille of St. Anthony, and with them John Louvet, president of the parliament of Provence, master Robert Masson, with numbers of high rank. The cardinals de Bar and di San Marco, with the archbishop of Rheims, were also made prisoners, and

* Eldest son of John, duke of Bourbon, prisoner in England.

their horses seized; but at the intercession of the bishop of Paris, and because they had advised peace, they were set at liberty, and had their effects returned to them. About eight o'clock on the Monday morning, the king, by sound of trumpet, dismissed Tanneguy du



Bastile of Saint Anthony.—From Millin's Antiquités Nationales.

Chatel from the provostship of Paris, and appointed le veau de Bar*, bailiff of Auxois, in his stead. In short, all the king's ministers, the members of the different courts of justice, and all the citizens of rank who were attached to the Armagnacs, were plundered and made prisoners, or cruelly murdered. It was also proclaimed throughout the streets, in the king's name, by sound of trumpet, that all persons of either sex who should know of any of the Armagnac party being hidden or disguised must, on pain of confiscation of their property, instantly denounce them to the provost of Paris, or to some of the captains of the men-at-arms. In consequence, the poor man, in whose house the constable was hidden, went to inform the provost of it, who instantly returned with him, and found the constable as he had said. The provost made him mount him behind him, and carried him to the palace with other prisoners.

While these things were passing, Tanneguy du Chatel sent away Charles duke of Touraine and dauphin, by the bridge of Charenton, to Corbeil, Melun, and to Montargis: he at the same time despatched messengers to the leaders of his party to hasten to his succour with as many men-at-arms as they could collect. The lord de l'Isle-Adam and the other great lords were not dilatory in summoning their party, from Picardy and elsewhere, to join them with speed in Paris; and in a few days very great numbers came thither. Early in the morning of the Wednesday following the capture of Paris, the marshal de Rieux†, the lord de Barbasan, and Tanneguy du Chatel, with sixteen hundred combatants, picked men, entered Paris by the gate of St. Anthony in hopes of conquering it. A party of them went by the backway to

* Named Guy de Bar in the list of officers of the crown.

† Peter, marshal de Rieux, third son of John, lord of Rieux and Rochefort, who died marshal in 1417. His brothers were, John III., lord de Rieux, Giles, and Michael, lord of Chasteauneuf.

the hotel de St. Pol, thinking to take and carry off the king; but, on the preceding day, he and all his household had been conducted to the castle of the Louvre. The remainder, with displayed banners, marched through the streets as far as the hotel de l'Ours, shouting, "Long live the king, the dauphin, and the constable d'Armagnac!" This cry instantly brought forth a great number of the Parisians in arms, with the new provost of Paris, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, and all the other men-at-arms within Paris, to offer them combat. A very severe battle took place; but in the end, from the multitudes of Parisians coming upon them on all sides, the marshal de Rieux and his men were forced to retreat toward the bastille, but not without heavy loss; for there remained dead on the field of battle from three to four hundred of his best men. On the side of the Parisians about forty were killed, and among them was a gentleman, called Harpin de Guoy, attached to the lord de l'Isle-Adam. After this, Barbasan and Tanneguy du Chatel, seeing their cause for the present hopeless, placed a sufficient garrison in the bastille, and departed; some to Meaux-en-Brie, others to Corbeil, to Melun, and to different towns that were under their obedience.

On the Thursday following, Hector and Philip de Saveuses arrived in Paris with two hundred combatants. The lords within that city were rejoiced at their coming, and quartered them at the Tournelles, and in different houses facing the bastille, wherein there was still a garrison of the Armagnacs. On the Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and the eight ensuing days, the greater part of the captains of Picardy arrived at Paris with their men-at-arms; such as sir John de Luxembourg, the lord de Fosseux and his brothers, sir Janet de Poix, the lord de Cohen, and many more, expecting to find much gain in that city; but the majority were greatly disappointed, and were forced to pay their own expenses. Those of the Armagnacs who had fallen in battle were flung into carts, and carried by the public executioner out of Paris and buried in the fields, while the Parisians that had been slain were handsomely interred in consecrated ground.

All Paris now wore the badge of the duke of Burgundy, namely, a Saint Andrew's cross, which had of late been held in much contempt. On the Saturday, those within the bastille, seeing it was but lost time to remain there, entered into a treaty with the lord de l'Isle-Adam and the other lords in Paris, that they would surrender the bastille if they were permitted to march away in safety. This was accepted; and, on passports being granted them, they departed. The lord de Canny, who had remained a prisoner in the bastille ever since his return from his embassy from the king to the duke of Burgundy, as has been before mentioned, was nominated governor thereof by the king and the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.—AFTER THE CAPTURE OF PARIS, MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES SUBMIT TO THE OBEDIENCE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—OTHER MATTERS.

About this time, by orders from the king, Hector and Philip de Saveuses, and the lord de Crevecœur*, were despatched with their men-at-arms toward Compiegne and the adjoining castles. On their coming before Compiegne, they concluded a treaty, that all who were of the Armagnac party should depart in safety with their effects; and that the other inhabitants of the town, who would swear allegiance to the king and the duke of Burgundy, should remain unmolested. In like manner were surrendered to them the town and castle of Creil, St. Maixence, Mouchy le Piereux, Pont-a-Choisy, and other places, in which they placed garrisons of their own men. Noyon submitted to the obedience of the king and the duke by means of the lord de Genly†, and le Plaisser by sir John de Roye‡. Laon, Corbeil, Soissons, Chauny-sur-Oise, and Gisors, also submitted.

In the town of Creil, a gentleman called le Begue de Groches was appointed governor; but only eight men entered that town. In the castle were, the count de Ventadour§, the

* James de Crevecœur, lord of Thois, Thiennes, &c., gentleman to the duke of Burgundy, son of John, lord of Crevecœur and Blanche de Saveuse, and educated to arms under Robert de Saveuse.

† Genly. Q. if not Genlis.

‡ John III., lord of Roye, son of Matthew, lord of Roye, mentioned by Froissart.

§ James, count de Ventadour, grandson of Bernard, in whose favour the viscounty was enlarged into a county. It was a very ancient family, descended from the viscounts of Combour of the tenth century, and the yet older counts of Quercy.

lord de Chateau-morant, and sir Charles de Saint Saulieu, with a certain number of men-at-arms attached to the party of the Armagnacs; but they were forced to surrender it by le Begue de Groches and the commonalty of the town, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared, and le Begue de Groches remained governor of the castle and town for a long time. I must not forget to say something of Perrinet le Clerc and his companions, who had delivered up the city of Paris to the Burgundians. They were at first in great authority, and lived in high state; but in the end they became as poor and as wicked as they had been before.

When the inhabitants of Peronne, who had been strongly attached to the king, the dauphin, and the count d'Armagnac, heard of the capture of Paris, and of the surrender of so many towns and castles, they were much astonished and alarmed, considering that they were so near to the territories of the duke of Burgundy, lest they should have their town taken by storm, or besieged. They therefore resolved to send a deputation to the count de Charolois, to propose submitting themselves to the obedience of the king and the duke. They in consequence sent ambassadors for this purpose, although sir Thomas de Lersies, bailiff of the Vermandois, exhorted them to keep steady to the dauphin. These ambassadors, namely, master Oudard Cuperel, a canon of St. Foursy, and others, treated so successfully with the count de Charolois and his ministers that the town was surrendered to the duke. Notwithstanding the magistrates and inhabitants had promised not to conclude any treaty that should be prejudicial to sir Thomas de Lersies, he was arrested, carried to Laon, and beheaded. In like manner were executed John de Bervenucourt, his lieutenant, and Alard de Vercuigneul.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.—THE COMMONALTY OF PARIS ASSEMBLE IN GREAT NUMBERS, AND CRUELLY PUT TO DEATH THEIR PRISONERS.

About four o'clock on the 12th day of June, the populace of Paris rose to the amount of about sixty thousand, fearing (as they said) that the prisoners would be set at liberty, although the new provost of Paris, and other lords, assured them to the contrary. They were armed with old mallets, hatchets, staves, and other disorderly weapons, and paraded through the streets, shouting, "Long live the king and the duke of Burgundy!" towards the different prisons in Paris, namely, the Palace, St. Magloire, St. Martin des Champs, the Châtelet, the Temple, and to other places wherein any prisoners were confined. They forced open all their doors and killed Chepier and Chepiere*, with the whole of the prisoners, to the amount of sixteen hundred, or thereabout; the principal of whom were the count d'Armagnac constable of France, master Henry de Marle chancellor to the king, the bishops of Coutances, of Bayeux, of Evreux, of Senlis, of Saintes, the count de Grand Pré, Raymonnet de la Guerre, the abbot de St. Conille de Compiegne, sir Hector de Chartres, sir Enguerrand de Marcoignet, Charlot Poupart, master of the king's wardrobe, the members of the courts of justice and of the treasury, and in general all they could find: among the number were several even of the Burgundian party confined for debt.

In this massacre several women were killed, and left on the spot where they had been put to death. This cruel butchery lasted till ten o'clock in the morning of the following day. Those confined in the grand Châtelet, having arms, defended themselves valiantly, and slew many of the populace; but on the morrow, by means of fire and smoke, they were conquered, and the mob made many of them leap from the battlements of the towers, when they were received on the points of the spears of those in the streets and cruelly mangled. At this dreadful business were present, the new provost of Paris, sir John de Luxembourg, the lord de Fosseux, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, the vidame of Amiens, the lord de Chevreuse, the lord de Chastellus, the lord de Cohen, sir James de Harcourt, sir Emond de Lombers, the lord d'Auxois, and others, to the amount of upward of a thousand combatants armed and on horseback, ready to defend the murderers should there be any necessity.

Many were shocked and astonished at such cruel conduct; but they dared not say anything, except "Well done, my boys!" The bodies of the constable, the chancellor, and of

* These were probably the jailer and his wife.

Raymonnet de la Guerre, were stripped naked, tied together with a cord, and dragged for three days by the blackguards of Paris through the streets. The body of the constable had the breadth of two fingers of his skin cut off crosswise, like to a bend in heraldry, by way of derision; and they were thus publicly exposed quite naked to the sight of all; on the fourth day, they were dragged out of Paris on a hurdle, and buried with the others in a ditch called la Louviere. Notwithstanding the great lords after this took much pains to pacify the populace, and remonstrated with them that they ought to allow the king's justice to take its regular course against offenders, they would not desist, but went in great crowds to the houses of such as had favoured the Armagnacs, or of those whom they disliked, and killed them without mercy, carrying away all they could find. In these times it was enough if one man hated another at Paris, of whatever rank he might be, Burgundian or not, to say, "There goes an Armagnac," and he was instantly put to death without further inquiry being made.

CHAPTER CXC.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, ON HEARING WHAT HAD PASSED AT PARIS, CARRIES THE QUEEN THITHER.—THE DEATH OF JEAN BERTRAND.

When news of the capture of Paris, and of the submission of so many towns and castles, was carried to the duke of Burgundy in Dijon, he was greatly rejoiced, and collecting in haste a body of men, went to the queen at Troyes, where he was magnificently received. He gave orders for preparations to be instantly made for the queen's journey to Paris, and summoned men-at-arms from all quarters to attend her. Sir John de Luxembourg, the lord de Fosseux, with other captains from Picardy, and about a thousand combatants, went to meet him so far as Troyes. The duke first heard when at Troyes of the massacre of the count d'Armagnac and the other prisoners at Paris, which angered him greatly; for he had planned by their means, and by offering them their liberty, to gain possession of the person of the dauphin, and of all the towns and castles held by the Armagnacs.

On the 2nd day of July, the queen and the duke of Burgundy set out from Troyes for Paris in grand array,—the Picards, under the command of John de Luxembourg, forming the vanguard. The duke, with his battalion, conducted the queen, taking their road through Nogent-sur Seine and Provins. On the 14th day of the same month they entered Paris, attended by an immense crowd of armed men and displayed banners. Six hundred of the Parisians went out to meet the queen and the duke, dressed in blue jackets, having thereon a St. Andrew's cross, which they had worn for some time. They presented the duke and his nephew the young count de St. Pol with two robes of blue velvet, which they put on, and thus made their entry through the gate of St. Anthony. They were received in Paris with the greatest joy: carols were sung in all quarters, and flowers were thrown in abundance on the carriage of the queen, and on the lords who accompanied her, from all the upper windows in the streets they passed through. The duke of Burgundy escorted the queen to the hotel de St. Pol, where the king resided, who gave to both of them a most welcome reception.

Shortly after, many great councils were holden by the duke and other lords, on the present state of the kingdom and on its government. At their conclusion, the king, to please the duke of Burgundy, created several new officers: the lords de l'Isle-Adam* and de Chastellus† were made marshals of France, sir Robinet de Mailly‡ grand butler, sir Charles de Lens§ admiral of France, although the king had a little before nominated sir Jenet de Poix to that office, and he for a short time bore the title of admiral: master Eustace de Lactre was appointed chancellor of France, and master Philip de Morvillers first president of the parliament. The duke of Burgundy was made governor of Paris, and chose sir Charles de Lens as his lieutenant. Many great changes were made, with which the king seemed satisfied, and granted everything that was asked by those who had the government of him.

* John de Villiers, lord of l'Isle-Adam.

† Claud de Beauvoir, lord de Chastellus, brother of George de Chastellus, admiral in 1420.

‡ I do not find the name of Mailly in the catalogue of grand butlers; but John de Neufchastel, lord of Montagu, seems to have enjoyed the office from this year, 1418.

§ Charles de Récourt, lord of Lens, admiral in 1418.

In these days (as it was commonly believed by orders of sir John de Luxembourg), Jean Bertrand, governor of St. Dennis, was put to death at La Chapelle, between Paris and St. Dennis. He had been one of the leaders of the companies with sir Gastelin Vas, Jean de Guigny, and Jean de Clau, and was a butcher. The Parisians were greatly exasperated at his death, and issued out in crowds to find and punish his murderers, but in vain,—for, having performed the deed, they hastened to escape. They made loud complaints of it to the duke of Burgundy, who demanded of sir John de Luxembourg if he had been the author of this murder; and he replied that he was not. It was afterwards known, that the perpetrators of it were principally Lyonnet de Vendôme, and the bastard de Robais, with about twelve other wicked fellows as their accomplices.

CHAPTER CXCI.—POPE MARTIN ADJOURNS THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.—THE KING OF ENGLAND CONQUERS PONT DE L'ARCHE.—OTHER MATTERS.

At this period, pope Martin, with the consent of the holy council of Constance, adjourned that council to the month of April in the year 1423, to be held in a convenient city, which should be named by him or his successor in proper time. The pope then departed from Constance, and was conducted from the palace of the bishop by Sigismund emperor of Germany and king of Bohemia, walking on foot, and holding the bridle of his mule. When he was without the town, the pope mounted his horse and went to Geneva, where he held his court for three months.

At this same time, king Henry of England advanced to Louviers in Normandy, which had submitted to his obedience, and thence went to quarter himself at the abbey of Bomport, of the order of Cisteaux*, very near to Pont de l'Arche, of which place sir John de Graville was governor for the king of France. King Henry sent sir John de Cornwall to summon him to surrender it, but the lord de Graville replied that he would not: upon which Cornwall said, "Graville, I pledge my word, that in spite of you or of your men I will cross the Seine. Should I do so, you shall give me the best courser you have; and if I fail, I will present you with my helmet of steel, which I will prove to be worth five hundred nobles." After this conversation and engagement, they parted mutually pleased with each other. Sir John de Graville sent in haste to all parts for reinforcements of men-at-arms to guard the fords of the river, and among them came sir James de Harcourt, who happened at that time to be at Estampigny. Several other gentlemen and many lords came to his aid, to the amount of eight hundred combatants, and full twelve thousand of the common people. On the morrow, as Cornwall had promised, he came to the banks of the Seine, and embarked on board eight small boats, attended by his son, fifteen years of age, sixty combatants, one single horse, some small cannons, and military stores: he made for a little island that was in the middle of the stream, whence he could fire at the enemy who guarded the opposite shore. But although the French were so many as I have said, they did not even attempt to make any defence, but instantly fled in the utmost disorder, every man escaping as well as he could.

Sir John de Graville returned to Pont de l'Arche, sir James de Harcourt to Estampigny, and the commonalty fled to the woods. Sir John de Cornwall and his men seeing all this from the island re-embarked in their boats, and landed without opposition. He immediately created his son a knight; and shortly after, others of the English crossed also in these boats, to the number of about a thousand combatants, part of whom followed sir John de Cornwall, to skirmish before Pont de l'Arche, and the rest scoured the country round. Sir John de Cornwall addressed sir John de Graville, and said, that he and his countrymen had badly acquitted themselves, to suffer him and his small company to cross the river, when they were so very numerous, declaring, that if he had been in his situation with only his sixty English, he would have defended the landing against the united forces of the kings of France and of England. When the English who had passed the river were re-assembled, they

* Cisteaux,—an order of white friars, (instituted in the year 1090,) who under their uppermost white habit wear a black one and red shoes.—*Cotgrave.*

fixed their quarters in the abbey of Mortemer, in the forest of Lyons. The whole of the country of Caux were much alarmed, and not without cause, when they learnt that the English had passed the Seine. The next day the king of England ordered his brother the duke of Clarence to cross the river with four thousand combatants, and to invest the town and castle of Pont de l'Arche on all sides. He had also a bridge thrown over the Seine, on the side leading toward Rouen, that he might cross whenever he pleased; and this bridge was called the Bridge of Saint George.

After three weeks' siege, sir John de Graville surrendered the town and castle to the king of England, on condition that he and his men might depart in safety with their baggage. Thus king Henry was master, to pass the Seine at his pleasure; and he placed a strong garrison in Pont de l'Arche, in dread of whom the greater part of the peasantry fled the country with all their effects.

CHAPTER CXCII.—THE DUKE OF TOURAINE CONTINUES THE WAR.—THE TOWN OF COMPIEGNE WON BY THE LORD DE BOCQUIAUX.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF BRABANT,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

TRUE it is, that at this time sir Tanneguy du Châtel, the viscount de Narbonne, Jean Louvet president of Provence, master Robert Masson, and the other ministers of the duke of Touraine, dauphin of the Viennois, who had escaped from Paris, as you have heard, exerted themselves as much as possible to induce him to continue the war against the duke of Burgundy and his partisans. The dauphin had been several times summoned and required to return to Paris by the king, the queen and the duke of Burgundy, who offered to pay him every respect and deference. He would not, however, listen to them, but began to make preparations in all quarters to renew the war, styling himself regent of the kingdom of France.

At this time also, about eight of his men, secretly armed, came to the gate of Compiegne that leads to Pierrefons, with a small cart laden with wood. When on the drawbridge, they stabbed one of the cart-horses, so that the bridge could not be raised, and killing some of the guards at the gate, instantly made a signal which had been agreed on,—and the lord de Bocquiaux, who was lying in ambush in the forest, suddenly appeared with five hundred men, and entered the town without opposition, shouting, "Long live the king and the dauphin!" On their arrival, they slew one named Boutry, who had been left there by Hector de Saveuses to manage his household. The lord de Crevecœur, who was lieutenant to Hector, hearing the noise, retreated to the tower of St. Cornille, and with him the lord de Chievres, Robinet Ogier, and others; but it was in vain, for they were soon forced to surrender themselves.

The Dauphinois lost no time in plundering the town, and took everything they could lay hands on, not only from those of the Burgundian party, but even from such of the inhabitants as had shown any partiality to them. Thus did the lord de Bocquiaux and his companions regain the town of Compiegne, in the name of the dauphin. He kept up, in his name also, a heavy warfare on the adjoining country, and sent the lords de Chievres and de Crevecœur prisoners to the castle of Pierrefons, whence they meditated an escape by means of a brother of the lord de Chievres, who was attached to and had long served the lord de Bocquiaux; but it was discovered, and the lord de Bocquiaux caused him to be beheaded. However, some time afterwards, they obtained their liberty by paying a sum of money. A strong garrison was placed in Compiegne, and the lord de Gamaches came thither; and by their means, those attached to the party of the king and the duke of Burgundy were sorely oppressed.

At this time, duke John of Brabant espoused his cousin-german Jacquelina of Bavaria, countess of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Ostrevant: she was his godmother. This marriage had been managed by his mother Margaret of Burgundy, with the three estates of those countries, in the good intention and hope that, as these countries joined those of the duke of Brabant, greater concord and peace would subsist between them. Notwithstanding

the countess had given her consent, she was not very well satisfied with the match; for she knew the duke to be weak in body and mind, and unfit for the government of her country or person, which was handsome and well-made; and she herself was well informed in various matters. On the accomplishment of this marriage, the war between the countess and her uncle John of Bavaria was put an end to by means of a negotiation that took place on that subject.

It happened, that while the duke and duchess were at Mons in Hainault, and whilst he was gone to hunt and amuse himself without the town, sir Everard, bastard of Hainault, and brother to the duchess, with some others, came purposely to the hôtel de Nactre, the residence of William le Begue, the confidential adviser of the duke, and put him to death when lying ill in bed. Sir William de Sars, bailiff of Hainault, was present when this murder was committed; but they forbade him to stir; and when it was accomplished, they departed without any hindrance, and left Mons. When the duke heard of this murder, he was much troubled; for he loved him in preference to all his other counsellors; but in the end, his duchess pacified him,—for, according to the reports of the time, she was not averse to the above deed being done.

CHAPTER CXCIII.—THE KING AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SEND CAPTAINS FOR THE DEFENCE OF ROUEN.—OF A ROBBER CALLED TABARY.

In these days several captains were ordered by the king and the duke of Burgundy to Rouen, to aid the inhabitants in the defence of their town against the king of England, by whom they daily expected to be besieged. In their number were the lord de Gapennes, sir John de Neufchâtel lord de Montagu, sir Anthony de Toulongeon, sir Andrew des Roches, Henry de Chaufour, the bastard de Thian, le Grand Jacques, a native of Lombardy, Guerard bastard de Brimeu, and many others renowned in arms. Sir Guy le Bouteiller, a Norman, was captain-general of the town, having under him Langnon, bastard of Arly. The whole of the men-at-arms were selected for their courage, and amounted to about four thousand; and the citizens, well armed and clothed suitably to their degree, were full fifteen thousand, ready and eager to defend themselves against all who might wish to injure them.

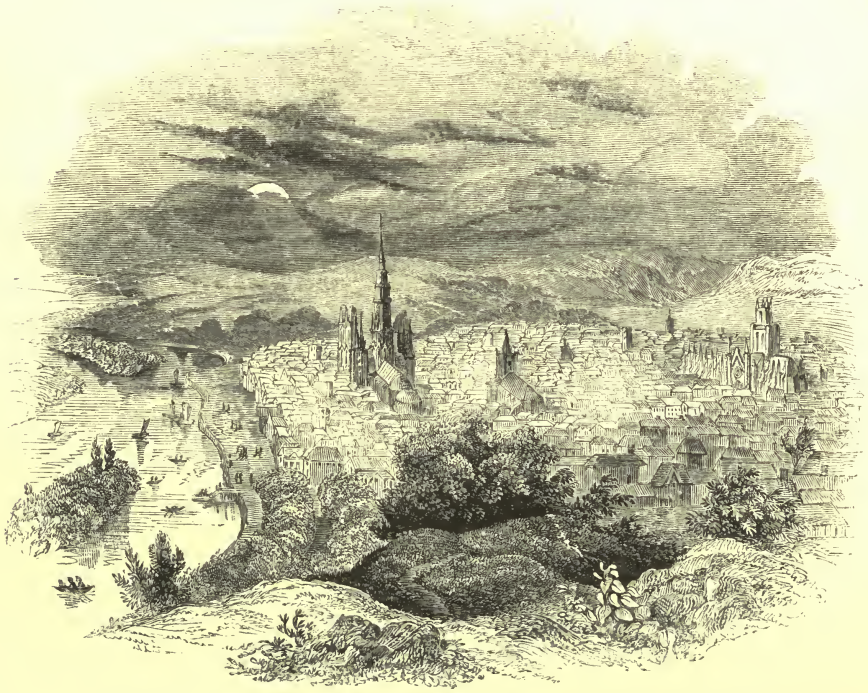
They united cheerfully with the men-at-arms in making every preparation of defence, in strengthening the gates, bulwarks, walls and ditches of their town, as well withinside as without. They also made many regulations, distributing to each captain of men-at-arms certain portions of the town to defend. The citizens were likewise divided into constable-wicks; and it was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that all persons, whatever might be their rank, who intended to remain in the place, must provide themselves with provision for ten months; and those who were unable to do this must quit the town and go whither they pleased. In consequence of this proclamation numbers of poor people departed, as did several ladies, damsels, and citizens' wives, with churchmen and others, who could not be of any assistance. After this, the garrison made frequent sallies on the English, who were hard by, and killed many, and made prisoners,—at other times they were unfortunate.

There was living in that part of the country near to Pontoise, l'Isle-Adam, Gisors, and on the borders of Normandy, a captain of a gang of thieves called Tabary, who had taken part with the Burgundians. He was of small stature, and lame; but he often collected bodies of forty or fifty peasants, sometimes more, sometimes less, armed and dressed in old jackets and haubergeons, with decayed battle-axes, half lances with mallets at their end, and other poor armour. Some were mounted on miserable horses, while others on foot formed ambuscades in the woods near to the English quarters. Whenever Tabary could lay hands on any of them he cut their throats, as indeed he did to all the dauphin's friends. This conduct made him greatly feared by both these parties.

CHAPTER CXCIV.—KING HENRY OF ENGLAND, WITH MANY IRISH, BESIEGES ROUEN, WHERE SEVERAL SKIRMISHES TAKE PLACE.

King Henry of England marched a most powerful army, accompanied by a large train of artillery and warlike stores, in the month of June, before the noble and potent town of Rouen, to prevent the inhabitants and garrison from being supplied with new corn. The van of his army arrived there at midnight, that the garrison might not make any sally against them. The king was lodged at the Carthusian convent, the duke of Gloucester was quartered before the gate of St. Hilaire, the duke of Clarence at the gate of Caen, the earl of Warwick at that of Martinville, the duke of Exeter and earl of Dorset at that of Beauvais; in front of the gate of the castle were the lord marshal and sir John de Cornwall. At the gate leading to Normandy were posted the earls of Huntingdon, Salisbury, Kyme, and the lord Neville son to the earl of Westmoreland. On the hill fronting St. Catherine's were others of the English barons.

Before the English could fortify their quarters, many sallies were made on them, and several severe skirmishes passed on both sides. But the English, so soon as they could, dug deep ditches between the town and them, on the top of which they planted a thick hedge of thorns, so that they could not otherwise be annoyed than by cannon-shot and arrows. They also built a jetty on the banks of the Seine, about a cannon-shot distant from the town, to which they fastened their chains, one of them half a foot under the water, another level with



Rouen.—From an original drawing.

it, and a third two feet above the stream, so that no boats could bring provision to the town, nor could any escape from it that way. They likewise dug deep galleries of communication from one quarter to another, which completely sheltered those in them from cannon or other

warlike machines. The garrison in the fort of St. Catherine, at the end of a month, surrendered it to the English from want of provision, and were allowed to depart in safety, but without baggage.

The king of England had in his army numbers of Irish, the greater part of whom were on foot, having only a stocking and shoe on one leg and foot, with the other quite naked. They had targets, short javelins, and a strange sort of knives. Those who were on horseback had no saddles, but rode excellently well on small mountain horses, and were mounted on such panniers as are used by the carriers of corn in parts of France. They were, however, miserably accoutred in comparison with the English, and without any arms that could much hurt the French whenever they might meet them. These Irish made frequent excursions, during the siege, over Normandy, and did infinite mischiefs, bringing back to their camp large booties. Those on foot took men, and even children from the cradle, with beds and furniture, and, placing them on cows, drove all these things before them; for they were often met thus by the French. By such means was the country of Normandy wasted, and its poor inhabitants ruined, by English, Irish, Burgundians, and Dauphinois. The king of England, during this siege of Rouen, had the gates and walls of the town battered by bombards and other engines to destroy them; but to relate the whole, and the many sallies that were made, would occupy too much time. Suffice it to say, that the besieged behaved with the utmost courage.

While the siege was going on, Langnon, bastard d'Arly, one of the principal captains in the town, and in whom the inhabitants placed their greatest confidence, had the charge of guarding the gate of Caux. One day, an English knight, called sir John le Blanc, governor of Harfleur under the earl of Dorset, came before this gate, and demanded of Langnon to break three lances with him, which he granted,—and, having quickly armed himself, sallied out with about thirty companions on foot. In front of the barriers they attacked each other gallantly, but it happened that at the first thrust the English knight was run through the body and unhorsed: he was then dragged by force into the town, and soon after died. Langnon received four hundred nobles on returning the body, and was universally applauded by the townsmen for the address and valour he had shown on this occasion.

CHAPTER CXCV.—THE SENTENCE THAT HAD BEEN FORMERLY PASSED ON MASTER JOHN PETIT IS PUBLICLY REVERSED.—THE CAPTURE OF LAIGNY-SUR-MARNE.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

In these days a public procession was made from all the churches in Paris, and mass was chaunted in that of Nôtre Dame. While mass was celebrating, a friar minorite, doctor in theology, preached a solemn sermon in the square before the church,—at which were present the king's ministers, such as the chancellor and others, the rector and principal heads of the university, several great lords, the provost of Paris, and some of the chief citizens. There were also present the vicars and officials of the bishop of Paris, who, having received an especial commission for the purpose from the bishop, then very ill at St. Maur des Fossés, reversed, in his name, the sentence which he and others had formerly pronounced contrary to the honour of the duke of Burgundy, and against the propositions avowed by this duke through the organ of master John Petit, as has been before related, and now made every possible reparation in regard to the honour and loyalty of the said duke, as the true champion of the crown of France. The preacher, in his sermon, compared him to the prop that supports the vine, and explained the legality of the powers granted by the bishop to his vicars to annul this sentence, at the same time making excuses for the bishop's absence on account of his illness. In short, everything was done to the satisfaction of the duke of Burgundy, and the sentence was annulled in the middle of the sermon.

At this time news was brought to the duke while at Paris, that the Dauphinois at Meaux-en-Brie had taken the town of Laigny-sur-Marne, by the carelessness of the garrison, which was true; and the day they won it they committed many outrages. Some of the garrison escaped into a strong tower, and sent in haste to the duke for help, who instantly despatched

thither the lord de l'Isle-Adam; and, by means of those in the tower, he gained admittance to the town and put the greater part of the Dauphinois to the sword,—when, having placed therein a strong garrison, he returned to Paris. On the morrow, the duke of Burgundy, attended by a large body of men-at-arms, went from Paris to the bridge of Charenton to meet the duke of Brittany, who was coming to negotiate a peace between him and the dauphin; but as nothing could be agreed on, the duke of Burgundy returned to Paris, and the duke of Brittany to his own country.

The reason why they met at Charenton was the epidemical disorder that then raged in Paris. By accounts from the rectors of the parishes, it was known that upward of fourscore thousand had died within that town. Many of the dependants of the duke of Burgundy were carried off by this pestilence, as were the prince of Orange*, the lord de Fosseux, sir Jenet de Poix, the lord d'Auxois, and numbers of other gentlemen. Shortly after, the cardinals d'Orsini and di San Marco returned to Saint Maur des Fossés, to treat of a peace between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy; and many notable ambassadors were sent to them from the king, queen, and duke, who at length concluded a treaty by means of these cardinals with the commissioners sent from the dauphin. It seemed good, and to the mutual advantage of both parties; but when it was carried to the dauphin and his advisers, they were dissatisfied with it, so that the war continued with greater bitterness than before.

CHAPTER CXCVI.—THE PARISIANS AGAIN PUT TO DEATH THE PRISONERS.—THE SIEGE OF MONTLEHERY.—THE CAPTURE OF SOISSONS BY THE LORD DE BOCQUIAUX AND HIS COMPANIONS.

To add to the tribulations of these times, the Parisians again assembled in great numbers, as they had before done, and went to all the prisons in Paris, broke into them, and put to death full three hundred prisoners, many of whom had been confined there since the last butchery. In the number of those murdered were sir James de Mommor†, and sir Louis de Corail, chamberlain to the king, with many nobles and churchmen. They then went to the lower court of the bastille of St. Anthony, and demanded that six prisoners, whom they named, should be given up to them, or they would attack the place. In fact, they began to pull down the wall of the gate,—when the duke of Burgundy, who lodged near the bastille, vexed to the heart at such proceedings, to avoid worse, ordered the prisoners to be delivered to them, if any of their leaders would promise that they should be conducted to the Châtelet prison, and suffered to be punished according to their deserts by the king's court of justice. Upon this, they all departed; and, by way of glossing over their promise, they led their prisoners near to the Châtelet, when they put them to death, and stripped them naked. They then divided into several large companies, and paraded the streets of Paris, entering the houses of many who had been Armagnacs, plundering and murdering all without mercy. In like manner as before, when they met any person they disliked, he was slain instantly; and their principal leader was Cappeluche, the hangman of the city of Paris.

The duke of Burgundy, alarmed at these insurrections, sent for some of the chief citizens, with whom he remonstrated on the consequences these disturbances might have. The citizens excused themselves from being any way concerned, and said they were much grieved to witness them: they added, they were all of the lowest rank, and had thus risen to pillage the more wealthy; and they required the duke to provide a remedy, by employing these men in his wars. It was then proclaimed, in the names of the king and the duke of Burgundy, under pain of death, that no persons should tumultuously assemble, nor any more murders or pillage take place; but that such as had of late risen in insurrection should prepare themselves to march to the sieges of Montlehery and Marcoussi, now held by the king's enemies. The commonalty made reply, that they would cheerfully do so, if they had proper captains appointed to lead them.

* John de Châlons, lord of Arlay, and prince of Orange in right of his wife, Mary des Baux. He was succeeded in his estates by his son Louis, surnamed The Good, and in his office of *grand-chambrier de France*, by William, lord of Chasteauvilain.

† Q. Montmaur?

Within a few days, to avoid similar tumults in Paris, six thousand of the populace were sent to Montlehery, under the command of the lord de Cohen *, sir Walter de Ruppes, and sir Walter Raillart, with a certain number of men-at-arms, and store of cannon and ammunition sufficient for a siege. These knights led them to Montlehery, where they made a sharp attack on the Dauphinois within the castle. The duke of Burgundy, after their departure, arrested several of their accomplices, and the principal movers of the late insurrection; some of whom he caused to be beheaded, others to be hanged or drowned in the Seine: even their leader, Cappeluche, the hangman, was beheaded in the market-place. When news of this was carried to the Parisians who had been sent to Montlehery, they marched back to Paris to raise another rebellion; but the gates were closed against them, so that they were forced to return to the siege. Within a short time, however, they were recalled thence,—for negotiators from the two parties were busily employed to establish peace.

The lord de Château-vilain *, at this period, came to wait on the duke of Burgundy in Paris: he was preceded by a fool, who, riding some paces before him as he entered the gate of St. Anthony, shouted aloud, "Armagnac for ever!" and was instantly put to death by the guards at the gate, to the great anger of his lord, but he could not amend it. The Dauphinois, to the amount of three hundred combatants, under the command of the lord de Bocquiaux, won by storm at break of day the city of Soissons from the lord de Longueval, governor of it for the king and the duke of Burgundy. The lord de Longueval escaped with much difficulty on foot, in company with Robert de Saveuses and others, by leaping down from the walls. The city was in great part plundered of everything.

CHAPTER CXCVII.—THE DAUPHINESS IS SENT TO THE DAUPHIN.—THE SIEGE OF TOURS, IN TOURAINE.—OF THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED BY THE KING AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

With the consent of the king and queen of France and the duke of Burgundy, the dauphiness was honourably sent to the dauphin in Anjou: she had remained in Paris at the time when it was taken; and with her were sent all her jewels and wardrobe, that the dauphin might be the more inclined to peace and to return to the king. It was in vain; for those who governed him would not suffer it, as they knew that in that case they should be deprived of all their offices and employments. The young count d'Armagnac now joined the dauphin, magnificently accompanied by men-at-arms, and made bitter complaints concerning the murders of his father, the constable of France, and of the other great lords. The dauphin and his council replied, that speedy and substantial justice should be done, in proper time and place, on those who had committed these murders. The dauphin then marched a powerful army to lay siege to Tours in Touraine, of which place sir William de Romenil, knight, and Charles l'Abbe, were governors. They in a short time surrendered both town and castle to the dauphin; and Charles l'Abbe even turned to his party, and took the oaths of allegiance to him. The men-at-arms that were under his command, being unwilling to follow his example, received passports to go whither they pleased. The dauphin kept his court at Tours for a considerable space of time.

The duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, who held the king and queen under his subjection, ordered the government of the kingdom according to his pleasure; and notwithstanding he had formerly abolished all subsidies and taxes, he caused the king's ministers to issue a royal edict to raise certain sums for the relief of the city of Rouen, which was hard pressed by the English. In addition to this, the Parisians were required to furnish a loan for the same purpose; and the municipality lent one hundred thousand francs, on condition that every tun of wine should pay twelve farthings when brought to Paris, until the above sum were repaid; and the municipality were to receive this duty by their own officers. Large subsidies were likewise raised throughout those parts of the realm that were under

* John de Berghes, lord of Cohen, grand-huntsman of France.

† William, lord of Chasteauvilain, *grand-chambrier de France.*

the king's obedience,—namely, in the bishopric of Beauvais, in the bailiwicks of Amiens, of the Vermandois, and elsewhere. Master Robert le Jeune, advocate in the parliament, was nominated to collect these taxes; and one of the judges, with some of the king's officers, were sent to enforce payment from such as refused.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.—THE TOWN OF ROUEN SENDS MESSENGERS TO THE KING TO DEMAND SUCCOUR.—AN EMBASSY IS SENT TO KING HENRY OF ENGLAND,—AND MANY OTHER MATTERS.

At this period, a priest, of a tolerable age and of clear understanding, was deputed, by those besieged in Rouen, to the king of France and his council. On his arrival at Paris, he caused to be explained by an Augustin doctor, named Eustace de la Paville, in presence of the king and his ministers, the miserable situation of the besieged. He took for his text, "Domine quid faciemus?" and harangued upon it very ably and eloquently. When he had finished, the priest addressed the king, saying, "Most excellent prince and lord, I am enjoined by the inhabitants of Rouen to make loud complaints against you, and against you duke of Burgundy, who govern the king, for the oppressions they suffer from the English. They make known to you by me, that if, from want of being succoured by you, they are forced to become subjects to the king of England, you will not have in all the world more bitter enemies; and if they can, they will destroy you and your whole generation."

With these, or with similar words, did this priest address the king and his council. After he had been well received and entertained, and the duke of Burgundy had promised to provide succours for the town of Rouen as speedily as possible, he returned the best way he could to carry this news to the besieged. Shortly after, the king of France and the duke of Burgundy sent ambassadors to Pont de l'Arche, to treat of a peace with the king of England. This embassy consisted of the bishop of Beauvais, master Philip de Morvilliers, first president of the parliament, master Regnault de Folleville, knight, sir William de Champdivers, master Thierry le Roy, and others: they were likewise accompanied by the cardinal d'Orsini as a mediator. The king of England appointed the earl of Warwick, the lord chancellor, and the archbishop of Canterbury, to meet them at Pont de l'Arche, with others of his council. The negotiations lasted fifteen days,—during which the cardinal paid a visit to the king of England at his siege of Rouen, and was handsomely received by him and the other lords.

The ambassadors from the king of France had brought with them a portrait of the princess Catherine, daughter to the king, which was presented to the king of England, who liked it well; but he made too great demands for her marriage-portion, namely, that with the princess should be given him a million of crowns of gold, the duchy of Normandy, of which he had conquered a part, the duchy of Aquitaine, the county of Ponthieu, with other lordships, the whole to be held independent of the crown of France. Nothing therefore was concluded; and the English ambassadors replied to those from France, that their king was not in a situation to form any treaty with,—for the dauphin was not made a party, and it was unbecoming the duke of Burgundy to dispose by treaty of the inheritances of France. On receiving this answer, the cardinal and ambassadors returned to the king and queen of France and the duke of Burgundy, who had lately quitted Paris, and were at Pontoise. They reported to the council all that had passed at Pont de l'Arche; and soon after the cardinal went to Pope Martin at Avignon, for he saw clearly that no peace was likely to take effect between the three parties.

The inhabitants of Rouen knowing well that the negotiation between the kings of France and England was broken off, and fearing that succour would be too long delayed, resolved to make a sally, and fight their way through one of the quarters of king Henry's army, to seek for succour themselves. On mustering their forces, they found they were full ten thousand combatants, leaving a sufficiency for the defence of the town. Orders were given for each man to provide himself with two days' provision. When all were ready, and two thousand of them had made an attack on the king's quarters, where they had done much

damage, they began their march out of the town; but it happened that the props which bore the drawbridge had been wickedly and secretly sawed nearly through, so that when their first ranks advanced thereon it broke, and very many fell into the ditch and were killed or wounded. They hastened to another gate to support their men that were engaged with the English, and ordered them to retreat; but they could not regain their town without great loss, although they had made their enemies suffer also. There were now many murmurings against the honour of sir Guy le Bouteiller, who was believed to have caused the supporters of the drawbridge to be sawed. Not long after this sally, Langnon bastard d'Arly died of sickness, to the great sorrow of the commonalty, who, as I have before said, had greater confidence in him than in any of the other captains.

At this time sir John de Luxembourg took to wife Joan of Bethune, daughter and heiress to the viscount de Meaux, who had before espoused Robert de Bar, count de Marle and de Soissons. She had a young daughter, two years old or thereabout, the heiress of these counties. This marriage was concluded through favour of the duke of Burgundy and the count de Charolois; and by it sir John de Luxembourg had the management of extensive territories. Within a year, the lady brought him a son, who died young. The duke of Burgundy gave up to him many lordships, such as Dunkirk, Varmeston and others, which he had holden as being confiscated,—for the late sir Robert de Bar, during his lifetime, had been of the opposite party.

CHAPTER CXCIX.—A LARGE ARMY IS COLLECTED TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF ROUEN.—THE BESIEGED SEND ANOTHER EMBASSY.—THE EXCURSION OF SIR JAMES DE HARCOURT.

We must now return to the situation of the king of France, and of the duke of Burgundy's government. It is true that large bodies of men-at-arms had been summoned in the king's name for the relief of the town of Rouen, from different parts of the kingdom, and ordered to rendezvous at and near Beauvais. A great many of the lords from Picardy, with a numerous body of their men accustomed to bear arms, came thither; and the country suffered much from them wherever they passed. The king, queen and duke of Burgundy, with their households, came from Pontoise to Beauvais, to have provisions in greater plenty, and held there many private councils on the best means to relieve the town of Rouen. They could not devise any mode that would be successful, on account of the quarrel between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, and because the king of England had too powerful an army. Notwithstanding this, they daily summoned more men-at-arms and cross-bows from the towns under their obedience.

While the court resided at Beauvais, four gentlemen and four citizens of Rouen, were sent to lay before the king and council their miserable state: they told them, that thousands of persons were already dead of hunger within their town; and that, from the beginning of October, they had been forced to live on horses, dogs, cats, mice and rats, and other things unfit for human creatures. They had nevertheless driven full twelve thousand poor people, men, women and children, out of the place, the greater part of whom had perished wretchedly in the ditches of the town. That it had been frequently necessary to draw up in baskets new-born children from mothers who had been brought to bed in these ditches to have them baptised, and they were afterwards returned to their mothers: many however had perished without christening,—all which things were grievous and pitiful to be related. They then added, "To you our lord and king, and to you noble duke of Burgundy, the loyal inhabitants of Rouen have before made known their distress: they now again inform you how much they are suffering for you, to which you have not yet provided any remedy according to your promises. We are sent to you for the last time, to announce to you on the part of the besieged, that if within a few days they are not relieved, they shall surrender themselves and their town to the English king, and thenceforward renounce all allegiance, faith and service, which they have sworn to you." The king, duke and council courteously replied, that the king's forces were not as yet adequate to raise the siege, which they were exceedingly sorry for; but with God's pleasure, they should very soon be relieved. The deputies asked by what time: the duke answered, before the fourth day after Christmas. They then returned

to their town with difficulty, from the great danger of being taken by the besiegers, and related all that had passed.

The besieged now suffered the greatest distress; and it is impossible to recount the miseries of the common people from famine: it was afterwards known, that upwards of fifty thousand had perished of hunger. Some, when they saw meat carried through the street, in despair, ran to seize it, and so doing, allowed themselves to be severely beaten, and even wounded. During the space of three months no provisions were seen in the markets, but every thing was sold secretly: and what before the siege was worth a farthing was sold for twenty, thirty, or even forty; but these prices were too high for the common people, and hence the great mortality I have mentioned. December was about half over when these last ambassadors returned to Rouen; and during this tempestuous season, sir James de Harcourt and the lord de Moreul assembled about two thousand combatants, whom they led to within two leagues of the English quarters, with the hope of plunder. They posted their men in two ambuscades near to each other, to fall on the enemy should he pass that way,—and then ordered about six score of their men-at-arms to attack a village near the town, in which were a party of English. These were either taken or killed, except a few, who, by having good horses, escaped to their main army, crying out that they had seen the French in great force.

The English were instantly in motion, and under arms; and the king of England ordered sir John de Cornwall to mount his horse, and take six hundred men to see what truth was in this report. Sir John de Cornwall, without delay, marched off his men, taking with him some of those who had seen the French, and soon came up with the enemy; but the French, seeing the English were too numerous, hastily returned to their ambuscades, to whom they told that the enemy were coming. Sir John de Cornwall followed them in good array, and so closely that he could plainly distinguish their numbers,—when the French that were in one ambush advanced in order of battle to combat them, but the greater part of the others turned their backs and fled. The English, noticing this, made a vigorous charge, and put the whole to the rout, with a very trifling loss on their side,—and to the great confusion of the French, for on this day were twelve score men-at-arms killed or made prisoners: among the last was the lord de Moreul, Butor bastard de Croy, and many noble gentlemen of high rank. Sir James de Harcourt and others saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses. Sir John de Cornwall returned with his prisoners to the camp, very much rejoiced at his victory.

CHAPTER CC.—THE KING OF FRANCE HOLDS MANY COUNCILS ON THE MEANS OF RAISING THE SIEGE OF ROUEN.—THE SURRENDER OF THAT TOWN TO THE KING OF ENGLAND,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

The king and queen of France, and the duke of Burgundy held very many councils, while at Beauvais, on the most effectual means to relieve Rouen; but as it was found that at the moment the royal forces were insufficient to combat the army of England, and to raise the siege, the greater part of the men-at-arms that had been assembled were disbanded, excepting some from the principal towns, who were sent to garrison the frontiers, as well against the English as the Dauphinois. When this was done, the king, queen, and duke of Burgundy, escorted by his Burgundians and a considerable body of men-at-arms, departed from Beauvais, and passing through Creil and Laigny sur Marne, went to Provins. Many were astonished at this measure.

News of it was carried to Rouen, and the duke of Burgundy privately advised the besieged to treat with the king of England on the best terms they could. When this was made public, there was a universal grief throughout the town, for the inhabitants were sorrowful at heart: however, some of the captains and principal citizens comforted them as well as they were able, and afterwards assembled in the town-hall to consider on their future conduct towards the king of England. They resolved, since they had now lost all hope of

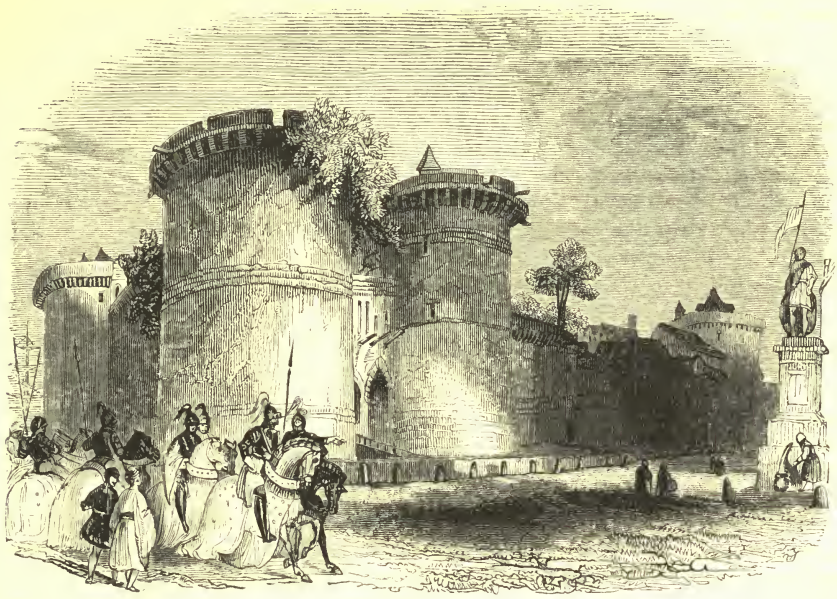
relief, and that their provisions were nearly exhausted, to treat with their adversaries,—for that purpose they sent a herald to the king of England, to require a passport for six persons, which was granted. They nominated, as their ambassadors, two churchmen, two gentlemen, and two citizens, who were wise, prudent, and well spoken. They went straight to the tent of the king, and were conducted to the lodgings of the archbishop of Canterbury, who, with the earl of Warwick, had been appointed to treat with them. When they were met, they opened the business, to discover on what terms they would be received, but could obtain no other answer than that the whole of the inhabitants must submit unconditionally to the king. On this they returned to their town without saying more, and again assembled the principal burghers and many of the commonalty, to whom they related the answer they had received, which appeared to those who heard it uncommonly harsh. They declared it would be far preferable to die combating the enemy, than to be reduced to subjection by this king. The assembly now broke up, but met again on the morrow more numerous than before. After much conversation, it was resolved unanimously to undermine part of their wall, and support it on props withinside the town, to which they would set fire,—and when the wall should fall down, having completely armed themselves, they would then sally forth through the breach, with their wives and children, and march whither God might please to lead them. They separated with the intention of putting their plan into execution on the night of the morrow; but the king of England, having had information of it, and being desirous of gaining the whole town and its inhabitants, had the late ambassadors privately summoned to come again to the camp, by the archbishop of Canterbury, who, with others delegated to this purpose, concluded a treaty on the following terms.

In the first place, the king of England was to receive from the inhabitants of Rouen the sum of three hundred and sixty-five crowns of gold, of the coin of France, and three men to deal with as he might please,—first, master Robertde Linet, vicar-general to the archbishop of Rouen, who, during the siege, had conducted himself most imprudently; the second was a citizen named Jean Jourdain, who had had the command of the cannoneers; the third was Alain Blanchart, leader of the common people, and the principal of those who had formerly murdered sir Raoul de Gaucourt, bailiff of Rouen, as has been before mentioned. The whole of the inhabitants were to swear faith and loyalty to the king of England and to his successors, he and they promising in return to guard and defend them against all who might attempt to injure them,—and also to maintain them in their liberties, privileges, and franchises, of which they had been in possession since the reign of St. Louis. It was likewise ordained, that all who chose to quit the town might freely depart, having only their usual clothes on, leaving the rest behind, as confiscated to the king; and also that the whole of the men-at-arms should deposit their armour and effects at a specified place; when, after they had sworn not to bear arms for one whole year against king Henry, passports would be granted them, and they would be escorted in safety beyond the king's outposts, but dressed in their usual clothing, with staves in their hands. When this treaty had been concluded, and sufficient pledges given to the king for its due observance, a certain number of the townsmen were permitted to enter the English camp at their pleasure to seek for provisons, of which there was such abundance that the whole carcass of a sheep was not worth more than six sols parisis. This treaty was concluded on the 16th day of January, in the year 1419; and on the following Thursday, the 19th of the same month, the king of England made his public entry into the town of Rouen with great pomp, attended by the princes of his blood and numbers of his nobles. He was followed by a page mounted on a beautiful horse, bearing a lance, at the end of which, near the point, was fastened a fox's brush, by way of streamer, which afforded great matter of remark among the wise-heads.

On his entrance, which was about two o'clock in the afternoon, the bells of all the churches were rung, and the mitred abbots, and all others of the clergy, went out in procession to meet him, dressed in their sacred robes bearing many relics, who, with chaunting, conducted the king to the cathedral of Our Lady. When he was come to the great gate, he dismounted, and, bare-headed, reverently entered the church, and returned his thanksgivings to God at the high altar: thence he went to the castle, where he was lodged, and the others wherever they could in the town. This city of Rouen, now conquered by the king of England, had,

with all Normandy, appertained to France, and been under the obedience of her kings for 215 years from the time when king Philip, grandfather to St. Louis, acquired it from king John of England, by judgment of the peers of France, in right of confiscation.

King Henry, the day after his entry, had Alain Blanchart, who had been the leader of



Castle and Fortifications erected by Henry V. in Rouen. — From Millin's Antiquités Nationales.

the populace, beheaded: the two others escaped punishment by dint of money. The garrison were ordered to march out by the gate leading toward the Seine, and were escorted by the English as far as the bridge of St. George, where they were searched by commissaries from the king, who took from them all their money, with everything valuable, giving them in return only two sols. Some of the gentlemen were even stripped of their handsome robes, made of martin-skins, or embroidered with gold, and others of less value given them in return.

This conduct was noticed by those of the garrison who were in the rear; and foreseeing the same would be done to them, they quietly, and unobserved, threw into the Seine many purses full of gold, silver, and jewels. Others, to avoid being plundered, had sewed up their money within the waistbands of their breeches. When they had all passed the bridge of St. George, they kept together until they came to Pontoise, where they separated, and went to different parts, excepting the nobles, who joined the king of France and the duke of Burgundy at Provins. Sir Guy le Bouteiller, who had been governor of Rouen, turned to the English, with several of his men, and took the oaths of allegiance to the king of England, deserting his own natural lord the king of France, for which he was much blamed by the French, and even by the English. Sir Guy was a native of Normandy, and not only had his estates restored to him, but was appointed deputy to the duke of Gloucester, the new governor of Rouen.

The surrender of this town spread such an alarm and fear of the king of England throughout the whole of Normandy and the adjacent countries, as far as Pontoise, Beauvais, and Abbeville, that the greater part of the chief towns and castles submitted to him without offering any resistance, or even striking a blow; such as Caudebec, Montivilliers, Dieppe, Fécamp,

Arques, Neuf-Châtel, Denicourt, Eu, Monchaulx*; and on the other side of the Seine, Vernon, Mantes, Gournay, Honfleur, Pont-Audemer, Château Molineaux, le Treict, Tancarville, Abrechier†, Maulevrier, Valmont, Neufville, Bellaucombre, Fontaines le Bourg, Preaulx, Nogondouville‡, Logempré§, St. Germain sur Cailly, Baudemont, Bray, Villeterre, Charles-Maisnil, les Boules Guillencourt, Ferifontaines, le Becq Crepin, Bacqueville, and many more, in which the king of England placed his own garrisons.

From that time the inhabitants of these countries wore a red cross as a badge, and several bore arms for the English; not indeed those of great authority, for it was not then become the custom for gentlemen or nobles to join the English. The inhabitants of Rouen in general took the oath of fidelity before the commissioners, at least all who intended to reside there; and they individually gave security to pay whatever they should be assessed to make up the sum of three hundred and sixty-five golden crowns before mentioned. None were permitted to go out of the town without a billet from the king; and the same was practised in all the other towns under his obedience. These billets cost four sols each, French money; and by this means large sums were raised, to the advantage of the king and his ministers.

CHAPTER CCI.—THE CASTLE OF COUCY IS TAKEN BY THE PRISONERS CONFINED THEREIN, AND THE GOVERNOR, PETER DE SAINT TREILLE, KILLED.—OTHER MATTERS.

About Candlemas in this same year, Peter de Saint Treille, governor of the castle of Coucy for the duke of Orleans, prisoner in England, was betrayed by some of his servants, namely, his tailor and marshal. They had entered into a conspiracy with the Burgundians, numbers of whom were confined in this castle, and had suffered many to escape: they went with others secretly by night to knock at the window of the governor's apartment in the great tower. A varlet who slept in the apartment arose, and, opening the window, demanded what they wanted: upon this, the tailor replied, that he had within his room a piece of his master's robe, which he had just cut out. On the door being opened, six persons with stout staves burst into the apartment, and murdered the governor and his servant. They went thence to another tower, wherein were confined the lord de Maucourt en Santerre, Lyonnet de Bournouville, and other gentlemen,—from whom having obtained certain promises, they set them at liberty. After this, with one common accord, they seized and killed the watch porters, and all who were not of their party, shouting with a loud voice, "Burgundy for ever!"

A gentleman, named Brutel de Humerculles, was confined with his servant in the great tower; but hearing this cry, they burst open the doors of the dungeon, and got upon the drawbridge. While this was passing, La Hire ||, who was in the town with a body of men-at-arms, being told what had happened by some of the garrison who had escaped over the walls, and also by a trumpeter that was posted on the leads of the castle, sounding to arms, marched his men to the bridge, thinking to reconquer it: but Brutel found means to ascend to the leads, and flung down on them stones so fast, and the others who had been prisoners made so vigorous a defence, that La Hire and those with him, seeing their attempt was now fruitless, retired with his men within the town until it should be day. They then armed themselves again, packed up their baggage, and mounted their horses; and after they had cruelly put to death sixty prisoners who were under confinement in the town, they departed for Guise.

This very much rejoiced those who had won the castle, and they instantly examined into its strength and the great wealth it contained. They despatched messengers to sir John de Luxembourg to come to their aid, who, without delay, collected as many men-at-arms as he could, and set out for Coucy. In the mean time, those who had sent for him resolved, nevertheless, not to let him enter the castle until he should promise that all the riches it contained should belong to them; and for this purpose, they sent the lord de Maucourt to

* Q. Chaumont?
‡ Q. Nonancourt?
† Q. Evreux?
§ Q. Louviers?
|| Stephen Vignole, called La Hire, a distinguished partisan of the dauphin, and a soldier of fortune.

meet him and declare their intentions, but who, in good truth, was afraid of telling him their resolution. On the arrival of sir John de Luxembourg before the castle, to his great surprise, it was not instantly opened to him, for the reasons above-mentioned; and he was so displeased that he caused the lord de Maucourt to be arrested, reproaching him with a design of betraying him,—and if an executioner had been present, or any one who would have done the office, he would have had him immediately beheaded. Shortly after, however, through fear of him and his men, those within the castle opened its gates, and admitted him, excusing themselves for the delay the best way they could. He directly new-garrisoned it; and with regard to its wealth, he seized the greater part, and those who had conquered it were not much enriched thereby.

At this time, the frontiers of Normandy, as far as Pontoise, Clermont, Beauvais, Mondidier, Breteuil, Amiens, Abbeville and St. Valery, were overrun by the English, and wasted by fire and sword: sometimes, in their excursions, they carried off prisoners and considerable booties. The Normans now generally wore the red cross, which served them as a passport to go whither they pleased in security; and the Dauphinois also adopted the same badge. The party of the king and the duke of Burgundy were not idle; and thus the noble realm of France was, in divers places, torn in pieces by three different factions. The clergy and poor people were left defenceless, and had no other resource than to offer up their prayers lamentably to God their Creator, and patiently to wait his benign grace and pity.

CHAPTER CCII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AT PROVINS.—OTHER MATTERS RELATIVE TO WHAT PASSED ON THE FRONTIERS.

While the king of France and the duke of Burgundy resided at Provins, an embassy, consisting of the earls of Warwick and Kent, was sent to them by the king of England. They were escorted by a party of Burgundians, but, on the road, were attacked, close to Chammes in Brie, by Tanneguy du Châtel and the Dauphinois,—who at first succeeded in gaining some of the horses and baggage of the ambassadors, but in the end were defeated, leaving upwards of forty men-at-arms dead on the field. The remainder, with Tanneguy, retreated to Meaux. After the English had conferred with the duke of Burgundy and the king's ministers at Provins, they returned to the king of England at Rouen.

To afford satisfaction to the Parisians, Philip count de St. Pol, nephew to the duke of Burgundy, and about fifteen years of age, was sent thither, and appointed king's lieutenant thereof: he was accompanied by master Eustace de Lactre, chancellor of France, who was to reside in Paris, and direct every measure as well respecting justice as war. Le veau de Bar, bailiff of Auxois, was deprived of the provostship of Paris, and sir Giles de Clamessy nominated in his room.

At this period, Hector de Saveuses collected a great body of men-at-arms at Pont de Remy, whom he marched against the castle of Monchaulx, in the county of Eu, held by the English. On their approach, the garrison made a vigorous sally, and a severe skirmish ensued, in which the governor made Hector prisoner, and carried him off some distance; but he was rescued by his men, who killed about a dozen of the English, and took a gentleman of arms called Jovancherum. After this, they all returned to Pont de Remy. In like manner, sir Louis Burnel, his brother Guichard, Guavain and Jean de Hersellames, with several other gentlemen who were in the town of Gamaches, kept up a sharp warfare against the English, often killing them, or making prisoners, and plundering all they met. They also sorely harassed the towns and peasants who had turned to the enemy.

On the other hand, sir John de Luxembourg was hard pressed on the frontiers to resist the enterprises that were daily made on him by La Hire, Poton de Santrailles, and other captains of the dauphin's party. He was also charged with the defence of the fortresses toward Roye and Mondidier, against those of Compiegne, which obliged him to keep up a very large force of men-at-arms in those countries.

CHAPTER CCIII.—THE DAUPHIN CARRIES ON A VIGOROUS WAR IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE REALM.—THE ENTERPRISE OF LYONNET DE BOURNOUVILLE AND DAVIOD DE GOUY,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

The dauphin, on gaining Tours, made that place his residence, and carried on from thence a vigorous war on Chartres and other places under the subjection of the duke of Burgundy. The town of Bonneval surrendered to his arms, as did several more in the country of the Chartrain. During these unfortunate times, Lyonnet de Bournouville, brother-in-law to the lord de l'Isle-Adam, marshal of France, and Daviod de Gouy, both very expert in arms, had posted themselves in Gisors, near to the frontier of the English, to whom they did much mischief. They had information that about eight hundred of the Irish were quartered in Ferrifontaine, together with about two hundred English. They formed a plan to attack their quarters during the night; and when they executed it, found them all disarmed, fast asleep, and without any guard. Their attack was so sudden, that very many were instantly killed; but the others, hearing their cries, barricadoed and defended their houses the best way they could, when their enemies set them on fire. In short, what with killed and burnt, there remained four hundred dead on the spot, and one hundred were made prisoners, the rest saved themselves as they could in the adjacent woods. With their prisoners and plunder, the Burgundians returned to Gisors in great joy for their victory.

About Palm-Sunday, the king and queen of France and the duke of Burgundy, with their households, went to reside at Troyes in Champagne, where they were most honourably received by the inhabitants, and celebrated the feast of Easter there in company with a large retinue of nobles.

CHAPTER CCIV.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG MARCHES SIX HUNDRED COMBATANTS TO MEET HIS BROTHER IN THE COUNTY OF BRIENNE.—THE DEFEAT OF HECTOR DE SAVEUSES.

[A. D. 1419.]

In the beginning of this year, sir John de Luxembourg, accompanied by Hector de Saveuses and about six hundred combatants, marched through the Vermandois, Laonnois and Rheimois, to meet his brother, the count de Conversan, in the county of Brienne. On their junction, they made a severe war on the Dauphinois, who, a little before, had wasted that country, and burnt the suburbs of Vitry. They also overran great part of the Barrois, toward Grand Pré. When this had been finished, sir John de Luxembourg departed, leaving the greater number of his men together with his banner, under the command of Hector de Saveuses. Fifteen days after this, Hector, with the consent of the count de Conversan, set out with about three hundred combatants, and the banner, on his return to Artois; but, on passing through Champagne, he was surprised by the Dauphinois, who had posted themselves in Montagu. Notwithstanding the Dauphinois were inferior in numbers, they conquered Hector and won the banner: many were killed and one hundred taken, with a quantity of baggage, all of which they carried back with them to Montagu; but the men-at-arms saved themselves by the goodness of their horses, with their commander Hector, who retreated very melancholy at his ill success toward the Artois. The Dauphinois brought only about forty prisoners to Montagu, who within a month perished in prison, not without suspicion of being poisoned, excepting a few who had been set at liberty, to seek for their ransoms.

CHAPTER CCV.—THE QUEEN OF FRANCE, THE PRINCESS CATHERINE, AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, UNITE WITH THE KING OF ENGLAND.—PEACE BETWEEN THE DAUPHIN AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

About the middle of April, the English ambassadors, who had been lately at Provins, returned to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy at Troyes, in Champagne,—when a treaty was negotiated so far that a truce was agreed on between the two kings, to last for a certain space of time, in the expectation that more conclusive measures would be adopted; and a day was fixed on for the negotiation to be continued on both sides, near to the town of Meulan. When this had been settled, the ambassadors went back to their king at Rouen; and within a short time afterward the king and queen of France, with their daughter, the princess Catherine, and the duke of Burgundy, escorted by a powerful body of men-at-arms, came to Pontoise. On their arrival, according to the measures that had been agreed on with the said ambassadors, they ordered a large enclosure to be made with planks, within which the conferences were to be carried on; it was also surrounded with a deep ditch, having one side on the banks of the Seine. There were several entrances, well secured by three barriers; and tents and pavilions were pitched within for the lords to repose themselves in. They then had proper arrangements made in the adjacent villages for the lodging of the attendants and equipages of the ambassadors. At this time the king of England had advanced from Rouen to Mantes.

When the day appointed for the conference was come, notwithstanding the king of France was much indisposed as to his health, the queen, the princess Catherine, the duke of Burgundy, and the count de St. Pol, with the members of the council, escorted by a thousand combatants, went to the place of conference near to Meulan, and entered the tents that were without the enclosure. Soon after, the king of England arrived, attended by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and a thousand men-at-arms. He entered the tent that had been pitched for him, as the others had done; and when they were about to commence the conference, the queen on the right hand, followed by the lady Catherine, the duke of Burgundy, and the count de St. Pol, entered the enclosure. In like manner did the king of England, with his brothers and council, by another opening, and, with a most respectful obeisance, saluted the queen, and then kissed her and the lady Catherine. After this the duke of Burgundy saluted the king, bending his knee a little and inclining his head; but the king took him by the hand, embraced him, and showed him great respect. They then entered the tent appointed for the conference, the king leading the queen, where they staid a very considerable time. Their men-at-arms were drawn up without the paling; but a sufficient number of guards were withinside to prevent any improper persons, or such as were not especially ordered, from entering it.

After they had remained in conference a long time they separated, taking most respectful leaves of each other; and one party returned to Pontoise and the other to Mantes. On the morrow three weeks they again met there, and remained together for several days in the same state, and with the same number of persons as before, with the exception of the lady Catherine, who had been brought the first time that the king of England might see her, and who was not now present. King Henry was very desirous to marry her, and not without cause, for she was very handsome, of high birth, and of the most engaging manners.

During their meetings, several matters were brought forward in the hope of concluding a solid peace. It frequently happened that one party was more grandly attended than the other, and at other times less; and although the English and French were quartered close together, there was never the smallest riot or quarrel between them,—and they exchanged provision with each other. This conference, however, ended in nothing, from the demands of the king of England, in regard to the portion of the lady Catherine, being as exorbitant as before. The dauphin, during the holding of this conference, with the intent of seducing the duke of Burgundy, sent Tanneguy du Châtel to propose a treaty of peace with him, although the duke had before made repeated offers of the same. When the conference was

broken off, the enclosure was destroyed, the tents and pavilions pulled down,—and the two parties returned to Pontoise and Mantes.

The king of England was much displeased at the breaking off the conference, as it prevented him from gaining his ends, and was very indignant against the duke of Burgundy, whom he considered as the cause of it, he being the principal leader of the government. The last day they were together, seeing that his demands would not be complied with as to his marriage with the lady Catherine, he said to the duke of Burgundy, "Fair cousin, we wish you to know that we will have the daughter of your king, and all that we have asked, or we will drive him and you out of his kingdom." The duke replied, "Sire, you are pleased to say so; but before you can drive my lord and me out of his kingdom I make no doubt but that you will be heartily tired." Many more words passed which would be too tedious to report; and, taking leave of each other, they separated and went different ways.

Within a few days, sir John de Luxembourg came to Pontoise with a large body of men-at-arms, which he had assembled from Picardy by orders of the duke of Burgundy, to escort him to Melun, where he was to meet the dauphin; for the ambassadors from each had advanced their treaty so far, that they had fixed on a place and day for their principals to meet and conclude it. In compliance with the above, the dauphin had departed from Tours and was come to Melun, by Montargis, with a large force of men-at-arms. In like manner the duke of Burgundy had left Pontoise, attended by his nephew the young count de St. Pol, sir John de Luxembourg, many great lords, and a numerous body of men-at-arms, and went to Corbeil. The lady of Giac, who had been the chief manager to bring about this reconciliation, was also in company with the duke.

On the morrow, the 11th day of July, the two parties took the field with their whole force, and met about a league from Melun, near to Pouilly le Fort. When they were about two bow-shots distant from each other they halted their men, and, attended by about ten persons each, whom they had selected, they rode forward between the two battalions and dismounted. On the duke of Burgundy's approaching the dauphin, he inclined his body most humbly several times; and the dauphin doing the same, took the hand of the duke, who was on his knees, and kissed it, and wished to make him rise, but he would not, saying, "My lord, I know how I ought to demean myself when speaking to you;" but the dauphin, in the meanwhile, raised him up, and pardoned him for any offences he might have committed against him, adding, "Fair cousin, should there be any articles in the treaty that has been drawn up between us that you dislike, we will that it be altered; and henceforth doubt not but that our wishes shall be ever the same as yours." In short, after much conversation between these princes and their attendants, they swore to preserve for ever a peace between them; on which the two battalions, joining together, shouted for joy, and cursed all who should ever again bear arms in so damnable a quarrel. When they had remained some time together, mutually showing each other the greatest affection, the dauphin mounted his horse, the duke of Burgundy holding the stirrup, notwithstanding the dauphin frequently requested him to desist. The duke then mounted, and, having rode a short way together, they took an affectionate leave, and separated: the dauphin went to Tours, and the duke to Corbeil.

Here follows a copy of the treaty that was concluded between them.

"Charles, son to the king of France, dauphin of Vienne, duke of Berry and of Tours, count de Poitiers, and John duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders and Artois, palatine of Burgundy, lord of Salines and of Mechlin, to all who these presents shall see or hear of, greeting. Since by the unfortunate divisions that have for some time reigned within this kingdom several hatreds and suspicions have arisen within the hearts of ourselves, our vassals, and our subjects, against each other, the which effectually put a stop to any concord or unanimous effort for the reformation of abuses that have crept into the government, or to resist the damnable enterprises of our ancient enemies the English, who under the shadow and by means of these divisions have been hardy enough to advance into the middle of the kingdom, and in fact have conquered, and do now occupy, a great part of the dominions of our lord the king, and may do still greater mischiefs should public affairs remain as they are at this moment. We make known, therefore, that considering what infinite evils might

result from these divisions unless put an end to, even to the total perdition of the kingdom, which, though severe to all, would fall most heavy on us, who are bounden by every tie to provide a remedy against so great a misfortune.

"In consequence, we have entered into terms of pacification, and are now assembled with the unanimous intent of concluding a peace—first in honour of God, and for the love of peace, to which every good catholic ought to incline, and to relieve the poor people, who have suffered many grievous oppressions from these said divisions. We have therefore promised and sworn, in the presence of the reverend father in God, Alain, bishop of Léon in Brittany, sent to us for this purpose by the holy apostolical see of Rome, on part of the true cross, and on the holy evangelists by us touched, on condition of failure to be deprived of Paradise, and on the word of honour of a prince, to observe and punctually maintain every article of the treaty of peace made between us.

"And in the first place I, John duke of Burgundy, so long as I shall live, do promise and swear, that, after the person of my lord the king, I will honour and obey, from the bottom of my heart, the person of the dauphin, and will not suffer anything knowingly to be done to his prejudice, but will aid and support him and his measures to the utmost of my power, and will conduct myself toward him as becomes a loyal and kind relative; and I will alway advertise him of anything that may be attempted to injure him. And should it happen that any person, whatever may be his rank, undertake a war against him, I will serve him with my whole forces, in the same manner as if the war had been mine own.

"In like manner, I Charles the dauphin, so long as it may please God to grant us life, having put out of our memory all remembrance of past actions, do promise, very sincerely to love our very dear and well-beloved cousin the duke of Burgundy,—and in all that concerns him will treat him as our near and loyal relative, and procure for him all the good he may desire, and ward off every evil. Should any one attempt to injure him or his estates, we will aid and support him to the utmost of our power, when he shall call on us, against all persons whatever: even if any of our blood and kindred should, on account of matters that have passed some time since, pretend to injure him or his dominions, we will exert ourselves to the utmost in his support, and defend him against them.

"Item, we Charles the dauphin and John duke of Burgundy, do undertake henceforward the government of public affairs for the good of the realm, without harbouring any envy or jealousy of each other; and should any of our officers make to us reports contrary to our honour, and likely to create a division between us, we mutually engage to give information thereof, and not to put any faith in such reports. As true and loyal subjects to our lord the king, and to the crown of France, we will earnestly exert ourselves to drive the enemy out of the kingdom, and to repair the mischiefs done by him as speedily as possible; and we will neither of us enter into any treaty or alliance with him without the approbation and consent of the other; for we engage that henceforth all our alliances shall comprehend both of us. Should any treaties or alliances have been made with the said enemy, or with others, prejudicial to our personal interests, we will and agree that all such shall be and are annulled: all which things we do faithfully promise and swear to observe, without any fraud or covin whatever. Should either of the parties wish to infringe or break this present treaty, which God forbid! then we will and order that all vassals, subjects, and servants of the person who shall thus break it, do not obey his orders, but do aid and support his opponent; and in this case they shall be absolved from all oaths of allegiance and service,—and in times to come, no blame or reproach shall ever be cast upon them or their heirs for so doing.

"For the further security of this treaty, we willed and ordered, that our principal vassals and servants should swear to the observance of every article; and they instantly did take the oath prescribed, at the hands of the said bishop of Léon, inasmuch as it concerned them, and that they would use their utmost endeavours to preserve union between us; and should any appearance of coolness arise, they would immediately strictly perform their duty by giving information thereof under their seals. Our faithful and well beloved servants, hereafter mentioned, by orders from us the dauphin, have sworn to the above on the holy evangelists, namely, sir James de Bourbon, master Robert le Masson, late chancellor, the viscount de Narbonne, the lords de Barbasan, d'Espaignon, du Bosquaige, de Montenay, de

Gamaches, sir Tanneguy du Châtel, sir John Louvet, president of Provence, Guillaume de Margouin, Hue de Noyeries, Jean de Mesnil, Pierre Frotier, Guichard de Bourdon, and Collart de la Vuigne.

"On the part of the duke of Burgundy, his well-beloved and loyal servants, the count de St. Pol, sir John de Luxembourg, sir Archambault de Saxe, the lord de Nouaille*, the lord d'Autun, sir Thibault de Neuf-chatel, the lord de Montagu, sir John de la Trimouille, Guillaume de Vienne, sir Pierre de Bauffremont†, grand prior of France, sir Gaultier des Ruppes, sir Charles de Lens, John lord of Coctebrune, marshal of Burgundy, John lord de Toulongeon, Regnier Pot, Pierre lord of Giac, Anthony de Toulongeon, Guillaume de Champdivers, Philip de Jossequin, and Nicolle Raullin. And for greater security of the above treaty, we will and consent that the princes of our blood, ecclesiastics, and the magistrates of the principal towns, do likewise swear to the observance of the different articles, which we, on our part mutually and individually, do faithfully promise to keep; and should we, or any of those who may take the said oath, fail to observe it, we submit ourselves and them to our holy mother the church, and to our sacred father the pope, or to any persons deputed by him, to inflict on us their interdict or excommunication, or any other punishment that may be appointed for our said breach of promise.

"In testimony whereof, we have each of us signed this treaty with our own hands, and have added our seals. Given at our place of meeting on the Ponchiel, one league distant from Melun, and very near to Pouilly le Fort, on Tuesday, the 11th day of July, in the year of Grace 1419."

CHAPTER CCVI.—THE TREATY OF PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE DAUPHIN AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY IS PROCLAIMED THROUGH DIVERS PARTS OF FRANCE.—OTHER MATTERS.

On the morrow after the conclusion of this peace, the dauphin left Melun with his whole force, and went by Tours to Partenay, which he had before held besieged by the count de Vertus and others of his captains, because the lord de Partenay had been ever attached to the duke of Burgundy. He ordered the count to break up the siege, and to make every preparation to carry on the war against the English. The duke of Burgundy returned to Pontoise, where he gave great joy to the king and queen of France by his intelligence of the happy reconciliation that had taken place. From Pontoise, the duke conducted the king and queen, with their state, to reside at St. Denis, leaving the guard of Pontoise to the lord de l'Isle-Adam, marshal of France, and giving him a large sum of money to pay the men-at-arms that should garrison that town. When the articles of the peace were made public, the greater part of the nobles, clergy, and people, were much rejoiced, flattering themselves that there would be an end of the heavy persecution they had suffered from a war that had lasted for such a length of time. People of both parties began to traffic, and to visit each other. In many of the principal towns the commonalty assembled and shouted for joy, making at the same time large bonfires in the squares, more particularly at Paris.

On the 20th day of July, the archbishop of Sens brought the treaty to Paris, and presented it to the lords of the court of parliament, of the requests, and of the chamber of accounts; where it was read by master Nicolle Raullin, in the presence of master Robert Mailliere and master John Champion, both secretaries to the dauphin. When it had been read, the archbishop produced an edict from the king, by which he ordered a general oblivion of all crimes that had been perpetrated in consequence of the late intestine divisions; and directed that every person whose properties had been confiscated should be restored to their possession

* *Sir Archambault de Saxe, the lord de Nouaille.* Q. Is this not one person, Archambaud de Foix, lord of Noailles?—Roger Bernard II., viscount of Chateaubon, married Giraud, lady of Noailles, and had issue, Matthew, count of Foix, who died s. p., and Isabel, married to Archambaud de Greilly, afterwards count of Foix. This Archambaud died in 1412, leaving issue—1. John, count of Foix; 2. Gaston, captal de Buch; 3. Archambaud, lord of Noailles, killed at the bridge of Montereau-faut-Yonne. He left only a daughter, married to the viscount of Carmain.

† An ancient fief of Champagne, in the house of Montagu by marriage. Peter de Bauffremont, lord of Charny and knight of the Golden Fleece, married Mary, a legitimated bastard of Philip the Good.

with the exception of the moveables. The duke of Burgundy was to appoint a governor of Partenay, for the defence of Poitou, that was well inclined to the dauphin; and all garrisons were ordered to be removed, excepting from those towns and castles on the borders near to where the English lay. Letters were then produced from the dauphin, which were incorporated with those of the king, by which he consented, agreed to, and promised to observe all the articles of the treaty, and to conform to the royal edict. In like manner, Raullin produced similar letters from the duke of Burgundy. When these different papers had been read and verified, the lords of the parliament and all present swore to keep this peace, which was now proclaimed in Paris and elsewhere. On the morrow, a solemn procession was made to the church of St. Martin des Champs, to return thanks to Heaven for the above peace.

CHAPTER CCVII.—KING HENRY OF ENGLAND IS DISSATISFIED WITH THE PEACE BETWEEN THE DAUPHIN AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE ENGLISH CAPTURE THE TOWN OF PONTOISE FROM THE LORD DE L'ISLE-ADAM.—THE CONSEQUENCES THEREOF.

We must now return to the king of England. When king Henry heard of a peace being concluded between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, he was not very well pleased; for he was aware how much stronger they would be by their union than when divided.

Notwithstanding this, he determined to pursue his enterprise in spite of all obstacles; and considered, that if he could gain Pontoise, it would be very advantageous to him.

He summoned his most trusty captains, and those who had attended the late embassy to Pontoise, and declared to them his intentions: they replied, that in whatever he should be pleased to command them, they would exert themselves to the utmost, without regarding their lives or fortunes, or the difficulties and hardships they might have to encounter. The king then nominated those who were to be of the expedition against Pontoise.

They arrived on the last day of July, between day-break and sun-rise, at one of the gates of Pontoise, and might be about three thousand combatants. The gate was not open, and some of them scaled the walls by means of ladders, without alarming the guard, and instantly opened the gate, so that their whole army entered, shouting "Saint George!" "The town is taken!"

At this cry, there was a general alarm, and the lord de l'Isle-Adam awakened, who without delay armed himself, mounted his horse, and, with some of his men, hastened to where the shoutings came from; but when he saw the English so numerous within the place, he speedily returned to his quarters to pack up his effects and money, and, with many of the principal inhabitants, went to the gate leading to Paris, which was still closed,—but he had it forced open, and with about ten thousand of the townsmen, in despair and affliction, took the road toward Paris. Several of them carried away their most precious articles, such as plate and jewels, and having separated from the others to go toward Beauvais, were robbed of their effects by Jean de Guigny and Jean du Clau. The English, meeting with no resistance, treated the place as a conquered town, and did innumerable mischiefs: they gained great riches, for the town was full of wealth. The principal commander of this expedition was the captal de Buch*, brother to the count de Foix.

The whole country of France, more particularly those parts nearer to Paris, were infinitely alarmed at this conquest; and the inhabitants within the Isle de France began to quit their dwellings in all haste. When the news of it was brought to St. Denis, where the king of France and the duke of Burgundy held their court, they instantly departed, and, by way of Provins, hastened to Troyes in Champagne, accompanied by the queen, the lady Catherine, and many others of the nobility. They left in Paris for its government, the count de St. Pol, master Eustace de Lactre, chancellor, and the lord de l'Isle-Adam, marshal of France.

This last, so soon as he could assemble a sufficient body of men-at-arms, posted himself

* Gaston, second son to Archambaud, count of Foix, rewarded for his services to the English with the earldom of Longueville, 7th Henry V.; and of Benange, 4th Henry VI. His son, John de Foix, being also attached to the English, married a niece of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and became earl of Kendal, (called by the French, *Candall.*) Both father and son were knights of the Garter.

with them in garrison at Beauvais, to oppose the English in that quarter, where they were daily making inroads. The lord de l'Isle-Adam was, however, greatly blamed for having kept so negligent a guard at Pontoise; and the ministers of the dauphin were particularly dissatisfied with him.

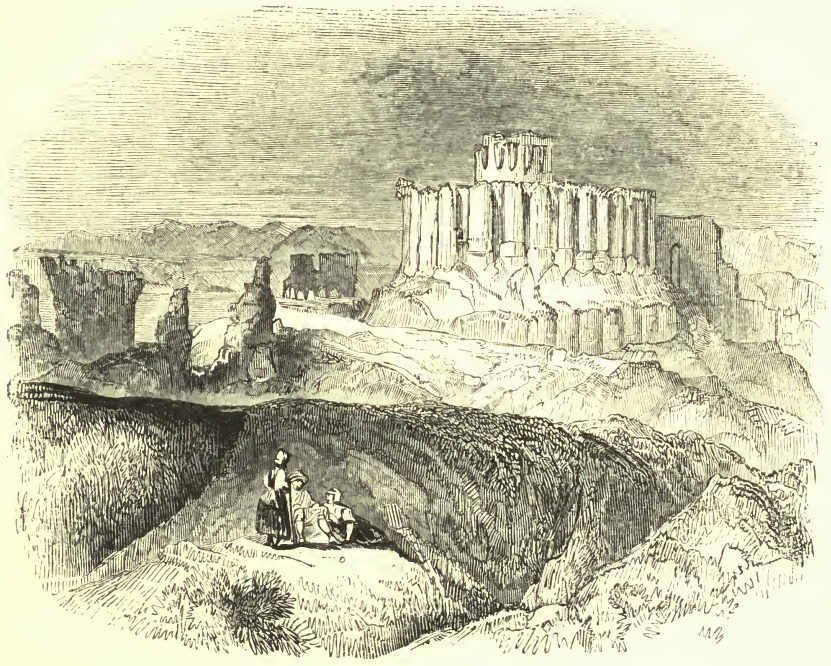
CHAPTER CCVIII.—THE DUKE OF CLARENCE BESIEGES GISORS, AND TAKES IT.—THE SIEGE OF SAINT MARTIN LE GAILLART,—AND OTHER MATTERS BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

Shortly after, the king of England caused the town of Gisors to be besieged by his brother the duke of Clarence, in which, as governors, were Lyonnet de Bournouville and Daviod de Gouy. When the siege had lasted for three weeks, the town, being in want of provisions, surrendered to the duke of Clarence, on condition that the garrison should march away with all their baggage, and that the inhabitants should place themselves under the obedience of the king of England, and take the oaths of fidelity to him. The garrison departed, and joined the lord de l'Isle-Adam at Beauvais. The English who had gained Gisors, within a few days laid siege to St. Martin le Gaillart, in which place were Regnault de Fontaines, sir Karados de Quesnes, and some others, who had always been attached to the party of the dauphin and the duke of Orleans: a valiant captain, named sir Philip Les, was the governor. Sir Karados left the town one night very secretly, and went to the lord de Gamaches in Compiegne, who at that time was its governor, and earnestly entreated him to assemble a body of men to raise the siege of Saint Martin. The lord de Gamaches collected a large force in as short a time as he could, and summoned the brothers Anthony and Hugh de Beaussault, and many other gentlemen, partisans of the dauphin as well as of the duke of Burgundy, so that they amounted to near sixteen hundred combatants. With this army he marched for St. Martin, and about sun-rise came near to the place, when, drawing up his men in battle-array, he detached four hundred of them to attack and win the barriers which the English had erected. About sixty English were on guard at these barriers, and defended them manfully; but they were defeated, and put to death, except a few who saved themselves by flight. The lord de Gamaches, at the head of his army, now attacked the town, but the greater part of the English had retired with their horses within a large church, and fought valiantly. The lord de Gamaches, apprehensive that the enemy might be soon reinforced, as the English were spread over the country, set fire to the castle, and carried the garrison safely away. On this occasion, Anthony de Beaussault, Gilles de Rouvroy, and some others, were created knights.

Within eight days after the earl of Huntingdon, governor of Gournay in Normandy, assembled about two thousand English from the troops on the borders, and led them to a considerable village named Poix, where they quartered themselves and did much damage. Thence they marched to Breteuil, to make a grand attack on the abbey; and because some of their men were killed, they set fire to the town, which was very strongly built, and retreated toward Clermont. They won the tower of Vendeuil, and burnt it; and after destroying the country with fire and sword, they marched back to Gournay, carrying with them many prisoners and much plunder. On the other hand, sir Philip Les, beforementioned, had fixed his quarters at Eu and Monchaulx, and made excursions from Abbeville to Pont de Remy, over the whole of Vimeu, so that the country was greatly desolated. Sir James de Harcourt, who resided at Crotoy, and Hector de Saveuses, with the garrison of Pont de Remy, put a check to these excursions as much as in them lay; as did also sir Louis de Thiembronne and those with him in garrison at Gamaches.

CHAPTER CCIX.—THE KING OF ENGLAND HAS THE FORTRESSES OF CHASTEAU-GAILLARD AND OF LA ROCHE-GUYON BESIEGED.—THEY ARE CONQUERED.—OTHER MATTERS.

The king of England, about this time, ordered the castles of Château Gaillard and of La Roche-Guyon to be besieged, which are the two strongest places in Normandy, and were garrisoned by the party of the dauphin. At the end of two months, La Roche-Guyon surrendered, with the consent of the lady who was within it, to king Henry, who immediately gave it to sir Guy Bouteiller, and was desirous of giving him also the lady in marriage; but she would not consent, and marched away from that country with all her men.



Chateau-Gaillard.—From Cotman's Normandy.

Château-Gaillard held out for the king of France sixteen months, and then surrendered in consequence of the cords being worn out with which they drew up their water. Sir Olivier de Manny was governor, having with him six score gentlemen at the utmost; and the siege was carried on by the earls of Huntingdon and Kyme. While these things were passing, many of the Dauphinois and Burgundians had frequent intercourse with each other since the peace, hoping that it would last for ever, and often assembled in parties to attempt to drive the English, the ancient enemies of France, from their conquests; but dame Fortune provided in such wise that, within a very few days, a more rancorous hatred arose between them than ever, as shall be fully related hereafter.

CHAPTER CCX.—THE DAUPHIN COMES TO MONTEREAU-FAUT-YONNE WITH A POWERFUL ARMY, AND SUMMONS THITHER THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, WHO IS CRUELLY MURDERED.

When Charles duke of Touraine and dauphin had visited his duchies of Berry and Touraine, he marched to Montereau-faut-Yonne with about twenty thousand combatants, Soon after his arrival, he despatched sir Tanneguy du Châtel, with others of his confidential servants, to Troyes in Champagne, with letters written by himself to the duke of Burgundy. In them he addresses the duke most affectionately on the affairs of the realm, and concludes by desiring that he would come to him at Montereau, where they could more fully discuss what related to public affairs. The duke for some days deferred giving any answer, saying, that the dauphin ought to come to his father the king, and the queen at Troyes, and often remonstrated with Tanneguy how much more proper it would be for him to come thither to discuss all that related to the good of the realm. Sir Tanneguy, upon this, returned to the dauphin with the answer he had received; but in the end, the dauphin and his ministers resolved to remain at Montereau.

Sir Tanneguy returned to Troyes, and at length prevailed on the duke to come as far as Bray-sur-Seine, whither many messages were sent from both sides. The dauphin despatched to the duke the bishop of Valence, brother to the bishop of Langres, who was one of the duke's principal advisers: his name was Charles de Poitiers. The Bishop of Valence, on his arrival at Bray, frequently conversed with the duke, and admonished him to wait on the dauphin, saying, that he need not have any fears or suspicions of mischief happening to him. His brother supported him in these remonstrances, adding, that he might loyally go, and that he would act unwisely if he refused so to do. This bishop, however, was perfectly ignorant of what happened afterward, and gave his advice with the most upright intentions. At length, in consequence of these remonstrances, and the assurances of sir Tanneguy du Châtel, the duke ordered preparations to be made for his departure, and set out from Bray to wait on the dauphin, attended by the bishop of Langres and his council, on Sunday the 10th day of September 1419. He was escorted by about five hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers, under the command of sir Charles de Lens admiral of France, and James de la Baûme* master of the cross-bows. There were many lords in his company, such as Charles eldest son to the duke of Bourbon, the lord de Nouaille brother to the count de Foix, John son to the count de Fribourg, the lord de St. George, sir Anthony du Vergy†, the lord de Joinville, the lord d'Ancre‡, the lord de Montagu, sir Guy de Pontailler, and many more. They rode joyously on until they came near to Montereau, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when three of the duke's dependants came thence to meet him, sir Anthony de Toulongeon, Jean d'Ermay and Saubretier. They told him they were come from the town, and had noticed on the bridge, where the conferences were to be held, several new barriers erected much to the advantage of the dauphin's party, and advised him to take care of himself,—for if he should enter within them he would be in danger from the dauphin.

The duke, on hearing this, called a council on horseback to know what were best to be done. The opinions were divided, for many suspected what might happen, and the reports they had just heard confirmed them in their fears: others, who imagined no evil, advised the duke to proceed and wait on the dauphin, saying, they could never suppose that a prince, son to the king of France, and successor to his crown, would harbour any thoughts but such as became his rank. The duke, hearing such diversity of opinions, declared aloud, that he would proceed and wait whatever it might please God to ordain, adding, that he would never suffer his courage to be any way doubted, and that the peace and reformation of the kingdom and government might by his failure be delayed; for he well knew that if any quarrel or dissention should arise between them, the fault would be all thrown on him.

He continued his march, and dismounted at the gate of the castle of Montereau, which

* Jacques de la Baûme Montreval was grand-master of the cross-bows from 1418 to 1421.

† Anthony du Vergy, lord of Dammartin.

‡ Q. if not Autray? John du Vergy, lord of Autray, was certainly present at this conference.

leads to the open fields; for this castle had been, by orders of the dauphin's ministers, appointed for the lodgings of himself and his men, that he might not have any suspicions of mischief being intended. All the principal lords dismounted with him; and two hundred men-at-arms and one hundred archers were selected as his guard. The lady of Giac* accompanied him, who, as has been said before, had made some journeys to the dauphin on matters between the duke and him: she had chiefly persuaded the duke to come to Montereau, remonstrating that there could not be any fear of treasonable practices against him. The duke was very much attached to this lady, and put full confidence in all she said. He gave her in charge, with part of his jewels, to Philip Josquin, as to the most faithful of his servants.

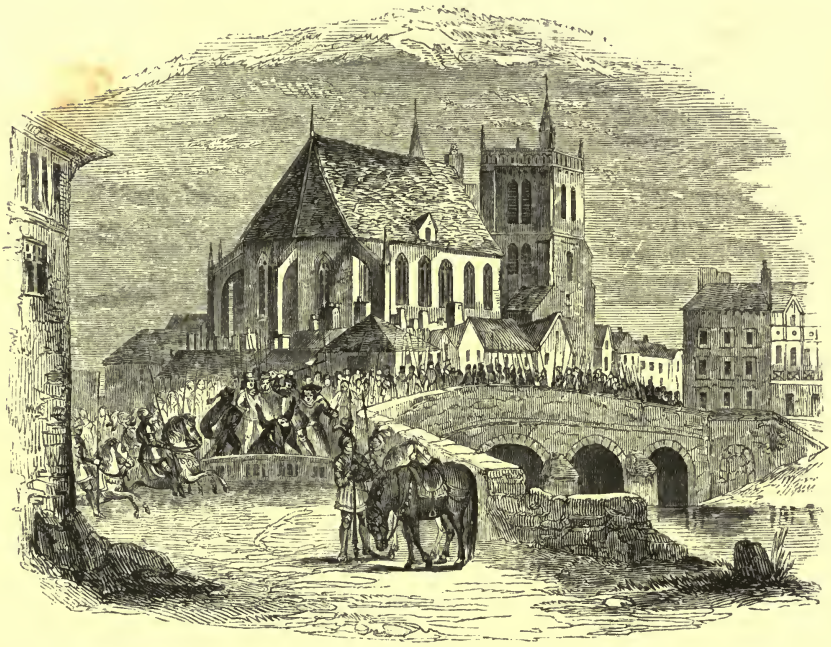
As soon as he was within the castle, he ordered Jacques de la Baûme to post all his men-at-arms at the entrance of the gate leading to the town, for the better security of his person, and also to preserve the articles of the convention. In the mean time sir Tanneguy du Châtel came to him to say that the dauphin was ready and waiting for him. He replied, that he was going to him; and then calling to those who were to attend him, forbade all others to follow excepting such as had been so ordered. The duke was accompanied by ten persons, namely, Charles de Bourbon, the lord de Nouaille, John de Fribourg, the lord de St. George, the lord de Montagu, sir Anthony du Vergy, the lord d'Ancre, sir Guy de Pontailler, sir Charles de Lens, sir Peter de Giac, and a secretary, named Pierre Seguinat. In company with the above, he advanced to the front of the first barrier on the bridge, when many of the dauphin's people came to meet him, and again renewed the promises and oaths that had been taken before: they said, "Come to my lord: he is waiting for you on the bridge;" and then they returned toward the dauphin.

The duke demanded from his companions if they thought he might in safety advance to the dauphin, on the securities offered him. They, having upright intentions, answered, that certainly he might proceed with safety, considering the promises and assurances given by so many noble persons on each side, adding, that they were willing to run the same risk as he should. On this answer, he advanced, ordering some of his attendants to keep close behind him, and entered the first barrier, where he found others of the dauphin's men, who again said, "Hasten to my lord, for he is waiting for you." He replied, "I am going to him," and entered the second barrier, which was instantly closed and locked by those appointed to do it, so soon as he and his company were within it. As he advanced, he met sir Tanneguy du Châtel, and, from affection, slapped him on the shoulder, saying to the lord de St. George, "This is he in whom I trust." He then passed on until he approached the dauphin, who was completely armed and girt with his sword, and leaning on one of the barriers: when near, to pay him greater honour, the duke dropped on one knee, and most respectfully saluted him. The dauphin, however, made no return, nor showed him the least sign of affection, but reproached him for not having kept his promise of discontinuing the war, and for not disbanding his forces from different garrisons, according to his engagements. At the same time, sir Robert de Loire, taking him by the right arm, said, "Rise, for you are too great a man thus to bend." The duke, as has been said, was on his knee; and his sword having turned too much behind him as he knelt down, he put his hand to replace it properly, when sir Robert cried out, "What! do you put your hand on your sword in the presence of my lord the dauphin!!!"

During these words, sir Tanneguy du Châtel approached him on the opposite side, and making a signal, saying, "It is now time," struck the duke with a small battle-axe he had in his hand so roughly on the face that he felled him on his knees, and cut off part of his chin. The duke, on this, put his hand to his sword to draw it, and attempted to rise to defend himself; but at the instant, Tanneguy with others repeated their blows, and laid him dead. While he was on the ground, Olivier Layet, assisted by Pierre Frotier, thrust a sword under the haubergeon into his belly. The lord de Nouaille, seeing this, drew his sword half out, to defend the duke; but the viscount de Narbonne held a dagger in his

* This lady of Giac was the favourite mistress of the duke of Burgundy; and her treason, which Monstrelet hints, is expressly charged by the historians of Burgundy, who give her the name of Dalilah. At the siege of Montereau she was punished by the loss of all her property, and reduced to the extreme of poverty.

hand ready to strike him. The lord de Nouaille now turned toward him, and vigorously wrested the dagger out of his hand: however, while he was thus engaged he received a blow from a battle-axe on the back part of his head, which put an end to the scuffle and his life.



Bridge of Montereau, with the Murder of the Duke of Burgundy.—From an original drawing.

While these things were passing, the dauphin leaned on the barrier, looking on, but soon drew back, as one much frightened, when he was immediately conducted to his lodgings by Jean Louvet, president of Provence, and others his counsellors. On the other hand, Jean de Fribourg drew his sword, but was soon forced to drop it by dint of blows. In short, the whole of the ten, with the secretary who had accompanied the duke of Burgundy, were without delay made prisoners, excepting the lord de Nouaille, who was killed, and the lord de Montagu, who escaped over the barriers to the castle. The lord de St. George was wounded in the side by the point of a battle-axe, and the lord d'Ancre by a cut on the hand. The lord de Montagu, when clear of the barriers, loudly cried out, "To arms!" upon which sir Anthony de Toulongeon, sir Symon Othelimer, Saubertier, and John Demay, with some others, hastened to the barriers, and began to skirmish with their lances with those within them. In this conflict sir Symon was wounded in the head; for their opponents, and the rest within the town, began to shoot lustily at them with cross-bows: finding, therefore, they could not gain entrance to the barriers, they retreated to the castle.

Thus was the duke of Burgundy cruelly murdered, trusting to the promises and securities of the duke de Touraine, dauphin of Vienne, and his ministers. The act and the manner of perpetrating it were most horrible; and the hearts of noble and worthy men, natives of France, must suffer the greatest shame and grief thus to witness the noble blood of the flower de luces, and princes so nearly allied destroy each other; and the kingdom, by these and other acts done prior to this, put to the infinite risk of changing its sovereign, and all things thrown into confusion and peril. The principal actors in this conspiracy against the duke of Burgundy were Jean Louvet, president of Provence, the viscount de Narbonne, sir

Guillaume Batiller, sir Tanneguy du Châtel, sir François de Grimaulx, sir Robert de Loire, Pierre Frotier, Olivier Layet, sir Ponchon de Namac, seneschal of Auvergne, and several more. They had for a considerable time before confederated, and sworn to bring the matter to the conclusion they had just accomplished; and, as I have been informed, they intended to have put their plan in execution at the moment of the meeting of these two princes at Pouilly le Fort, when peace was made between them, but were then forced to abandon it because the duke was too powerful in arms, and because the armies of each were drawn up so near that great mischiefs must have ensued.

The lord de Joinville and the others in the castle of Montereau, to whom the duke had confided the guard, were greatly alarmed, and not without cause, when they noticed the conduct that was observed toward their lord, whose real situation they were as yet ignorant of, and those who had accompanied him. They were likewise very uneasy as to themselves, for they were unprovided with any stores of provision or of ammunition excepting what they had brought with them, which were not in any great quantities; and before their arrival, the castle had been dismantled of artillery, and every other store carried away. They held many consultations whether they should depart or not, but at length determined to remain where they were until they should receive more certain intelligence respecting their lord than they had hitherto had. Notwithstanding the lords de Joinville and de Montagu most earnestly and often begged of the duke's men to stay with them in the castle, they would not listen to their words, but set off in haste, and in a most disorderly manner galloped away for Bray-sur-Seine, whence they had come that morning. However, a large body of the dauphin's army pursued them, and killed and wounded great numbers without any resistance. The lords de Joinville and de Montagu remained, as I have said, in the castle, and with them sir Robert de Marigny, sir Philip de Servoiles, sir John de Murat, the lord de Rosmat, John d'Ermay, John de Caumaisnil, Sabertier, Philip de Montant, Regnault de Chevilly, Regnault de Rethel, Guillaume de Biere, the lady of Giac and her woman, Philip Josquin, with about twenty varlets and pages of the household of the late duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CCXI.—THE CONDUCT OF THE DAUPHIN, AND OF THOSE WITH HIM, AFTER THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—HE SENDS LETTERS TO DIFFERENT TOWNS.

When the duke of Burgundy had been thus cruelly murdered, the dauphin's people stripped him of his tabard, his coat of mail, his rings, and of everything except his doublet and drawers; and in this state he remained on the ground until midnight, when he was carried on a table to a mill near the bridge, and, on the morrow morning, was interred in front of the altar of St. Louis, in the church of Our Lady at Montereau, in his doublet and drawers, with his bonnet drawn over his face, and twelve masses were hastily said for him.

At this moment there were several noble persons with the dauphin, who had been kept in ignorance of the plot against the duke, many of whom were highly displeased at what had happened, considering the great evils that would probably result from it, as well to the kingdom in general as to the person of their lord the dauphin. In this number were John de Harcourt, count d'Aumale, and the lord de Barbasan. The last loudly reproached those who had contrived this murder, saying, that they had ruined their master in honour and reputation; and that he had rather have been dead than present at that day, although perfectly ignorant of what was intended to be done. The dauphin, however, on his return to his lodgings after the murder, ordered, by the advice of his ministers, two hundred men-at-arms to march to the castle and demand its surrender. On their arrival, admittance was denied them, for those within had posted a party over the drawbridge, and another party in the tower facing the suburbs of the town, where they remained the whole of the night. The detachment from the dauphin walled up the gate leading to the town, and continued inactive until the ensuing morning, when they opened a battery of cannons against one of the gates, and, shortly after, some four or five knights went from the dauphin to signify that the castle must be surrendered, otherwise they would win it by storm, and those that should then be found therein would have their heads cut off.

The lords de Joinville and de Montagu made answer, that my lord of Burgundy, their commander, to whom the dauphin had delivered this castle, had intrusted them with the guard thereof, and that they would not surrender it but upon some tokens sent them from their lord. The knights on this went back to the town, and soon returned with sir Anthony du Vergy, who calling to the two aforesaid lords, they replied by asking after his health. He made no answer to this, but said, "Brothers, my lord the dauphin bids me tell you, that if you do not yield the castle to him, and you should be taken within it by storm, he will have you beheaded; but that if you will surrender it and join his party, he will show you every kindness, and divide between you very liberally the different offices in the realm." On hearing this speech, the two lords asked sir Anthony if he knew anything of their lord the duke. To which he made no other reply than by pointing his finger to the ground, and then said, "I would advise you to surrender the castle to my lord the dauphin;" but they repeated as before, that until they should have some certain intelligence of their lord the duke, who had intrusted them with its defence, they would not surrender. The knights of the dauphin now advanced, and said, "Put on paper what terms you expect, and you shall have an answer." Both parties withdrew, and those in the castle wrote down as follows:—

In the first place, they demanded to restore the castle into the hands of the duke, who had confided to them the guard of it, or to have a discharge from the same, signed by the duke.—Item, that all those who had been made prisoners by the dauphin's party, and those attending the duke, should have their liberties without paying any ransom.—Item, that all persons, of whatever rank, and of both sexes, now within the castle, should have permission to depart freely with all their effects, and be allowed to go whithersoever they should please.—Item, that a delay of fifteen days be granted for them to continue in the said castle, or until their horses shall arrive.—Item, that passports be given for two hundred men-at-arms that shall come to fetch them, and escort them to such places as they may choose; the said passports to be of force for fifteen days.

When these articles had been examined by the dauphin and his council, they were returned to the castle by the same knights who had brought them, who said, that in regard to the person or signature of the duke of Burgundy nothing need be said, for it could not be obtained. With respect to the prisoners, they belong to my lord the dauphin, who will divide among them the several offices in the kingdom, so that no more need be said on that subject. As to the effects in the castle appertaining to the duke of Burgundy, they are the property of my lord the dauphin, who will receive them according to an inventory made thereof, and give a receipt conformable to such inventory to those who have the charge of them. Those within the castle shall be permitted to carry away whatever effects they may have brought thither. With regard to the fifteen days' delay required, it cannot be granted; but my lord the dauphin will have them escorted as far as Bray-sur-Seine. With respect to the passports for two hundred men-at-arms, there will not be any need of them, as they will have a sufficient escort. After much parleying, the lords de Joinville and de Montagu concluded for themselves and their companions a treaty with the dauphin, on condition that they should freely depart, with all their baggage, on yielding up the castle,—and that all the effects of the duke of Burgundy should remain in the possession of the dauphin, and also the lady of Giac, who, as was commonly reported, was consenting to this murder of the duke of Burgundy.

Philip Josquin remained behind also: he was afraid to return to the duchess of Burgundy, or to her son the count de Charolois, for he was not in their good graces. This Philip Josquin was a native of Dijon, and son to an armourer of Philip of Burgundy, and for a long time had been beloved more than any of his other servants by the late duke John, who even intrusted him with his private signet, and made him sign his letters, insomuch that there was scarcely any difference between the handwriting of the duke and that which counterfeited it. All this great favour and authority created him many enemies among the princes and lords who repaired to the duke's court; but notwithstanding their hatred, from the situation he was in he amassed great wealth, and built a very handsome house in Dijon. On his leaving that place, he disposed of his money in various parts of Burgundy, Flanders,

and elsewhere, which was seized and confiscated by the count de Charolois and given by him to some of his servants,—and this Philip was consequently thus deprived of all his riches.

On Monday, the 11th day of September, after the dauphin had held a grand council in the town of Montereau on the state of his affairs, he wrote and despatched letters to the towns of Paris, Rheims, Châlons, and others, to gloss over his having broken the peace, and having perjured himself. The contents of that sent to Paris were as follow :—

" Dear and well-beloved,—we understand that you are fully sensible how lately we agreed with the duke of Burgundy at a place called Pouilly on the terms of peace, for the obtaining of which we acceded to all his demands. To prevent the destruction of my lord the king and of our realm, among other articles the said duke did engage on his faith and oath, that within one month he would wage war against the English, the ancient enemies of this kingdom. It had been also agreed, that in consequence of this we were to unite our mutual endeavours to reform the grievances and disorders of the government and to join in expelling the common enemy out of the country. On this account we came to the town of Montereau, and waited there the space of eighteen days for the coming of the duke of Burgundy, for whose accommodation we had dislodged from, and assigned to him, the castle, as his residence. Afterward, when we did meet on the terms he had demanded, we amicably remonstrated with him, that notwithstanding his promises and that peace was now between us, he had not waged war against the English, nor had disbanded the troops from the garrisons under his command, according to his solemn engagement, and which we now again required him to do. The duke of Burgundy, in reply, made use of several foolish expressions, and even laid his hand on his sword to attack and disfigure our person, intending, as we were afterward informed, to seize and keep us under his subjection, but from which, however, through Divine mercy, and the attachment of our loyal servants, we were preserved, and he for his mad conduct was put to death on the spot.

" We signify the above matters to you, well knowing how much you will rejoice that we have been preserved from such imminent danger ; and we most earnestly entreat and command, on that loyalty you have alway had for my lord the king, and for us, that whatever events may happen, you do not fail to make a strong resistance to the enemies of my lord and us ; and that you prepare yourselves for war, in which we will aid and comfort you to the utmost of our power, and, thanks to the grace of God, that is sufficiently great. We will that everything that has passed be pardoned and forgotten, and that no retaliations be made on any one, but that an entire oblivion may cover the whole, and that the peace be maintained, the which we promise to keep on the faith and word of the son of a king. To this effect we have sent our letters to the provost of merchants, the sheriffs and citizens of Paris, that they may be proclaimed and published wherever it may be thought necessary ; and for the due observance of what we have said, we are willing to give such securities as may be demanded. We are desirous of preserving the peace with the duke of Burgundy and his friends, and all of his party, on the terms concluded, without infringing it in the smallest degree, being anxious to unite all the faithful subjects of my lord the king to oppose the common enemy. We shall in this warfare personally serve ; and we will that you do proclaim these our intentions in all the towns and villages near to and within your several jurisdictions.—Dear and well-beloved, may the Lord have you in his holy keeping. Written at Montereau-faut-Yonne, the 11th day of September," and countersigned, " Charles Champion."

This paper was indorsed, " To our very dear and well-beloved the burghers, clergy, and inhabitants of the town of Paris."

To these letters, especially from the towns subject to the Burgundian party, no answer was given. In like manner, sir Clugnet de Brabant, whose quarters were at Vitry, wrote to many of the large towns to detach them from the dauphin ; but when he found by their answers that he could not succeed, he made a severe war upon them.

CHAPTER CCXII.—THE LORD DE MONTAGU WRITES LETTERS TO SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE.—THE PARISIANS RENEW THEIR OATHS OF FIDELITY AFTER THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

The lord de Montagu, instantly on his return from Montereau to Bray-sur-Seine, caused letters to be written charging the dauphin and his advisers with having committed murder on the person of his lord the duke of Burgundy,—which letters he despatched to Troyes, Rheims, Châlons, and to all the towns attached to the king and the duke of Burgundy. In these letters he humbly begged of them to be on their guard, and not to pay any attention to the lies and assertions of those who upheld the dauphin's party, for that their disloyalty was now discovered, but remain firm to the king and to the count de Charolois, successor to the duke of Burgundy, from whom, under God's good pleasure, they should have speedy assistance and support. The towns received these letters in great kindness, and strongly expressed their thanks for them to the lord de Montagu, saying they were mightily grieved at the unfortunate death of the duke of Burgundy.

On the 11th of September, the duke's death was known at Paris; and the inhabitants on hearing the manner of it were thrown into the utmost consternation and sorrow. On the morrow morning, the count de St. Pol, lieutenant of the king in Paris, the chancellor of France, the provosts of the town and of the merchants, together with the greater part of the king's ministers and officers, great numbers of nobles and inhabitants, assembled as early as they could; when, after the detail of the manner in which the murder of the duke of Burgundy had been perpetrated, they renewed their oaths of fidelity to the count de St. Pol, and swore to serve and obey him with all their forces in the guard and defence of Paris, and the preservation of the realm, against the damnable intentions of all wicked and seditious persons who have violated the peace; and to pursue, to the utmost of their power of vengeance, the conspirators and actors in the murder of the duke of Burgundy, and to denounce and accuse before the courts of law all who shall any way favour the aforesaid conspirators and murderers. They likewise engaged never to surrender the town of Paris, nor to enter into any treaty whatever without its being made public; and this they also swore to in the hands of the count de St. Pol,—which oaths were afterward sealed and sent to Senlis and other places of their party, to induce them to take similar oaths to their governors. When these things were done, many persons of both sexes were arrested in Paris, who were known to be of the dauphin's party, as well those who had returned in consequence of the peace as others of whom they had any suspicions. They were confined in different prisons, and some of them were executed in a summary way of justice.

CHAPTER CCXIII.—THE DAUPHIN DEPARTS FROM MONTEREAU.—THE DELIVERANCE OF THOSE WHO HAD ACCOMPANIED THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

The dauphin having appointed sir Pierre de Guitry (who had been present at the murder of the duke of Burgundy), governor of Montereau, departed thence with his whole force. He sent the prisoners, with the lady of Giac and Philip Josquin, to Bourges in Berry. Charles de Bourbon and sir Pierre de Giac took oaths of fidelity to serve the dauphin; but although the other prisoners were repeatedly solicited by the dauphin and his ministers to turn to their party, to which they were tempted by the most splendid offers of wealth and honours, they would never consent, replying to such solicitations that they would rather die in prison, or suffer such death as the dauphin might please to inflict, than do anything for which they or their successors might be blamed. When it was seen that they were firm in their resolution, they were all set at liberty, on paying certain sums as their ransom, except sir Charles de Lens, admiral of France, whom they put to death.

On the dauphin's arrival at Bourges, he summoned men-at-arms on all sides to join him there, with whom he advanced into Anjou, and had a conference with the duke of Brittany, who consented that a part of his nobles should serve the dauphin. He received also great

succours from Scotland, which he caused to be conducted down the Loire, and thence to Poitiers. He collected likewise men-at-arms in Auvergne and in Languedoc, and elsewhere, that he might have sufficient strength to oppose all who should attempt to injure him or the kingdom of France. He caused it to be declared throughout all the towns and countries under his dependence, that what had been done to the duke of Burgundy was in his own defence, and that he had been justly put to death,—alleging numerous reasons in his justification for suffering it, but which it would occupy too much time to relate.

When the king and queen of France heard of all these matters they were highly displeased, and to provide a remedy for them, different royal edicts were published in all parts of the kingdom under the king's obedience, containing an account of the death of the duke of Burgundy and the disloyalty of the perpetrators of it, commanding all governors, magistrates, and others, under pain of death, not to afford any aid, support or advice, to the dauphin or to his party, but to prepare themselves in all diligence to oppose him and them; in so doing they should have steady and effectual support.

CHAPTER CCXIV.—PHILIP COUNT DE CHAROLOIS IS MADE ACQUAINTED WITH THE CRUEL MURDER OF HIS FATHER.—HE HOLDS A GRAND COUNCIL ON THE STATE OF HIS AFFAIRS, AND CONCLUDES A TRUCE WITH THE ENGLISH.—OTHER MATTERS.

Philip count de Charolois was at Ghent when he was informed of the cruel death of his father, and was so sorely afflicted by it that it was some days before his ministers could comfort him. When his countess, the lady Michelle de France, sister to the dauphin, heard of it, she was greatly troubled, fearful that her lord would on this account be estranged from her and hold her less in his affections; but this did not happen, for within a short time, by the exhortations and remonstrances of his ministers he was no way displeased with her, and showed her as much kindness as before. He soon afterward held a council with the principal persons of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and then took possession of the country of Flanders, without paying any attention to his liege lord. He departed thence for Mechlin, where he had a conference with the duke of Brabant his cousin, John of Bavaria his uncle, and his aunt the countess of Hainault, on several matters; and from Mechlin he went to Lille. From this day he styled himself duke of Burgundy, and in his letters assumed all the titles of the late duke John his father.

While he was at Lille, many great lords came thither to offer their services to him, as they had been the dependants of his father, some of whom he retained in his household, and promised the others great advantages hereafter. Master Philip de Morvillers, first president of the parliament of Paris, came also, with many notable persons; and in concert with them and with his own ministers, the duke resolved to write letters to the different towns attached to the king's and his party, setting forth that as they had been the friends and supporters of his father, he hoped they would in like manner be his. He added, that he would very shortly request a truce from the English; and desired them to send him a deputation to Arras on the 17th day of October, with sufficient powers to agree to whatever terms might be demanded from them by him. The duke of Burgundy did not delay to send ambassadors to the king of England at Rouen, to endeavour to obtain a truce for a certain space of time, for all the countries under the dependence of the king of France and himself. The ambassadors were the bishop of Arras, the lord de Toulongeon, sir Guillaume de Champdivers, sir Guillebert de Launoy and some others; and they obtained the requested truce, hoping also to proceed further with the English.

During this time the Dauphinois, quartered at or near Compiegne, recommenced a sharp warfare against such of the Burgundians as were near to them. In another part of the country, La Hire and Ponton de Santrailles, with a large force, took the town of Crespy in the Laonnois, and the castle of Clarcy; by which conquests the town of Laon and the countries of the Laonnois and Vermandois were kept under great subjection.

When the 17th of October was come, the duke of Burgundy, sir John de Luxembourg, with numbers of other lords and captains, together with the deputations from the principal

towns, assembled in Arras. They were very affectionately addressed by the dean of Liege, by orders of the duke, and particularly those lords and captains who had served his late father, and requested that in like manner they would serve him in an expedition which he proposed shortly to undertake for the good of the king and kingdom. The deputies from the towns were also required to support his party, and to afford him every aid and assistance, should there be occasion. To these requests all present unanimously assented.

CHAPTER CCXV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ORDERS A FUNERAL SERVICE TO BE PERFORMED IN THE CHURCH OF ST. VAAST AT ARRAS, FOR DUKE JOHN HIS LATE FATHER.—OTHER MATTERS.

On the 13th day of this same month of October, the duke of Burgundy had a solemn service celebrated in the church of St. Vaast in Arras, for the salvation of the soul of duke John his father. There were present at it the bishops of Amiens, of Cambray, of Terouenne, of Tournay, and of Arras,—many abbots from Flanders, Artois, and the adjacent countries, —and there were in the whole twenty-four crosiers. The chief mourner, the duke of Burgundy, was supported by sir John de Luxembourg and sir James de Harcourt. The bishop of Amiens said mass, during which friar Pierre Floure, doctor in divinity and of the order of preaching friars, delivered the sermon. He was also inquisitor of the faith in the province of Rheims; and he exhorted the duke most strongly in his discourse not to take vengeance into his own hands for the death of his father, but to apply to the laws for reparation of the crime, and should the laws be insufficient, he should afford them every assistance, and not think of executing justice himself, for that belonged to God alone. Many of the nobles present were not very well pleased with the preacher for his sermon.

Some days after this service, sir John de Saulx, knight, doctor of laws, and chancellor to duke John, sir Andrieu de Valines, master John d'Orle advocate in the parliament, John de Caumesnil, with others of the principal citizens of Paris, sent by the count de St. Pol and the Parisians, arrived at Arras and waited on the duke of Burgundy to know what his future intentions and plans might be. When they had been well entertained by the duke and his ministers, they were told that within a few days the duke would form an alliance with the king of England by the consent of the king of France; and that when this was done he would, with his whole force, seek for reparation and vengeance on the cruel murderers of his father.

On receiving this information, and after having concluded several agreements, the Parisians returned home to carry back the intelligence and to keep the citizens and inhabitants of the Isle de France in good obedience. The duke of Burgundy then assembled some of his most powerful and faithful lords, as well seculars as ecclesiastics, with whom he held many secret councils to consider how he should conduct himself in the present state of his affairs, more especially respecting the death of his father. On this subject their opinions were divided, but at length the majority determined that since he had permission from the king of France, he should form a strict alliance with the English. In consequence of this resolution, an embassy was again sent to the king of England at Rouen, consisting of the bishop of Arras, sir Actis de Brimeu, sir Roland de Uniquerke, and others, who on their arrival at Rouen were kindly received by the king and princes, for he was very desirous of forming a connection with the duke of Burgundy, well knowing that through his means, in preference to all others, he could obtain the hand of the lady Catherine of France, which he was so anxious to have. When the ambassadors had declared the causes of their coming, and exhibited a sketch of their articles for the proposed alliance, the king was tolerably satisfied, and told them that within a few days he would send ambassadors to the duke who should declare his final resolutions. With this answer they returned to Arras.

About St. Andrew's day following, the bishop of Rochester, the earls of Warwick and of Kyme, with other knights and esquires, arrived at Arras, as ambassadors from the king of England, to whom the duke gave a most honourable reception. They laid before him the different articles of a treaty which the king wished to conclude with Charles king of France

and the duke, who in return gave them other articles such as he would abide by. In short, the negotiations were carried on so effectually that a treaty was agreed on, provided that the king of France and his ministers would consent thereto.

At this time the king and queen of France, with the lady Catherine their daughter, resided at Troyes in Champagne, and were under the guidance of such as had been posted there purposely, who were strongly attached to the party of Burgundy. In consequence of this treaty it was ordered that the men-at-arms of the king of France and of the duke of Burgundy should discontinue their warfare against the English, who were on their part to desist from all offensive operations. The truces were again renewed and confirmed, and it was agreed that the king of England should send ambassadors in company with the duke of Burgundy to the king of France at Troyes in Champagne, who intended going thither soon to put a finishing hand to this treaty of alliance. When these matters had been arranged and the ambassadors had been greatly feasted and honoured by the duke of Burgundy in Arras, they returned to the king of England at Rouen. While this treaty was going on, sir James de Harcourt showed himself every way strongly attached to the duke of Burgundy. He was the first called to the private councils of the duke, who paid him more attention and greater honour than to any other person of his court, for he loved him most cordially in consequence of his having sworn to serve him on the death of duke John. Sir James, in these days caused the castle of Crotoy, of which he was governor for the king of France, to be strongly repaired and replenished with all sorts of provision and military stores.

CHAPTER CCXVI.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG ASSEMBLES A LARGE BODY OF MEN-AT-ARMS, AND LEADS THEM BEFORE ROYE.—OTHER OCCURRENCES THAT HAPPENED AT THIS PERIOD.

In conformity to the treaty with the English, the duke of Burgundy commenced his operations by assembling men-at-arms in Artois, Flanders, and elsewhere, which he sent with different captains to be under the general command of sir John de Luxembourg, near to Peronne, who was to muster them, and lead them to lay siege to the castle of Muyn, which was strongly garrisoned by the Dauphinois, who had sorely oppressed the country round Amiens and Corbie. Several of the nobility joined sir John de Luxembourg, at Peronne, such as, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, marshal of France, the vidame of Amiens, Anthony lord of Croy, le borgne de Fosseux knight, John de Fosseux his brother, the lord de Longueval, Hector and Philip de Saveuses, the lord de Humbercourt, sir John de Luquerque, the lord de Cohen, with many other notable knights and esquires, who marched from Peronne to Lyhons in Santerre, and to the adjacent villages, intending to besiege the castle of Muyn, but their intentions were soon changed. During the time that these men-at-arms were at Lyhons, and on the night of the 10th of December, sir Karados de Quesnes, Charles de Flavy, the bastard de Tournemine, and one called Harbonniers, made a sally from Compiegne, with about five hundred combatants, to the town of Roye in the Vermandois, which they attacked, and, from neglect of the guard, great part of them entered the place. They assembled in the market-place, shouting out, "Town won! Long live the king and dauphin!" The inhabitants were awakened by these shouts; and, seeing they could not make any resistance, the greater part escaped over the walls, and fled.

A detachment of the Dauphinois now advanced to the gate, which they opened to admit the remainder of their forces, and their horses, into the town. Perceval le Grand, governor of the place for the duke of Burgundy, having been awakened like the others, and perceiving that no resistance could be made, escaped as well as he could from the town, leaving behind his wife, children, and great part of his wealth. He hastened to Lyhons, and very dolefully related to his commander, sir John de Luxembourg, the news of the capture of Roye. Sir John instantly ordered his trumpets to sound for the assembling of his men at arms, and led them toward Roye, sending forward a party of scouts to the town, to gain intelligence, who found the scaling-ladders still reared against the walls by which the enemy had entered. They were no sooner observed, than the Dauphinois made preparations for defence, and gave

a sharp discharge of cannons, cross-bows, and bows on them, and on some men-at-arms, who had joined the scouts. However, notwithstanding their defence, one of the suburbs was taken, and in the conflict several were wounded on each side. On that of sir John de Luxembourg was a valiant man-at-arms, named Robert de Rebretanges, and who, in consequence of this wound, died shortly after.

After sir John had posted his men in the different suburbs and houses round the town, he fixed his own quarters at a village about half a league distant. He then sent the lord de Humbercourt, bailiff of Amiens, to that place, and to Corbie, to require that they would send him cross-bowmen, cannons, and other implements of war, to enable him to subdue the Dauphinois in Roye, which request was complied with in the most ample manner. With the same eagerness were the cross-bowmen of Douay, Arras, Peronne, St. Quentin, Mondidier, Noyon, and other places under the dependence of the king, sent to Roye in great numbers. On the arrival of these reinforcements, sir John invested the town on all sides, and made some vigorous assaults: he also had some bombards, and other engines, pointed against the walls and gates, which greatly harassed the besieged. They made, however, a handsome defence, and some sallies; but in these they did not gain much.

At length, the besieged seeing all their efforts vain, and hopeless of succour, concluded a treaty with sir John, by his commissioners, on the 18th day of January, to surrender the place, on condition that they should depart in safety, with their baggage, and with a part of what they had gained in the town. When this treaty was ratified, the Dauphinois marched away under passports from sir John de Luxembourg, who appointed Hector de Saveuses to escort them; and, when out of the town, they took the road to Compiegne, marching with great speed.

Very soon after their departure, about two thousand English came to Roye, under the command of the earl of Huntingdon*, and his father-in-law sir John de Cornwall†, to assist the Burgundians; for, as I have said, there was a truce between the English and them, expecting that this truce would shortly be (as it happened) turned into a solid peace. The English, hearing of the departure of the Dauphinois, hastily set out in pursuit of them, and overtook them about four leagues from Roye. The moment they came near, without any words, they attacked them lance in hand, although they were few in number; for, having rode so hard, three parts of their men were behind. The English were accompanied by many of the men-at-arms of sir John de Luxembourg, the principal of whom were Butor bastard of Croy, Aubellet de Folleville, the bailiff de Foquesolle, the bastard Dunon and several other gentlemen. The Dauphinois made no great resistance, and were therefore soon routed, very many were killed, taken, or robbed; but a few escaped as well as they could, by flying to the woods and other places. Hector de Saveuses, observing this, made sir Karados de Quesnes his prisoner, in order to save him and restore him to liberty; but sir John de Cornwall took him from him, saying that he had not any right to make him his prisoner, since he had a passport from his captain; and because Hector would not release him at the first word, Cornwall smote him severely on the arm with his gauntlet, which incensed Hector much,—but he could not help himself, as the English were too numerous. Sir Karados, the lord of Flavy, and most part of the men-at-arms, were made prisoners by the English; but those taken by the Picards were put to death by them, for they were afraid to bring them to their quarters on account of the passports that had been granted them. However, Harbonniers, who was prisoner to Aubellet de Folleville, was carried to Noyon, and there beheaded.

The English, after this affair, returned with their prisoners to a village within two leagues of Roye, where they quartered themselves. Hector de Saveuses made what haste he could to sir John de Luxembourg, to relate all that had passed, who was greatly enraged that his

* John Holland, son of John, earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter, beheaded in 1 Henry IV. He was restored to the earldom of Huntingdon in 4 Henry V., and in 11 Henry VI. was created duke of Exeter, with precedence over all the nobility except the duke of York. He died in 25 Henry VI., and was succeeded by his son Henry, who died in banishment. After the death of the first duke of Exeter, his widow, sister of King Henry IV., and mother of the earl of Huntingdon here mentioned, married for her second husband, Sir John de Cornewal, who was afterwards summoned to parliament by the title of Lord Fanhope, 11 Henry VI.

† See Dugdale's Baronage.

passports should have been treated with such contempt, especially by those of his own army and under his command. He therefore despatched an angry message to Anthony lord of Croy, to order him to send Butor de Croy, his bastard-brother, and some others of his people, who had infringed his passports, that he might punish them accordingly. He sent a similar order to the lord de Longueval for the bastard Dunon, brother to his wife, to be brought before him; but neither of these lords would obey his commands. Upon this, sir John sent word, that if they did not deliver them up instantly, he would take them by force from their quarters. Longueval replied, that if he attempted it, and was not the strongest, he should not have them; and he would prefer putting them to death to yielding them up to him. These and other expressions created a great animosity between sir John and these two lords, which lasted a considerable time. However, nothing further was done in the matter; for those who were demanded to be delivered up departed secretly, and went whither they pleased.

On the morrow, sir John de Luxembourg, attended by part of his army, went to visit the lord Huntingdon and sir John de Cornwall at their quarters, and recommended to their attentions sir Karados de Quesnes and the other prisoners, who had been taken under his passports. They nevertheless remained prisoners, and were carried to England, where they were long detained, and did not recover their liberties until they had paid a heavy ransom. When sir John de Luxembourg had passed some time at the English quarters, he returned to his own: the next day he disbanded the greater part of his captains and their men-at-arms, and went himself with Hector de Saveuses to place garrisons in the castles on the river Sere, and on the frontiers of the Laonnois, against the Dauphinois, who were in great force at Crespy and in the Laonnois. Hector was ordered to remain at Nouvion le Comte, as commander-in-chief of these troops. Sir John then returned to his castle of Beaurevoir, to see his wife and children, and to make preparations to accompany the duke of Burgundy on the journey he intended speedily to undertake.

CHAPTER CCXVII.—THE FRENCH AND BURGUNDIANS BEGIN TO FORM ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE ENGLISH.—THE SIEGE OF FONTAINES-LAVAGAM.—OTHER MATTERS.

About this time, those attached to the party of the king of France and the duke of Burgundy began to open an intercourse in trade, and to form acquaintance with the English on the borders of Normandy, for peace was now established between them. At this period also, the earl of Huntingdon and sir John de Cornwall, with three thousand combatants, besieged the castle of Fontaines-Lavagam, which, during the war, had held out for the Orleans party, and had never been conquered. The garrison had, for a long time, grievously oppressed the country of Beauvoisis, the borders of Normandy, and the districts about Amiens. At the end of about three weeks' siege, this castle was surrendered, on condition that the lives and fortunes of the besieged should be spared, and that they should march away in safety. When the place was evacuated, the fortifications were completely destroyed. On the other hand, the castle of Muyn submitted to the obedience of the vidame of Amiens, on the 19th day of January, by means of some intelligence he had with those within it. This, as well as Fontaines-Lavagam, had been of great annoyance to the surrounding countries. A Norman gentleman, called Bigas, was made prisoner there, and also the lady of the place, wife to sir Collart de Calleville, with some others,—and much wealth was found therein.

About this time, the duke of Burgundy prepared to march with his whole power to king Charles at Troyes in Champagne. He issued a strict summons throughout his dominions, for all who had been accustomed to bear arms to make ready to attend him on this journey. From Ghent, where he resided, he came with his lady the duchess to Arras, and appointed master John de Torsy, bishop of Tournay, his chancellor. He there assembled, by virtue of his summons, a very large body of men-at-arms; and on the Saturday after the Epiphany, the truces between the kings of France and of England were proclaimed in all the countries under the subjection of the king and the duke of Burgundy, from Paris to Boulogne-sur-

mer, and to Troyes in Champagne: they were to last until the middle of March following, or until a final peace should be concluded between the two kings.

During this time the English, in great force, under the command of the earl of Huntingdon and sir John de Cornwall, marched to the castle of Clermont, which they valiantly attacked; but it was as vigorously defended. The English, having had many killed and wounded, set fire to and burnt the village of St. Andrieu, wherein were several handsome mansions and substantial houses. They then overran the whole county of Clermont and gained much plunder, with which they returned to the duchy of Normandy.

CHAPTER CCXVIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY DEPARTS FROM ARRAS, AND MARCHES A LARGE ARMY TO LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF CRESPY IN THE LAONNOIS, AND THENCE TO WAIT ON THE KING OF FRANCE AT TROYES IN CHAMPAGNE.

When the duke of Burgundy had celebrated the feast of the Purification in Arras, he departed, leaving his duchess there, for his castle of Bapaumes, and thence he went to Oisy in the Cambresis, to visit his aunt, the countess of Hainault, with whom he had a conference, and proceeded to Peronne. Thither many of his captains and vassals came, and with them he marched to St. Quentin, where he tarried some time to wait the arrival of the whole of his forces. Ambassadors from king Henry there joined him, having with them about five hundred combatants under the command of the earls of Warwick and Kyme, the lord Roos*, marshal of England, and sir Louis de Robesart†, a native of Hainault, who accompanied the duke to Troyes. There also came to him, while at St. Quentin, a deputation from the town of Laon, who, with the inhabitants of St. Quentin, earnestly besought the duke of Burgundy that he would besiege the town of Crespy, which held for the dauphin, as that garrison had done very great injuries to the whole country. The duke, in compliance with their remonstrances, consented, and advanced to Cressy-sur-Serre, where he was lodged; he thence sent forward sir John de Luxembourg, with Hector and Philip de Saveuses, and other captains, to quarter themselves in a village near to Crespy, by way of vanguard.

Shortly after the duke, with his whole army, invested Crespy, in which place might be about five hundred Dauphinois men-at-arms, under the command of La Hire, Poton de Saintrailles, Dandonet, and other adventurers, who with great courage defended the town against the besiegers, notwithstanding they had approached very near, and had pointed their artillery against the walls and gates. There were with the duke many captains who had served under duke John his father, namely, sir John de Luxembourg, the lords de l'Isle-Adam and de Chastellus, both marshals of France, sir Robinet de Mailly, great butler of France, le veau de Bar, bailiff of Auxois, the vidame of Amiens, Anthony lord de Croy, sir Philip de Fosseux and his brother John, the lord de Longueval, Hector and Philip de Saveuses, the lord de Humieres, who commanded the men-at-arms of the lord d'Antoing, the lord de Humbercourt, sir Mauroy de St. Leger, the lord de Stenhuse, sovereign bailiff of Flanders, the lords de Comines, de Haluin, the bastard of Harcourt, and all the vassals of his uncle sir James de Harcourt, with numbers of other notable knights and esquires from the different parts of the duke's dominions. His most confidential advisers were sir Actis de Brimeu, knight, the lord de Robais, and the bishop of Tournay, his chancellor. The duke made vast preparations for this siege; but at the end of fifteen days a treaty was concluded for the surrender of the town, on condition that the garrison should depart in safety with their baggage; but because this was his first campaign, a few were excepted, and sent prisoners to some of the towns under the king's obedience.

* John lord Roos, of Hamlake, who for his services obtained a grant of the lordship of Bacqueville, in Normandy, from Henry V., but he was never marshal of England. Probably the sentence ought to run thus:—"the lord Roos, the marshal of England," viz.—John lord Mowbray, afterwards earl of Nottingham and Norfolk, "and sir Louis de Robesart."

† Sir Louis de Robesart was son of John de Robesart, who also served king Henry, and was rewarded with the lordship of St. Sauveur le Vicompte, in Normandy. He was heir to the famous canon de Robesart so often mentioned by Froissart. Louis afterwards married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Bartholomew lord Bourchier, and was called to parliament by that title. He died in 9 Henry VI. He was a knight of the Garter.

On the ratification of this treaty the garrison marched away, under passports from the duke; but notwithstanding this, many were plundered, to the great indignation of the duke and his ministers, who caused restitution to be made to all who came to complain. The Dauphinois marched to Soissons, a town belonging to their party, and Crespy was despoiled of everything that was portable. At the request of the inhabitants of Laon, the fortifications were demolished,—that is to say, its gates and walls, to the great sorrow of the townsmen, and not without cause, for before the war it was abundantly filled with all sorts of merchandise as in a place of safety. It must not be forgotten, that there was in the company of the duke, during this campaign, the valiant captain Tabary and his band of robbers, of whom mention has been made in another place,—but who only partook of half of the expedition, and continued his former pursuits, as shall be hereafter noticed.

CHAPTER CCXIX.—THE CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ON HIS MARCH TO TROYES, AND WHEN THERE.—THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE ENGLISH AMBASSADORS WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM THITHER.

After the surrender of the town of Crespy in the Laonnois, the duke of Burgundy advanced to Laon, where he was most honourably received by the magistrates and inhabitants. He thence continued his march by Rheims to Châlons, in Champagne, always accompanied by the English ambassadors, and his escort of about one thousand combatants. From Châlons he advanced in grand array toward Troyes, and encamped near to Vitry, in Pertois, which place and some of the adjacent forts were in possession of the Dauphinois. Sir John de Luxembourg, who had the command of the vanguard, passed through the town, and continued his march toward the plains, in which were many deep and boggy springs. Sir Robinet de Mailly, grand butler of France, riding by his side, fell into one of these bogs; and his horse plunged so deep that, not having any mane for the knight to hold by, the latter could not save himself, but died a miserable death, whilst his horse escaped. The duke of Burgundy and several other lords, particularly sir Robinet's three brothers, who were with the duke, were sorely grieved at his loss. These last, namely, master John de Mailly, afterward bishop of Noyon, Collard, and Ferry de Mailly*, lamented it very bitterly. His body was dragged out of the bog and buried hard by.

As the duke approached Troyes, very many of the French and Burgundian nobility came out to meet him, with several of the principal citizens, and showed him every honour and respect. In company with them he made his entry into Troyes, the 21st day of March, and was escorted to his hotel. Wherever he passed, there were great multitudes of people assembled, who sang carols on his arrival. He shortly after waited on the king and queen of France and the lady Catherine, who received him kindly and showed him all manner of affection. Some days afterward, several councils were held in the presence of the king, queen, and duke of Burgundy, to consider on establishing a final peace, and on the alliance which the king of England was desirous of forming with the king of France, and had sent his ambassadors with full powers to confirm the peace.

At length, after many conferences with these ambassadors, it was concluded, by favour of the duke of Burgundy and his party, that Charles, king of France, should give to Henry, king of England, his youngest daughter Catherine in marriage, and, in consequence of this alliance, should make him and his heirs successors to the crown of France after his decease; thus disinheriting his own son and heir, Charles duke of Touraine and dauphin, and annulling that principle of the constitution which had been, with great deliberation, resolved on by former kings and peers of France, namely, that the noble kingdom of France should never be governed or inherited by a female, or by any one descended from the female line. The king of France also agreed, that should king Henry have no issue by this marriage, he and

* These four brothers were the sons of John Maillet de Mailly, lord of St. Huyn; first, Robert de Mailly, called Robinet, grand-butler, killed as here described; second, John de Mailly, master of requests, &c. &c.; third, Colin de Mailly, lord of Blangy, seneschal of the Vermandois; fourth, Ferry de Mailly, frequently mentioned among the Burgundians of this period. This family was a branch of the stock of the lords de Mailly, killed at Azincourt.

his heirs were to remain successors to the crown of France, to the prejudice of the branches of the whole royal line of France. All this was granted by king Charles; but, to say the truth, he had not for some time past been in his right senses, and was governed by those about his person as they pleased, and consented to what they advised, whether to his prejudice or not.

When the treaty had been signed, the ambassadors returned with a copy thereof to the king of England, avoiding all the ambuscades of the Dauphinois as well as they could. King Henry was well pleased with their success, as he foresaw he should now gain the greater part of his objects. He arranged his affairs in Normandy speedily, and caused preparations to be made for marching to Troyes, to complete the articles of the treaty. Sir Louis de Robesart had remained, by king Henry's orders, at Troyes, to attend on the lady Catherine of France, who was shortly to become queen of England.

CHAPTER CCXX.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG MAKES AN EXCURSION WITH HIS WHOLE FORCE TOWARD ALIBAUDIERES, AND THE EVENT THEREOF.

About ten days before Easter, sir John de Luxembourg was sent, with five hundred combatants, to attack a fortress called Alibaudieres, adjoining the Vermandois, six leagues from Troyes, in which was a garrison of the Dauphinois that much harassed Champagne. When sir John was arrived near to the place, he left the greater part of his men in ambuscade, and advanced with the rest to skirmish at the barriers. The garrison gallantly sallied out on foot to meet him, and a sharp skirmish began, during which sir John fell from his horse by reason of the girth breaking, but was soon raised up again by his men, and instantly most courageously, and in a violent passion, attacked the Dauphinois lance in hand; they were fewer in number than the assailants, and therefore retreated in disorder, and closed their bulwark. Sir John, on this, sent for the remainder of his force, whom he had placed in ambush, and they made so grand an attack on the bulwark that it was taken by storm and set on fire,—but in this action many were killed and wounded. Sir John then returned with his men to duke Philip of Burgundy, in Troyes, at which place great preparations were making for the reception of king Henry of England, who was shortly expected there to confirm the articles of the peace, and solemnise his marriage with the lady Catherine of France.

While these things were passing, the dauphin and his council were at Bourges, in Berry. He was exceedingly uneasy when he heard of the alliance that had been concluded with England, and anxious to form plans of resistance against the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, knowing that, unless he could effectually oppose them, he was in great peril of losing the kingdom and his expectations of succeeding to the crown of France. He was not, therefore, negligent to provide against the danger, and established garrisons in all the principal places on the frontiers toward his adversaries, and appointed to the command of them the most loyal of his party. He placed as governor at Melun the lord de Barbasan, with a large force; at Montereau, the lord de Guitry; sir Robert de Loire at Montargis; the bastard de Vaurus, and Pierron de Lupel, at Meaux, in Brie; the lord de Gamaches at Compiegne, and so on at other towns and forts. He assembled a large body of men-at-arms to be alway near his person, and ready for any event that might happen to him.

CHAPTER CCXXI.—THE COUNT DE CONVERSAN, WITH HIS BROTHER SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG, THE LORD DE CROY, AND OTHER CAPTAINS, LAY SIEGE TO ALIBAUDIERES.—THE CONSEQUENCES THEREOF.

[A. D. 1420.]

At the beginning of this year the duke of Burgundy ordered Pierre de Luxembourg count de Conversan and de Brienne, sir John de Luxembourg his brother, and several of his captains, such as the marshal de l'Isle-Adam, the vidame of Amiens, Anthony lord of

Croy, Hector de Saveuses, sir Mauroy de St. Leger, the bastard de Thian, and a number of others, to lay siege to the castle of Alibaudieres, mentioned in the preceding chapter. The garrison of this castle had repaired the bulwark which sir John de Luxembourg had destroyed, so that it was in a better state of defence than before. The Burgundian leaders, on their arrival, ordered their men before they encamped to arm themselves and prepare ladders, thinking to win the bulwark as easily as formerly; but the attack and defence were for a long time sharply continued, and with great courage. Some of the ladders were placed against it, and on them Hector de Saveuses, Henry de Chauffour, and others expert in arms, combated a considerable time; but Henry de Chauffour, much renowned in war, while on one of these ladders, and armed in plate armour, was pierced by a lance through the hollow of the armour under the ham of the leg and died of the wound a few days afterward.

During the attack, sir John de Luxembourg, who was very near the bulwark and posted between two oaks, had raised the vizor of his helmet to observe the countenance of the enemy, but he was perceived from the walls and struck near the eye with a lance, (whether pointed or not with iron I am ignorant,) and so severely wounded that in the end he lost his eye, and was led by his people to repose himself in his tent. Shortly after his banner was taken, and cut off close to the end of the lance to which it was fastened, which still more enraged sir John de Luxembourg. These events and the obstinate resistance of the besieged put an end to the attack, but not before great numbers of the assailants had been killed and wounded. The count de Conversan and the other captains encamped round the castle had ordered several large bombards to be pointed against the gates and walls to destroy them; but sir John de Luxembourg, in consequence of his severe wound, was carried back to Troyes, where he was attended by the most able doctors. His brother, the count de Conversan, now remained commander in chief of the siege, and by his engines so greatly damaged the castle that some of the towers and gates were half battered down. This alarmed the besieged, and they demanded a parley with the count, which was consented to; but they could not at the first conference agree on terms, so that when the deputies had re-entered the castle, the besiegers armed themselves, and made so vigorous an attack on it that sixty men-at-arms gained possession of two of its towers, but in truth they could not proceed further by reason of the new fortifications that had been erected during the siege. This action was very severe indeed, and lasted nearly five hours, during which numbers of each side were killed and wounded, but in the end those who had gained the two towers were driven by the besieged from them; they even made prisoner and dragged into the castle a trumpeter, who had armed himself like a man-at-arms.

On the morrow the besieged, fearing the attack would be renewed, demanded another parley, when it was agreed that they should depart with their lives only, and on foot, with the exception of a few who were to be allowed small horses, and in this state they were to go to Moynes. The castle was totally destroyed and burnt, and the effects within were all plundered by those men-at-arms who could first force an entrance, contrary to the positive orders of their captains, who soon after led their men back to Troyes and to the adjacent villages.

CHAPTER CCXXII.—THE GREATER PART OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY'S ARMY RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRIES.—THE MARSHAL DE L'ISLE-ADAM AND THE LORD DE CROY LEAD AN EXPEDITION TOWARD THE AUXERROIS.

When the Picards and the other men-at-arms were returned to Troyes from the siege of Alibaudieres, they demanded permission of the duke of Burgundy to return to their homes, which was granted. About three thousand horse departed, and the principal gentlemen were, the vidame of Amiens, the borgne de Fosseux knight, Hector de Saveuses, the lord de Stenhuse high bailiff of Flanders, the lord de Comines, and several other captains, as well from Picardy as Flanders, who all rode together from Troyes toward Rethel; and although the Dauphinois were in great numbers on the watch to attack and plunder them, by activity and diligence they escaped all their ambushes, and arrived safely in their own countries.

After their departure the duke of Burgundy ordered some of the other captains who had remained with him, such as the marshal de l'Isle-Adam, Anthony lord of Croy, the lord de Longueval, sir Mauroy de St. Leger, Baudo de Noyelle, Robert de Saveuses, Robert de Brimeu, the bastard de Thian, with about sixteen hundred combatants, to march to the Auxerrois and subdue that country, with some of its castles that held out for the party of the dauphin, to the king's obedience.

They proceeded from Troyes by short days' marches to Toussy, a small town attached to the dauphin, and whither the lord de la Trimouille often resorted. They had carried with them scaling ladders and other implements of war, and came before the town just between daybreak and sunrise in the hopes of taking it by surprise and plundering it. On their arrival they drew up in battle-array, and Anthony lord of Croy, his bastard brother Butor, Baudo de Noyelle, Lyonnet de Bournouville, and some others, were created knights by the hand of the lord de l'Isle-Adam, marshal of France. Shortly after this ceremony they made a joint attack on several parts of the place at once, and fixed their scaling ladders to the walls without meeting with any opposition. However, notwithstanding that the inhabitants were at first greatly alarmed, they recovered courage, and defended themselves so vigorously that the assailants were repulsed, driven from the ditches, and forced to encamp round the town. They then employed themselves for two days in making new ladders and iron crooks to renew the attack. On the third, having completed their warlike implements, they assaulted the place more fiercely than before, and again fixed their ladders, but the besieged made a gallant defence and killed and wounded several at the onset; among the first were a gentleman of arms named Ogier de St. Vandrille and Tabary the captain of robbers, who has been before spoken of, and some others. In the end the assailants were again repulsed and driven in confusion to their quarters. The dead were carried in their armour from the ditches into the town, and when stripped were put into coffins and buried in a church.

Intelligence was brought this same night to the marshal de l'Isle-Adam and to the other captains, that the enemy was marching in force to offer them combat, upon which they hastily mounted their horses and set forward, and rode all the night to meet them. On the morrow they learnt news of their enemies, that they were quartered in a strong monastery called Estampes St. Germain, within two leagues of Auxerre. They then pushed forward to besiege them within this monastery, and sent to Auxerre for provision, assistance, and warlike engines, all of which were granted. After the two parties had skirmished for the space of eighteen days, the Dauphinois surrendered, on condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should remain prisoners until they should ransom themselves each according to his rank in life. When this treaty had been concluded the fortifications of the monastery were destroyed, and the Burgundians returned to the duke their lord in Troyes.

CHAPTER CCXXIII.—HENRY KING OF ENGLAND ARRIVES WITH HIS WHOLE ARMY AT TROYES IN CHAMPAGNE, TO CELEBRATE HIS MARRIAGE, AND TO CONCLUDE A PERPETUAL PEACE WITH THE KING OF FRANCE.

At this period Henry king of England, accompanied by his two brothers the dukes of Clarence and of Gloucester, the earls of Huntingdon, Warwick, and Kyme, and many of the great lords of England, with about sixteen hundred combatants, the greater part of whom were archers, set out from Rouen and came to Pontoise, and thence to St. Denis. He crossed the bridge at Charenton and left part of his army to guard it, and thence advanced by Provins to Troyes in Champagne. The duke of Burgundy and several of the nobility, to show him honour and respect, came out to meet him, and conducted him to the hotel where he was lodged with his princes, and his army was quartered in the adjacent villages. Shortly after his arrival, he waited on the king and queen of France and the lady Catherine their daughter, when great honours and attentions were by them mutually paid to each other. Councils were then holden for the ratification of the peace, and whatever articles had been

disagreeable to the king of England in the treaty were then corrected according to his pleasure. When all relating to the peace had been concluded, king Henry, according to the custom of France, affianced the lady Catherine.

Queen Katharine.—From an old carved oak chest at York.

On the morrow of Trinity-day, the king of England espoused her in the parish church near to which he was lodged; great pomp and magnificence were displayed by him and his princes, as if he were at that moment king of all the world. On the part of the king of France was present at this ceremony Philip duke of Burgundy, by whose means this treaty and alliance had been brought about. He was attended by Pierre de Luxembourg count de Conversan, sir John de Luxembourg his brother, the prince of Orange, the lord de Joinville, the lord de Chastellus, the lord de Chateau Vilain, the lord de Montagu, sir Regnier Pot, le veau de Bar bailiff of Auxois, sir James de Courtejambe, sir John de Coquebrune marshal of Burgundy and of Picardy, the lord de Croy, the lord de Longueval, sir Actis de Brimeu, sir David his brother, the lords de Roubaix, de Humbercourt bailiff of Amiens, sir Hugh de Launois, sir Gilbert his brother, with numbers of other notable knights, and some prelates and churchmen from the states of the duke. The principal of these last were, master John de Torsay bishop of Tournay and chancellor of Burgundy, master Eustace de Lactre, master John de Mailly; all, or at least the greater part, joined with the duke in promising for ever to preserve inviolate the peace, the terms of which were as follow:

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to all our bailiffs, provosts, seneschals, and to all the principal of our officers of justice, or to their lieutenants, greeting. Be it known, that we have this day concluded a perpetual peace, in our town of Troyes, with our very dear and well-beloved son Henry king of England, heir and regent of France, in our name and in his own, in consequence of his marriage with our well-beloved daughter Catherine, and by other articles in the treaty concluded between us, for the welfare and good of our subjects, and for the security of the realm; so that henceforward our subjects, and

those of our said son, may traffic and have a mutual intercourse with each other, as well on this as on the other side of the sea.—Item, it has been agreed that our said son king Henry, shall henceforth honour us as his father, and our consort the queen as his mother, but shall not by any means prevent us from the peaceable enjoyment of our crown during our life.—Item, our said son king Henry, engages that he will not interfere with the rights and royalties of our crown so long as we may live, nor with the revenues, but that they may be applied as before to the support of our government and the charges of the state; and that our consort the queen shall enjoy her state and dignity of queen, according to the custom of the realm, with the unmolested enjoyment of the revenues and domains attached to it.—Item, it is agreed that our said daughter Catherine shall have such dower paid her from the revenues of England as English queens have hitherto enjoyed,—namely, sixty thousand crowns, two of which are of the value of an English noble.*—Item, it is agreed that our said son king Henry, shall, by every means in his power, without transgressing the laws he has sworn to maintain, and the customs of England, assure to our said daughter Catherine the punctual payment of the aforesaid dower of sixty thousand crowns from the moment of his decease.—Item, it is agreed, that should it happen that our said daughter survive our said son, king Henry, she shall receive, as her dower from the kingdom of France, the sum of forty thousand francs yearly; and this sum shall be settled on the lands and lordships which were formerly held in dower by our very dear and well beloved the lady Blanche, consort to king Philip of France, of happy memory, our very redoubted lord and great grandfather.—Item, it is agreed that immediately on our decease, and from thenceforward, our crown and kingdom of France, with all its rights and appurtenances, shall devolve for ever to our said son king Henry, and to his heirs.

"Item, because we are for the greater part of our time personally prevented from attending to the affairs and government of our realm with the attention they deserve, the government of our kingdom shall in future be conducted by our said son king Henry, during our life, calling to his assistance and council such of our nobles as have remained obedient to us, and who have the welfare of the realm and the public good at heart, so that affairs may be conducted to the honour of God, of ourself and consort, and to the general welfare and security of the kingdom; and that tranquillity may be restored to it, and justice and equity take place everywhere by the aid of the great lords, barons, and nobles of the realm.—Item, our said son shall, to the utmost of his power, support the courts of parliament of France, in all parts that are subject to us, and their authority shall be upheld and maintained with rigour from this time forward.—Item, our said son shall exert himself to defend and maintain each of our nobility, cities, towns and municipalities in all their accustomed rights, franchises, and privileges, so that they be not individually nor collectively molested in them.—Item, our said son shall labour diligently, that justice be administered throughout the realm, according to the accustomed usages, without exception of any one, and will bodily defend and guard all our subjects from all violence and oppression whatever.

"Item, it is agreed that our said son king Henry shall appoint to all vacant places, as well in the court of parliament as in the bailiwicks, seneschalships, provostships, and to all other offices within our realm, observing that he do nominate fit and proper persons for such offices, fully acquainted with the laws and customs of the country, so that tranquillity may be preserved, and the kingdom flourish.—Item, our said son will most diligently exert himself to reduce to our obedience all cities, towns, castles and forts, now in rebellion against us, and of the party commonly called Dauphinois or Armagnac.—Item, for the more secure observance of these articles, and the more effectually to enable our said son king Henry to carry them into execution, it is agreed that all the great lords, as well spiritual as temporal,—all the cities, towns, and municipalities within our realm, and under our obedience, shall each of them take the following oaths: They shall swear obedience and loyalty to our said son king Henry, in so much as we have invested him with the full power of governing our kingdom of France in conjunction with such counsel of able men as he may appoint. They will likewise swear to observe punctually whatever we, in conjunction with our consort the

* The queen's dower was 40,000 crowns, which was confirmed in the first parliament of Henry VI., on petition from her.—*Parl. Hist.*

queen, our said son king Henry, and the council, may ordain. The cities, towns, and municipalities, will also swear to obey and diligently follow whatever orders may particularly affect them. Instantly on our decease the whole of the subjects of our kingdom shall swear to become liegemen and vassals to our said son king Henry, and obey him as the true king of France, and, without any opposition or dispute, shall receive him as such, and never pay obedience to any other as king or regent of France but to our said son king Henry, unless our said son should lose life or limb, or be attacked by a mortal disease, or suffer diminution in person, state, honour, or goods. But should they know of any evil designs plotted against him, they will counteract them to the utmost of their power, and give him information thereof by letters or messages.

"Item, it is agreed that whatever conquests our said son may make from our disobedient subjects shall belong to us, and their profits shall be applied to our use; but should any of these conquests appertain to any noble who at this moment is obedient to us, and who shall swear that he will faithfully defend them, they shall be punctually restored to him as to the lawful owner.—Item, it is agreed that all ecclesiastics within the duchy of Normandy and the realm of France, obedient to us, to our said son, and attached to the party of the duke of Burgundy, who shall swear faithfully to keep and observe all the articles of this treaty, shall peaceably enjoy their said benefices in the duchy of Normandy, and in all other parts of our realm.—Item, all universities, colleges, churches, and monasteries, within the duchy of Normandy or elsewhere, subject to us, and in time to come to our said son king Henry, shall freely enjoy all rights and privileges claimed by them, saving the rights of the crown and of individuals.—Item, whenever the crown of France shall devolve by our decease on our said son king Henry, the duchy of Normandy, and all the other conquests which he may have made within the kingdom of France, shall thenceforward remain under the obedience and jurisdiction of the monarchy of France.—Item, it is agreed that our said son king Henry, on coming to the throne of France, will make ample compensation to all of the Burgundian party who may have been deprived of their inheritances by his conquest of the duchy of Normandy, from lands to be conquered from our rebellious subjects, without any diminution from the crown of France. Should the estates of such not have been disposed of by our said son, he will instantly have the same restored to their proper owners.

"Item, during our life all ordinances, edicts, pardons and privileges, must be written in our name, and signed with our seal; but as cases may arise which no human wisdom can foresee, it may be proper that our said son king Henry should write letters in his own name, and in such cases it shall be lawful for him so to do, for the better security of our person, and the maintaining good government; and he will then command and order in our name, and in his own, as regent of the realm, according as the exigency of the occasion may require.—Item, during our life our said son king Henry will neither sign nor style himself king of France, but will most punctually abstain therefrom so long as we shall live.—Item, it is agreed that during our life we shall write, call and style our said son king Henry as follows: 'Our very dear son Henry, king of England, heir to France;' and in the Latin tongue, 'Noster præcharissimus filius Henricus rex Angliæ hæres Franciæ.'

"Item, our said son king Henry will not impose any taxes on our subjects, except for a sufficient cause, or for the general good of the kingdom, and according to the approved laws and usages observed in such cases.—Item, that perfect concord and peace may be preserved between the two kingdoms of France and England henceforward, and that obstacles tending to a breach thereof (which God forbid) may be obviated, it is agreed that our said son king Henry, with the aid of the three estates of each kingdom, shall labour most earnestly to devise the surest means to prevent this treaty from being infringed: that on our said son succeeding to the throne of France, the two crowns shall ever after remain united in the same person,—that is to say, in the person of our said son, and at his decease, in the persons of those of his heirs who shall successively follow him: that from the time our said son shall become king of France the two kingdoms shall no longer be divided, but the sovereign of the one shall be the sovereign of the other,—and to each kingdom its own separate laws and customs shall be most religiously preserved.—Item, thenceforward, therefore, all hatreds

and rancour that may have existed between the two nations of England and France shall be put an end to, and mutual love and friendship subsist in their stead: they shall enjoy perpetual peace, and assist each other against all who may any way attempt to injure either of them. They will carry on a friendly intercourse and commerce, paying the accustomed duties that each kingdom has established.—Item, when the confederates and allies of the kingdoms of France and of England shall have had due notice of this treaty of peace, and within eight months after shall have signified their intentions of adhering to it, they shall be comprehended and accounted as the allies of both kingdoms, saving always the rights of our crown and of that of our said son king Henry, and without any hindrance to our subjects from seeking that redress they may think just from any individuals of these our allies.

"Item, it is agreed that our said son king Henry, with the advice of our well-beloved Philip duke of Burgundy, and others of the nobles of our realm, assembled for this purpose, shall provide for the security of our person conformably to our royal estate and dignity, in such wise that it may redound to the glory of God, to our honour, and to that of the kingdom of France and our subjects; and that all persons employed in our personal service, noble or otherwise, and in any charge concerning the crown, shall be Frenchmen born in France, and in such places where the French language is spoken, and of good and decent character, loyal subjects, and well suited to the offices they shall be appointed to.—Item, we will that our residence be in some of the principal places within our dominions, and not elsewhere.

"Item, considering the horrible and enormous crimes that have been perpetrated in our kingdom of France, by Charles, calling himself dauphin of Vienne, it is agreed that neither our said son king Henry, nor our well beloved Philip duke of Burgundy, shall enter into any treaty of peace or concord with the said Charles, without the consent of us three and of our council, and the three estates of the realm for that purpose assembled.

"Item, it is agreed, that in addition to the above articles being sealed with our great seal, we shall deliver to our said son king Henry, confirmatory letters from our said consort the queen, from our said well-beloved Philip duke of Burgundy, and from others of our blood royal, the great lords, barons, and cities, and towns under our obedience, and from all from whom our said son king Henry may wish to have them.—Item, in like manner, our said son king Henry, on his part, shall deliver to us, besides the treaty itself sealed with his great seal, ratifications of the same from his well-beloved brothers, the great lords of his realm, and from all the principal cities and towns of his kingdom, and from any others from whom we may choose to demand them.

"In regard to the above articles, we, Charles king of France, do most solemnly, on the word of a king, promise and engage punctually to observe them; and we swear on the holy Evangelists, personally touched by us, to keep every article of this peace inviolate, and to make all our subjects do the same, without any fraud or deceit whatever,—so that none of our heirs may in time to come infringe them, but that they may be for ever stable and firm. In confirmation whereof, we have affixed our seal to these presents.

"Given at Troyes, 21st day of May, in the year 1420, and of our reign the 40th. Sealed at Paris with our signet, in the absence of the great seal." Signed by the king in his grand council. Countersigned, "J. Millet."

CHAPTER CCXXIV.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND DEPART FROM TROYES WITH THEIR QUEENS, IN COMPANY WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE SIEGES OF SENS AND OF MONTEREAU.

After the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and the feasts and ceremonies of the marriage, the two kings of France and of England, accompanied by their queens, the duke of Burgundy, and the whole army, departed from the city of Troyes and the adjacent parts. They marched toward the town of Sens in Burgundy, which was occupied by a party of the dauphin's men, and, when near, blockaded it completely; so that at the end of twelve days the

garrison, seeing no hope of succour, surrendered it to the king of France on having their lives and fortunes spared, and liberty for such as pleased to depart in safety, with the exception of those who had been concerned in the murder of duke John of Burgundy, should any such be found within the town. The inhabitants, and those men at arms who should remain, were to take oaths of obedience to the king of France. The greater part of them, however, made oath to the English, and pretended to wear the red cross, notwithstanding which they again turned to the dauphin. When the town of Sens had been re-garrisoned, the besiegers departed for Montereau-faut-Yonne. During their stay at Sens, master Eustace de Lactre, chancellor of France, died there : he had been for a long time the principal adviser of the duke of Burgundy. Master John le Clerc, president of the parliament, was appointed chancellor in his stead.

At the beginning of the month of June, the king of England and the duke of Burgundy formed the siege of the town and castle of Montereau, and were for some time employed before it with their engines to batter down the walls and gates. The governor of the place for the dauphin was sir Pierre de Guitry*, having under his command five hundred combatants, who made a gallant defence, killing and wounding many of the assailants: among the first was sir Butor bastard of Croy, a valiant knight, and expert man-at-arms. This, however, did not avail them much, for on St. John Baptist's day, some English and Burgundians assembled without orders from their prince, and made an attack on the town at several places at once, and continued it so long, that they forced an entrance into it, without meeting with any great resistance from the besieged. They then advanced toward the castle, whither the greater part of the Dauphinois had retreated, and drove the remainder before them, not, however, without loss, for they had hastened with such impatience that many fell into the ditches and were drowned, and from sixteen to twenty were made prisoners, the most part gentlemen. By this conquest, the besieged were more alarmed than before. The king of England quartered a large detachment from his army in the town, fronting the castle; and when this had been done, some of the duke of Burgundy's people, by the direction of the women of the town, went to the spot where duke John had been buried, and instantly placed over the grave a mourning cloth, and lighted tapers at each end of it. On the morrow, by orders of the duke of Burgundy, several noble knights and esquires of his household were sent thither to raise the corpse and to examine it. On their arrival, they had the body dug up, but in truth it was a melancholy sight, for he had still on his pourpoint and drawers; and there was not a man present that could refrain from weeping. The body was again put into a leaden coffin, filled with salt and spices, and carried to Burgundy, to be interred in the convent of the Carthusians without Dijon, which was founded by his father duke Philip, by whose side it was placed, according to the orders of the duke his son.

While the siege of Montereau was carrying on, Charles king of France and his ministers sent copies of the treaty of peace to Paris, and to all the bailiwicks, provostships, and seneschalships of the realm, that it might be proclaimed in the places where proclamations had been usually made. After the capture of the town of Montereau, the king of England and the duke of Burgundy decamped with the army, and, crossing the Seine by a newly-erected bridge, encamped between the two rivers Seine and Yonne, and more effectually surrounded the castle with their warlike engines to batter it down. The king of England sent all the prisoners from the town under a good escort, to hold a parley with those in the castle, from the ditches, to prevail on the governor to surrender the place. When within hearing they fell on their knees, and pitifully implored him to surrender, for by so doing he would save their lives, and that he could not much longer hold out, considering the large force that was before it. The governor replied, that they must do the best they could, for that he would not surrender. The prisoners, having no longer hopes of life, asked to speak with their wives, or friends and relatives, that were in the castle; and they took leave of each other with many tears and lamentations. When they were brought back to the army,

* Q. If not William de Chaumont, lord of Guitry, counsellor and chamberlain to the king, and captain of Sens and Auxerre? He was made count de Chaumont, and grand-master of waters and forests, in 1424, by Charles VII. His son Charles was killed at the battle of Verneuil in 1423.

the king of England ordered a gallows to be erected, and had them all hanged in sight of those within the castle. The king likewise hanged a running footman, who always followed him when he rode, holding the bridle of his horse. He was a great favourite of the king's, but having killed a knight in a quarrel, was thus punished.

The castle did not hold out more than eight days after this, when the governor offered to surrender it on condition that the lives and fortunes of the garrison should be spared, and that they should march freely away, with the exception of any who had been concerned in the murder of duke John of Burgundy, who were to remain until the king's pleasure should be known. The lord de Guitry was much blamed by both parties for having suffered the prisoners to be put to death, and holding out so few days after. He was also accused of being concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy, but offered to prove his innocence by combating a gentleman of duke Philip's household called William de Biere. In the end, Guitry exculpated himself, and nothing further was done. He carried away his garrison to the dauphin. So soon as the king of England had re-garrisoned and supplied the town and castle of Montereau with stores and provision, he made preparations to lay siege to the town of Melun, and while these things were passing, the king and queen of France and the queen of England resided at Bray-sur-Seine, with their households.

CHAPTER CCXXV.—THE TOWN OF VILLENEUVE-LE-ROI IS TAKEN BY SCALADO.—THE SIEGE OF THE PONT ST. ESPRIT.—THE CROISADE UNDERTAKEN BY THE POPE,—AND MN Y OTHER MATTERS.

In these days, the town of Villeneuve-le-Roi, seated on the river Yonne, was surprised by scalado, by a party of Burgundians; in which place were killed and taken many who supported the dauphin's party. At this time also the duke of Bedford joined his brother the king of England with eight hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers. They were joyfully received by the king, his brothers, and the duke of Burgundy, whose army was greatly strengthened by this reinforcement. The dauphin was not idle on his side: he had marched a considerable force into Languedoc, and laid siege to the town of the Pont du St. Esprit, on the Rhône, which was garrisoned by the prince of Orange's men for the duke of Burgundy. He pointed against it many engines that had been sent him from Avignon and Provence, and pressed the place so much that it surrendered. In like manner he subdued the greater part of the towns and castles in Languedoc that were attached to the Burgundian party through the influence of the prince of Orange, and having placed therein sufficient garrisons and expert commanders, he returned to Bourges in Berry, where he assembled a very large army, to enable him to oppose the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, who he knew were preparing to conquer all towns and castles that were attached to him.

At this time, also, the holy father the pope ordered a croisade to be undertaken against Bohemia, the leaders of which were, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Liege, the archbishop of Treves, the bishop of Mentz, count Louis du Rhin, and many other great lords of upper Germany, and from the adjoining parts. They entered the country near Prague, where they committed great devastations, and took a strong castle called Nansonne*, and the well-fortified town of Culhue*, as well as some others. However, great numbers of this army quitted it and returned home, because it seemed to them that their leaders were too avaricious. The cardinal duke of Bar, with his nephew, Réné d'Anjou, son of his sister and the late king Louis of Sicily, whom he had declared his heir to the duchy of Bar, having already given him the marquisate du Pont, besieged with a powerful force the town and castle of Ligny-en-Barrois, the principal town of that country, because John of Luxembourg had not performed his duty as guardian to the young count de St. Pol, by doing homage, neither had it been done by duke John of Brabant, brother to the count. Those within the town were partisans of the Burgundy faction, while the cardinal and his country were of the

* I have looked into L'Enfant's "Guerre des Hussites," but cannot find mention made of these places, or any of similar sound.

opposite party. When the siege had been continued some time, the place submitted to the obedience of the cardinal, who placed therein his own garrison and officers. Nevertheless, by some negotiations between the parties, the town, castle, and country, were afterward restored to the young count de St. Pol, who again garrisoned it with his own people.

CHAPTER CCXXVI.—THE TOWN OF MELUN IS CLOSELY BESIEGED.—THE CAPTURE OF THE COUNT DE CONVERSAN.—THE DEPARTURE OF THE YOUNG KING OF SICILY FOR ROME.

We must now return to the kings of France and England, and the duke of Burgundy, who having conquered Montereau advanced to Melun to lay siege thereto, as it held out for the dauphin. They surrounded it on all sides with their army; and the king of France, accompanied by the two queens, went to fix his residence at Corbeil. King Henry, with his brothers, the duke of Bavaria, surnamed le Rouge, his brother-in-law*, and his other princes, were encamped toward the Gâtinois; duke Philip of Burgundy, with all his men, the earl of Huntingdon, and some other English captains, were encamped on the opposite side toward Brie. The besiegers exerted themselves to the utmost to annoy the enemy, and pointed various engines of war, cannons, bombards, and such like, to batter down the walls of the town, which was commanded by the lord de Barbasan, a noble vassal, subtle, expert, and renowned in arms. He had with him sir Pierre de Bourbon, lord de Préaulx, and another of the name of Bourgeois, with a garrison of from six to seven hundred combatants. They showed every appearance of making a vigorous defence against all the attacks of the besiegers; but, notwithstanding their exertions, the town was approached by the enemy to the very walls, by means of mines and other subtleties of war, so that their fortifications were much damaged. On the other side of the town, the duke of Burgundy, by an unexpected and well-concerted attack, gained a strong bulwark which the besieged had erected without the ditches, and which sorely annoyed the Burgundians; the duke, after the capture, fortified it against the town, and posted guards in it night and day. A bridge of boats was also thrown over the Seine, by which a free communication was opened between the two armies; and the king of England had his camp strongly surrounded with palisades and ditches, that he might not be surprised by the enemy, leaving sufficient openings, fortified with barriers, which he had carefully guarded by day and by night. In like manner did the duke of Burgundy and the English that were encamped with him.

In this state did the siege continue for eighteen weeks, during which some few sallies, but in no very considerable force, were made by the besieged. However, a valiant English captain called sir Philip Lis, a notable gentleman from Burgundy, sir Everard de Vienne, and several more, lost their lives. As the besiegers continued their attacks incessantly, great damage was done to the walls, which those in the town repaired as well as they could with casks filled with earth, and other sufficient materials. The king of England had a mine carried on with such success that it was very nearly under the walls, when the besieged, having suspicions of what was intended, formed a countermine, so that great part of the enemy's works fell in, and a warm engagement with lances took place. The English erected a strong barrier on their side of the mine, at which the king and the duke of Burgundy engaged two of the Dauphinois with push of pike, which was afterward continued by several knights and esquires of each party. Then the following persons of the duke's household were created knights, Jean de Hornes, the lord de Baussigines, Robert de Mannes, and some others.

While this siege lasted, the king of England paid frequent visits to his queen at Corbeil, with whom was the duchess of Clarence and other noble ladies from England. When the town had been thus blockaded on all sides, king Charles was brought thither to afford the besieged an opportunity of surrendering it to the king of France, their natural lord; but to

* Louis, called also Barbatus, second son of the emperor Rupert, elector-palatine of the Rhine, married Blanche, daughter of Henry IV., by whom he had issue only one son, Rupert, who died childless. Duke Louis afterwards married again, and had a son, who succeeded to the electorate.

the summons made them they replied, that they would cheerfully throw open their gates to him alone, but that they would never pay obedience to the king of England, the ancient deadly enemy of France. Nevertheless, king Charles remained some time in the camp under the care and management of his son-in-law the king of England,—not indeed with his former state and pomp, for in comparison of past times it was a poor sight now to see him. He was accompanied by the queen of France, grandly attended by ladies and damsels; and they resided about a month in a house which king Henry had erected for them near to his tents, and at a distance from the town, that the cannon might not annoy them. Every day, at sunrise and nightfall, eight or ten clarions, and divers other instruments, played most melodiously for an hour before the king of France's tent.

In truth, the king of England was more magnificently attended during this siege than at any other during his reign, and was personally very active to accomplish his enterprise. While these things were passing, Pierre de Luxembourg, count de Conversan and de Brienne, returning from this siege to his county of Brienne, and escorted by about sixty men-at-arms, was met by a party of Dauphinois from Meaux, in Brie, namely Pierron de Lupel, and others; and they, being superior in numbers, carried him and his men prisoners to Meaux, where he remained until the king of England besieged that town, as you shall hear. At this period, the queen of Sicily, widow to king Louis of happy memory, granted permission, but not without heavy sighs, to her eldest son Louis to go to Rome to be crowned king of Sicily by the hands of the pope. She gave him into the charge of the Florentines and Genoese, who had entered the port of Marseilles with fifteen galleys, trusting not entirely to their loyalty, but demanding as hostages for her son eight of the most noble barons of Naples, who had come to fetch him by orders from the cities, chief towns, and principal noblemen of the realm. This they had done from hatred to their queen, wife to sir James de Bourbon, count de la Marche. She had detained her husband in prison, in consequence of her quarrels with him and his ministers. The young king Louis having embarked at Marseilles, which was a dependence of his mother's, sailed to Rome, and there solemnly received his kingdom from the hands of the pope, although he was not then crowned. He was thenceforward styled king Louis, as his late father had been.

CHAPTER CCXXVII.—SEVERAL CASTLES AND FORTS ARE DELIVERED UP TO KING HENRY OF ENGLAND, IN WHICH HE PLACES HIS OWN CAPTAINS.—THE ROYAL EDICTS ISSUED AT HIS REQUEST.

During the siege of Melun, the castles hereafter mentioned, namely, the bastile of St. Anthony, the Louvre, the palace of Neele, and the castle of Vincennes, were, by orders from the king of France, with the consent of the duke of Burgundy and the Parisians, put into the hands of king Henry, who sent his brother the duke of Clarence to take the command of them, and constituted him governor of Paris. He dismissed all the French garrisons who had hitherto guarded them, and placed therein none but English. The government of Paris was taken from the count de St. Pol, who was, soon after, sent with master Pierre de Marigny and others as commissioners from the king of France to Picardy, to receive the oaths from the three estates and principal towns in that country, in order that the peace lately concluded between the two kings might be strictly observed, and that they might in future faithfully obey the king of France, and the king of England as regent of the realm. These commissioners received the following instructions from the king of France; and they were to bring back the oaths signed by the three estates and magistrates of the chief towns.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to our very dear and well-beloved cousins the count de St. Pol, the bishop of Terouenne, and John de Luxembourg, and to our very dear and well-beloved the bishop of Arras, the vidame of Amiens, the lord de la Viefville, the governors of Arras and of Lille, master Pierre de Marigny, our advocate in parliament, and master George d'Ostende, our secretary, health and greeting. We having lately, after due deliberation, and by the advice of our consort the queen, and of our very dear and well-beloved son Philip duke of Burgundy, the prelates, the nobles and commonalties of our said

kingdom, concluded a peace, to the great advantage of ourself and of our realm, with our very dear son Henry king of England, heir and regent of France, for ourself and for the kingdoms of France and of England; which peace has been solemnly sworn to by us, our consort the queen, our son of Burgundy, and by the nobles, barons, prelates, churchmen, and commonalties of the realm. We therefore order that all persons within our kingdom who have not as yet taken the oaths for the due observance of this peace do swear to the same without delay; and, confiding in your great loyalty, prudence, and diligence, we command, by these presents, that you, and each of you, do instantly visit all the cities, large towns, castles, and other notable places within the bailiwicks of Amiens, Tournay, Lille, Douay, Arras, and in the county of Ponthieu, and within their different dependencies and jurisdictions; and that you do summon before you all whom you shall think proper, of prelates and other dignitaries of the church, nobles, and common people, and that you do publicly cause to be read to them the whole of the articles of the said peace; which done, you will strictly enjoin them in our name to swear, in your presence, on the holy evangelists, to the due observance of the peace, the following oaths, under pain of being reputed rebels, and disobedient to us:—

"First, you shall swear obedience and loyalty to the high and mighty prince Henry king of England, as governor and regent of France, and that you will faithfully obey all his orders in whatever shall tend to the preservation of the public welfare and of the realm, subject at the present to the very high and potent prince Charles king of France our sovereign lord.—Secondly, that after the decease of our said sovereign lord king Charles, you will, conformably to the articles of the peace, become liege men and loyal subjects to the very high and mighty prince Henry king of England, and to his heirs; that you will honour and acknowledge him as king of France without opposition, as your true king, and obey him as such, promising henceforward to obey none other as king of France, excepting king Charles at present on the throne.—Thirdly, you will not afford assistance or advice to any conspiracies, that may tend to the death of the said king Henry, to the loss of his limbs, or to the diminution of his estate or dignity; but should you know of any such conspiracies, you will prevent them from taking effect as much as shall in you lie, and you shall inform the said king of England thereof by messages or letters. And you will swear generally to observe punctually all the different articles of this treaty of peace between our said lord king Charles and Henry king of England, without fraud, deception, or mental reservation whatever, and that you will resist and oppose any one who may any way attempt to infringe them.

"These oaths we will and command all our vassals of every rank and condition to take, and swear to the maintaining the peace without infringing it in the smallest degree. You and your clerks will punctually transmit to us certificates of the above oaths having been solemnly taken in your presence. And we ordain that any number of you from nine to three persons be a sufficient court to receive such oaths, for which these presents shall be your authority. We order and command all our bailiffs, and others our officers of justice, to obey your directions, and to afford you every aid and advice that you may require. And because it may be necessary to make public these our commands in different parts, we will that as much faith be placed in the copies under our royal seal as in the original.

"Given at our siege of Melun the 23d day of July, in the year of Grace 1420, and of our reign the 40th." Countersigned, "MARC."

The count de St. Pol and the other commissioners in consequence of these orders left Paris, and were some days in journeying to Amiens, that they might avoid the ambushes of the Dauphinois. They were kindly received in Amiens, and, having shown their powers, the inhabitants took the oaths. They thence went to Abbeville, St. Ricquier, Montrieul, Boulogne, St. Omer, and other places, where they duly obeyed and punctually executed the orders they had received.

CHAPTER CCXXVIII.—PHILIP COUNT DE ST. POL GOES TO BRUSSELS, AND ARRESTS THE MINISTERS OF THE DUKE OF BRABANT.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THESE TIMES.

THE count de St. Pol, soon after his return from Picardy, was sent for in haste by the greater part of the nobility and principal towns in Brabant, and also by the countess of Hainault, wife to the duke of Brabant. Laying aside all other matters he instantly complied; and on his arrival in that country he was immediately declared governor of the whole duchy by those who had sent for him, instead of his brother, whose conduct had been so disagreeable that they would no longer obey him as their duke. The count kept his state in Brussels, and began to make many new regulations to the great displeasure of those who governed the duke of Brabant, who was at that time absent from Brussels. His ministers, however, brought him back with a large force of men-at-arms, but the inhabitants would not open their gates to him until he had promised his brother the count de St. Pol, that he would maintain peace with them. He was scarcely entered when those who managed him would not permit his brother or the principal nobles to approach him but with difficulty and with suspicion. This conduct irritated them so much that they, in conjunction with the count de St. Pol, resolved to provide a remedy, and assembling in numbers, they arrested all the duke's ministers, the principal of whom was the damoiseau de Hainsbercq.

The most part of these prisoners were beheaded, namely, sir John de Condemberch, John Scoccard, Everard le Duc, Henry le Duc, sir Henry Hutun, master William Hutun, sir John Hutun, sir William Pipepoye, sir William Moieux, the youth William Asche, John du Vert, sir Everard Sherchos, John Clautin Grolier, and some others. The duke was put under the government of the nobles of Brabant, with the approbation of his brother the count de St. Pol, and the three estates of the country, and ever after unanimity and peace reigned among them. In these days the Dauphinois quartered at Guise, in Tierrache and the adjoining parts, assembled a body of about five hundred combatants, and suddenly marched to the town of Beaurevoir, belonging to sir John de Luxembourg, wherein he resided, and to the villages near, whence they carried off many of the peasants and some booty, with which they speedily returned to their own quarters. Sir John was very indignant at this conduct, and having collected a large body of men-at-arms and archers from various parts, he conducted them to the county of Guise and overran the whole of it, seizing or destroying all they found in the open country, in revenge for the insult of the Dauphinois. They made a rich plunder of peasants, cattle, sheep, pigs, horses, and of all that had not been secured in castles, which they brought off and then separated to their different homes. During these tribulations, Philip count de Vertus, brother to the duke of Orleans, a prisoner in England, and also to the count d'Angoulême, died at Blois: he had the government of all the estates of his brother in France; and the dauphin was much weakened in aid and advice by his death. His two brothers bitterly lamented his loss, as well from fraternal affection as because he faithfully managed their concerns in France during their imprisonment.

CHAPTER CCXXIX.—THE LORD DE L'ISLE-ADAM, MARSHAL OF FRANCE, IS SENT TO GARRISON JOIGNY.—THE SURRENDER OF THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF MELUN.

WE will now return to the siege of Melun, at which were present, as you have heard, the kings of France and of England and the duke of Burgundy. The lord de l'Isle-Adam, though marshal of France, was sent by king Charles with a large force to garrison Joigny, and make head against the Dauphinois, who were committing great depredations in those parts. When he had remained there some time, and had properly posted his men, he returned to the siege of Melun. He had caused to be made a surcoat of light grey, in which he waited on the king of England relative to some affairs touching his office. When he had made the proper salutations, and had said a few words respecting his business, king Henry, by way of joke, said, "What, l'Isle-Adam! is this a dress for a marshal of France?" to

which he replied, looking the king in the face, "Sire, I have had it thus made to cross the Seine in the boats." The king added, "How dare you thus look a prince full in the face when you are speaking to him?" "Sire," answered l'Isle-Adam, "such is the custom of us Frenchmen; and if any one addresses another, whatever may be his rank, and looks on the ground, he is thought to have evil designs, and cannot be an honest man, since he dare not look in the face of him to whom he is speaking." The king replied, "Such is not our custom." After these and some few more words, the lord de l'Isle-Adam took leave of the king and departed from his presence,—but he plainly perceived that he was not in his good graces. He was, shortly after, deprived of his office of marshal of France; and another worse event befel him, for he was also detained prisoner by king Henry, as you will see hereafter.

During this siege of Melun, a severe epidemical distemper afflicted the English army, and caused a very great mortality. On the other hand, the prince of Orange and many others quitted the army of the duke of Burgundy, which weakened him so much that he sent in haste orders to sir John de Luxembourg, who commanded for the king in Picardy, to assemble as many men-at-arms and archers as he could, and bring them to the siege of Melun. Sir John instantly obeyed this order, and, marching his men through Peronne and over the bridge of St. Maixence, advanced toward Melun. The besieged, seeing this body marching in battle array, concluded it was succour coming to their aid, and began to ring all the bells in the town, and to cry from their walls to the besiegers that they must now hasten to saddle their horses, for they would speedily be forced to decamp. They were soon undeceived, and with grief descended from the ramparts, having no longer hopes of assistance from the dauphin, or from any other quarter. Sir John de Luxembourg and his men were quartered at the town of Brie-Comte-Robert, where they remained until after the surrender of Melun. In the meantime the king of France despatched letters to many of the principal towns of the kingdom, commanding them to send commissioners to meet him at Paris on the fourth of January, to confer with the nobility and clergy on the state of affairs.

The garrison in Melun were aware how dangerously they were now situated, without hope of succour; for they had frequently made the dauphin acquainted with their situation, and how they had for a long time, from famine, been forced to live on dogs, cats, horses, and other food unbecoming Christians, requiring him, at the same time, to perform his promises of sending them assistance, and to relieve them from the danger they had incurred in his support. At length the ministers of the dauphin sent them word that they had not sufficient forces to oppose the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, and advised them to conclude the best treaty they could with them. On receiving this answer, they opened a parley with the king of England, who sent as his commissioners the earl of Warwick and sir John Cornwall; and, after eighteen weeks' siege, they concluded a treaty on these terms:

First, the besieged were faithfully to surrender to the kings of France and of England the town and castle of Melun; and all the men-at-arms and inhabitants within the said town were to submit themselves to the will of the two kings.—Secondly, the two kings accepted the terms, on condition that should there be any persons who had committed or been accomplices in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy, they should be given up to the punishment due to their crimes. All others, of whatever rank they may be, not implicated in the aforesaid murder, shall have their lives spared, but remain prisoners until they shall have given sufficient securities never to join in arms with the enemies of the said kings.—Thirdly, should those accused of having been concerned in the murder of the late duke John of Burgundy be found guiltless, they shall remain in the same state as those not implicated therein. Such as are native subjects of France shall be restored to their possessions on giving the security as before-mentioned.

All the burghers and inhabitants shall remain at the disposal of the two kings. The aforesaid burghers, and also the men-at-arms, shall place, or cause to be placed within the castle of Melun, their armour and warlike habiliments in suchwise as they may be seen, without damaging or destroying any parts of them. In like manner, they will carry thither all their moveables.—Item, the garrison shall surrender all prisoners they may have taken in war, and acquit them of their engagements, and also such prisoners as they may have made

before the commencement of the siege.—Item, for the due performance of these articles, twelve of the most noble men in the place after the governor, and six of the principal inhabitants, shall be given up as hostages.—Item, the lord Fordun, an English or Scots knight, and all the English and Scots, shall be at the disposal of the king of England.

When this treaty was concluded the gates of the town and castle were thrown open, and put under the command of the two kings; and the government of it was given by them to one called Pierre de Verault, the ministers of the king of England having the administration of affairs.

The men-at-arms of the dauphin's party, of whom the principal were, sir Pierre de Bourbon, lord of Préaulx, Barbasan, and from five to six hundred noblemen and gentle dames, with the most notable inhabitants, were by command of the king of England, regent of France, carried to Paris under a considerable escort, and there imprisoned in the Châtelet, Bastille, the Temple, and other places. It was strictly commanded by the two kings that no persons should enter the town or castle of Melun, excepting those who had been ordered so to do, under pain of being beheaded. Among others who suffered this punishment were two monks of Jouy in Brie, namely the cellar-keeper of that convent and Dom Symon, formerly monks of Gart.

While this treaty of peace was carrying on, a gentleman of the household of the king of England, named Bertrand de Chaumont (who at the battle of Azincourt had turned from the French to the English because he held his lands in Guyenne under the king of England, and was much beloved by him for his valour,) in an evil hour, and from being badly advised through avarice, aided the escape of Amerian du Lau from the town of Melun, who, as it was said, had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy. This came to the knowledge of the king of England, who was troubled thereat, and notwithstanding the entreaties of his brother the duke of Clarence, and even of the duke of Burgundy, had him beheaded for this act, telling them not to speak to him on the subject, for that he would have no traitors in his army, and that this punishment was for an example to all others,—although he would willingly have rather given five hundred thousand nobles than Bertrand should have committed so disloyal an act.

CHAPTER CCXXX. — AFTER THE SURRENDER OF MELUN, THE TWO KINGS, OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND, WITH THEIR QUEENS, AND SEVERAL PRINCES AND GREAT LORDS, GO TO PARIS IN GREAT POMP.

When the treaty for the surrender of Melun had been concluded, the king of England and the duke of Burgundy disbanded the greater part of their men, and marched the remainder of their armies to Corbeil, where the king of France and the two queens of France and of England resided. Thence the kings went to Paris, attended by the dukes of Clarence, Burgundy, Bedford, and Exeter, the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and other great lords. A numerous band of the citizens of Paris came out to meet them in handsome array, and the streets were covered and ornamented with many rich cloths. On their entrance, carols were sung in all the squares through which they passed; and the two kings rode together side by side, the king of England on the right hand. After them came the dukes of Clarence and Bedford, brothers to king Henry; and on the opposite side of the street, on the left hand, rode the duke of Burgundy, dressed in deep mourning, followed by the knights and esquires of his household.

The other princes and knights rode after the kings in due order, and they met different processions of the clergy on foot, who halted in the squares, and then presented the holy relics borne by them, to be kissed by the two kings. On their being first offered to the king of France, he turned toward the king of England, and made him a sign to kiss them first; but king Henry, putting his hand to his hood, bowed to king Charles, and said he would kiss them after him, which was done, and thus practised all the way to the church of Nôtre Dame, where the kings and princes dismounted, and entered the church. When they had finished their prayers and thanksgivings before the grand altar, they remounted their horses

and went to their lodgings,—the king of France to his hôtel of St. Pol, attended by the duke of Burgundy, who having escorted the king thither, returned to his hôtel of Artois, The king of England and his two brothers were lodged in the Louvre, their attendants in different parts of the town, and the men-at-arms in the adjacent villages.

The two queens made their entry into Paris on the ensuing day, when the duke of Burgundy, with many English lords, and the citizens in the same array as on the day before, went out to meet them. Great joy was again displayed on the arrival of the queens; but it would take up too much time, were I to relate all the grand presents that were offered by the city of Paris to the two kings, especially to the king and queen of England. The whole of that day and night wine was constantly running through brass cocks in conduits in all the squares, and conducted with great ingenuity, so that all persons might have wine in abundance; and more rejoicings were made throughout Paris than tongue can tell, for the peace that had been made between the two kings. When their majesties had been a few days in Paris, great complaints and clamours were made to them by duke Philip of Burgundy, and by the procurator of the duchess his mother, for the cruel murder that had been committed on the late duke John of Burgundy. To hear these complaints, the king of France sat in judgment in the lower hall of the hôtel of St. Pol, and on the same bench with him was the king of England: near the king of France sat master John le Clerc, chancellor of France, and further on master Philip de Morvillers, first president of the parliament, and some other nobles of the king's council. On the opposite side, and about the middle of the hall, was seated the duke of Burgundy, supported by the dukes of Clarence and Bedford, the bishops of Terouenne, of Beauvais, and of Amiens, sir John de Luxembourg, and many knights and esquires of his council.

When the assembly had been seated, master Nicolas Rolin, on the part of the duke of Burgundy and the lady-duchess his mother, demanded, in the usual manner, permission to address the two kings in their behalf. This having been obtained, he charged as guilty of murdering the late duke John of Burgundy, Charles, calling himself dauphin of Vienne, the viscount de Narbonne, the lord de Barbasan, Tanneguy du Châtel, Guillaume Bouteiller, Jean Louvet, president of Provence, sir Robert de Loire, Olivier Layet, and all those who had been concerned therein. Against each and all of them the advocate prayed judgment, and that they might be sentenced to be placed in tumbrils, and carried through all the squares of Paris for three Saturdays, or on festivals, bare-headed, and holding lighted wax tapers in their hands; and that in every square they should publicly confess, with a loud voice, that they had cruelly, wickedly, and damnably put the duke of Burgundy to death through hatred and jealousy, without any other cause whatever. They were then to be carried to Montereau, where they had perpetrated this murder, to undergo the same ceremonies, and to repeat the same words. They were, besides, to cause a church to be erected, and endowed on the spot where the murder had been committed, for twelve canons, six chaplains and six clerks, to perform for ever divine service therein. This church was to be completely furnished with chalices, tables, ornaments, books, napkins, and every other necessary; and the canons were to have each a yearly salary of two hundred livres parisis, the chaplains' salaries of one hundred, and the clerks' of fifty, of the same coin, at the expense of the said dauphin and his accomplices. The cause of this church being erected was to be inscribed in large letters, cut in stone, over the principal entrance; and the same inscription was to be placed in the towns of Rome, Paris, Ghent, Dijon, St. Jago de Compostella and at Jerusalem, where our Saviour suffered death.

When this sentence had been required, it was again demanded by master Pierre de Marigny, the king's advocate in parliament, confirming the accusations of murder against the persons aforesaid. Afterward, master John l'Archer, doctor of divinity, in the name of the university for whom he spoke, addressed the two kings with great eloquence, urging the extreme guilt of the criminals, and exhorting them to do strict justice on them, and to pay attention to the prayers of the duke and duchess of Burgundy that the judgment required might be carried into effect without delay. The king of France, through his chancellor, replied to what had been said, " that in regard to the death of the duke of Burgundy, and those who had so cruelly murdered him, he would by the grace of God, and with the

assistance of his son and heir, Henry king of England, and regent of France, do speedy and effectual justice on all who had been concerned therein." On this, the assembly broke up, and the two kings returned to their hotels.

CHAPTER CCXXXI.—A PARTY OF ENGLISH ARE DEFEATED NEAR MONT-EPILOY.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE MARQUIS DU PONT WITH A PRINCESS OF LORRAINE.—THE CONDUCT OF SIR JAMES DE HARCOURT.

While these things were passing, the English quartered at Gournay in Normandy, at Neuf-Châtel, d'Incourt, and other places on the borders, with sir Mauroy de St. Leger, who was posted at Creil, assembled in a body of about five hundred, and made an incursion into Brie and the Valois, where they gained great plunder, and made many prisoners. But on their return, they were met by the lord de Gamaches, who was quartered in Compiègne, and the garrisons from other parts, who rescued the prisoners, and recovered their plunder near to Mont-Epiloy, killing full sixty, besides making many prisoners. The rest saved themselves by flight,—and in this affair the lord de Gamaches acted with great valour.

At this period, the marriage of René d'Anjou, brother to the king of Sicily, and marquis du Pont (by the gift of his uncle the cardinal of Bar), with the daughter and heiress of the duke of Lorraine, was celebrated in the castle of Nancy-le-Duc. By this alliance, an end was put to the discords that subsisted between the two duchies of Lorraine and Bar; for the cardinal had long before declared this nephew his heir to the duchy of Bar, to the great displeasure of the duke of Mons, who was likewise his nephew, being son to his sister; but his displeasure availed him nothing. On the other hand, sir James de Harcourt, who still pretended attachment to the duke of Burgundy, maintained a strong garrison in Crotoy, and thence made grievous war by sea and land, which coming to the knowledge of the king of England, he was very greatly angered. The companions of sir James in this warfare were the lord de Rambures, sir Louis de Thiembronne, and his brother Guichard, sir Coquard de Combronne, the two brothers of Herselaines, the youths of Chaumont, and other gentlemen and men-at-arms of that country.

CHAPTER CCXXXII.—COMMISSIONERS ARRIVE AT PARIS FROM DIFFERENT TOWNS IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE.—THE TWO KINGS HOLD THERE A COUNCIL OF THE THREE ESTATES.—OTHER MATTERS.

At this time, deputies arrived at Paris from the three estates of the principal towns within the realm, according to the orders before given. Many councils were held in their presence and absence, concerning the public welfare, at which the gabelles, and other taxes, were renewed, with the exception of those on grain. At the feast of the Nativity, the two kings, with their queens and households, kept open court in Paris,—the king of France at the hôtel de St. Pol, and the king of England at the Louvre: but their state was very different, for the king of France was poorly and meanly served, compared with the pomp with which he used to keep open court in former times, and attended only on that day by some old servants and persons of low degree; which must have been very disgusting to all true and loyal Frenchmen, thus to see by the chance of war this noble kingdom in the possession and under the government of its ancient enemies, to whose dominion they were forced to bend themselves. With regard to the state of the king and queen of England on that day, it is impossible to detail its magnificence, or that of the princes who attended them. The French nobility came from all parts to do them honour, with the utmost humility; and from that day king Henry took on himself the whole government of the kingdom, appointing officers at his pleasure, and dismissing those whom the king and the late duke of Burgundy had given appointments. He nominated the earl of Kyme, of the name of Umphraville, to the government of Melun, with a sufficient garrison of men-at-arms and archers. The earl of Huntingdon, his cousin-german, was made captain of Vincennes;

and the duke of Exeter was ordered to remain with king Charles in Paris, with five hundred combatants.

After these appointments had been made, and the feasts concluded, king Henry set out from Paris with his queen, the dukes of Clarence, of Bedford, and others of his great barons, for the town of Rouen, where he remained a considerable time before he returned to England, and held many councils respecting the future government of the kingdom of France. Duke Philip of Burgundy departed also from Paris, and went to attend at Beauvais the feast of enthroning master Pierre Cauchon, doctor of divinity, the new bishop of that place, who was strongly attached to the Burgundian party. When the feasts were over, the duke set out for Lille, passing through Amiens and Dourlens, and from Lille to Ghent, where his duchess resided, with whom he staid about three weeks.

The red duke of Bavaria, who, as you have heard, had come to serve his brother-in-law, king Henry, with five hundred combatants, returned in haste through Cambray to his own country; for he had received intelligence that the Bohemians, led on and encouraged by an heretical priest of that country, were risen in rebellion, not only against the catholic faith, but against the emperor of Germany, and the monarchs of Hungary and Bohemia, and were waging a murderous war on all their subjects.

CHAPTER CCXXXIII.—KING HENRY SETS OUT FROM ROUEN TO CALAIS WITH HIS QUEEN, AND THENCE TO ENGLAND, WHERE HE IS RECEIVED WITH GREAT JOY BY ALL RANKS OF PEOPLE.

When king Henry had satisfactorily arranged his affairs at Rouen, and appointed his brother the duke of Clarence, who was very prudent and renowned in arms, governor-general of all Normandy, he departed thence, accompanied by his queen, his brother the duke of Bedford, and six thousand men-at-arms. Having passed through Poix, he arrived at Amiens on the vigil of St. Vincent's day, and was lodged in the hotel of master Robert le Jeune, who had lately been nominated bailiff of Amiens in the room of the lord de Humbercourt. He was very honourably received there, and many presents were made by the municipality to him and to his queen. He continued his journey through Dourlens, St. Pol and Terouenne, to Calais, where he staid some days; and then crossed the Channel to England, where he was received as if he had been an angel from God. He lost no time after his arrival in having his consort crowned queen of England in the city of London, the metropolis of that kingdom. The coronation was performed with such splendid magnificence that the like had never been seen at any coronation since the time of that noble knight, Arthur, king of the English and Bretons. After this ceremony, king Henry made a progress to the principal towns of his realm, and explained to them with much eloquence what grand deeds he had performed through his prowess in France, and what yet remained to be done for the complete conquest of that kingdom,—namely, the subjugation of his adversary the dauphin of Vienne, only son to king Charles, and brother to his queen, who styled himself heir to the crown and regent of France, and who kept possession of the greater part of the country. To complete this conquest, he said, two things were necessary, money and men; and these requests were so liberally granted that of the first he very soon collected larger sums than had ever before been seen, and they could scarcely be counted. Of the second, he enrolled all the most able youths in the country and the most expert in drawing the bow, and placing them under the command of his princes, knights and esquires, composed an army of full thirty thousand combatants, to enable him to prosecute a vigorous war against his enemy the dauphin.

Before he quitted England, that he might make all things secure, he renewed the truces with the Scots and Welsh, and consented to the deliverance of the king of Scotland, who had been long prisoner in England, on condition that he would marry his cousin-german' sister to the earl of Somerset, and niece to the cardinal of Winchester, who had been the principal negotiator in these treaties.

CHAPTER CCXXXIV.—A QUARREL TAKES PLACE BETWEEN THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BRABANT.—SHE SEPARATES HERSELF FROM HIM AND PASSES OVER INTO ENGLAND.

In these days, a great quarrel took place between duke John of Brabant and Jacquilina of Bavaria his duchess, insomuch that she left the palace of the duke. The principal reasons for her so doing were commonly reported to be, that she found him of poor understanding, and that he suffered himself to be governed by persons of low degree. The duke of Burgundy, who was equally related to both, and the countess of Hainault, her mother, vainly attempted to reconcile them; but they could never prevail on her to return to the duke. She declared, she would find means to effect a divorce, so that she might marry again to some other person who would pay attentions to her becoming her rank. The duchess was at this time in the flower of her youth, beautiful, well made, and as fully accomplished as any lady of her age. She was much hurt at seeing her days pass in the melancholy way they had done, and for this cause returned to her hotel with the countess her mother, who, in fact, had married her to the duke of Brabant against her inclinations.

Having remained with her mother a short time, they came together to Valenciennes, where the duchess took leave of her, and went, as she said, to amuse herself in her town of Bouchain; but on the morrow she departed thence very early in the morning, and was met on the plain by the lord d'Escaillon, a native of Hainault, but who had long been an Englishman in his heart, and with whom she had held many conferences while at Valenciennes, and had promised to accompany him to England, to seek redress from king Henry, and on the means of being finally separated from her husband. On meeting the lord d'Escaillon, who had about sixty horsemen with him, she took the road to Calais, and rode this first day as far as Hêdin, near to St. Pol, and thence straight to Calais, whence, after some stay, she crossed over to England, where she was most honourably received by the king, who made her general promises of aid in all her concerns.

CHAPTER CCXXXV.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY IS MADE PRISONER BY THE COUNT DE PENTHIEVRE, AND DETAINED BY HIM FOR A CONSIDERABLE TIME.—A WAR TAKES PLACE IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF*.

We must now speak of a wonderful event that happened this year in Brittany. It has been told by some historians, especially by master John Froissart, how the ancestors of John de Montfort, the present duke of Brittany, and those of Olivier de Bretagne, count de Penthievre, had in former times great quarrels and wars respecting the succession to the dukedom of Brittany, each of them claiming it as his right. At length, the duchy was given up to the Montforts, by means of certain compensations that were made to the family of Penthievre, the mention of which I shall pass over, as these events are anterior to my history, and they had possessed the duchy peaceably ever since.

The present count de Penthievre, however, notwithstanding he showed great outward marks of affection to the duke of Brittany, had not forgotten these ancient quarrels, as you will soon perceive. In truth, what with the hope of regaining the duchy, and with the exhortations of his mother, who was daughter to the late sir Olivier de Clisson, constable of France, the count de Penthievre obtained a sealed order from the dauphin to arrest and imprison the duke of Brittany, although he was married to his sister; but he was ill pleased with the duke, because he and the estates of the duchy had refused to assist him in his war against the English and Burgundians. When the count had obtained this order, he considered how he could the most easily carry it into effect, and thought his best way would be to invite the duke to dinner at Chantoceau. He went, therefore, to pay a visit to the duke at Nantes; and after some conversation, he earnestly pressed him to come and amuse

* The events of the ensuing chapter will be better understood by reference to the following genealogical table. The conspiracy against the duke of Bretagne is said, by most historians, to have been a plot of Charles

himself at Chantoceau, and dine there; adding, that his mother would be delighted to see him, and would entertain him to the best of her power. The duke consented to both proposals, not imagining that any evil designs could have been devised against him, and the day fixed on was the 4th of February.

When that day was come, the duke set out from le Lorrons Bocqteriaux, where he had slept, and took the road to Chantoceau. His maîtres-d'hôtel and harbingers preceded him, as is customary, to have all things in readiness for him on his arrival. When they appeared before the castle, the count and all his household mounted their horses, and advanced to meet the duke so far as a bridge called the Bridge à la Tuberbe, which is thrown over a

VII., who was instigated to it by his pernicious minister Louvet, and the lord de Avaugour, brother of the count of Penthievre. Its only effect was for a time to attach the duke more closely to the English interest.

I.

Arthur II., duke of Bretagne, married for his first wife, Mary, viscountess of Limoges, by whom he had issue:

1. John III., duke of Bretagne, who died, without issue, in the year 1341.

2. Guy, count of Penthievre and Limoges, married Jane lady of Avaugour, and died before his brother, John III., leaving issue one daughter.

Jane, countess of Penthievre and Limoges, married to Charles de Blois, of the house of Châtillon, who pretended to the duchy of Bretagne on the death of John III.

John of Bretagne, count of Penthievre and lord of Goello and Avaugour, married Margaret de Clisson.—d. 1403.

1. Oliver de Bretagne, count of Penthievre, d. s. p. 1433.

2. John, lord de l'Aigle, and count of Penthievre after the death of Oliver.—d. s. p. 1454.

3. Charles lord of Avaugour, Goello, &c. m. Jane de Vivonne, and had issue one daughter,

Nicole, m. John de Brosse, count of Penthievre jure uxoris.

4. William, visc. de Limoges, m. Isabel de la Tour d'Auvergne, and died 1455, leaving issue two daughters.

II.

Arthur II., married, 2dly, Yoland of Dreux, dame de Montfort, and had issue by her:

John count de Montfort, competitor with Charles de Blois, married Jane, daughter of Louis of Nevers, earl of Flanders, d. 1345.

John V., surnamed The Valiant, duke of Bretagne, married for his third wife, Jane of Navarre, afterwards wife to Henry IV. of England, by whom he had issue:

1. John IV., duke of B., m. Jane, da. of C. VI.

Francis I., D. of B., d. s. p.

Peter II., D. of B., d. s. p.

2. Arthur, C. of Richemont, afterwards D. of Bretagne.

3. Giles, lord of Chantocè, d. s. p.

4. Richard, C. of Estampes.

Francis II., D. of B.

Mary, m. John, duke of Alençon.

Blanche, m. John IV., count of Armagnac.

Margaret m. Alan IX., visc. of Rohan.

Jane.

small river. The duke crossed this bridge, accompanied by his brother Richard, and some knights and esquires of his household, followed at a distance by the rest of his attendants, for he never suspected the mischief that was intended him. When he had passed the bridge, one of the count's attendants who counterfeited being a fool, dismounted and threw the planks of the bridge into the water by way of amusement, which prevented the retinue of the duke that had remained behind from crossing it. The duke, still unsuspecting, laughed heartily at this trick of the fool; but in the mean time, Charles, lord of Avaugour, brother to the count, who had lain in ambush with about forty men-at-arms, sallied out against the duke, who, seeing this, said to the count, "Fair cousin, what means this? and who are these people?" "My lord, they are my people, and I arrest you in the name of the dauphin," at the same time laying hands on him. The duke, greatly surprised, said, "Ah! fair cousin, you act wickedly; for I came hither at your request, not suspecting you had any evil designs." Some of his people, however, drew their swords in his defence; but they soon perceived they were too inferior in numbers to do any good. At the same time, those who had been placed in ambuscade advanced on the duke with drawn swords, when one of the duke's gentlemen, called John de Beaumanoir*, had his wrist cut through, and another, named Thibault Buisson, was wounded in the hand. One of the count's household, called Henry l'Allemand, wanted to strike the duke with his sword; but the count defended him, and ordered his men to cease fighting, for that he should carry the duke prisoner to the dauphin.

The duke's attendants on the other side of the bridge, seeing the situation of their lord, were much distressed that they could not come to his aid, and knew not how to act. Shortly after, the count de Penthievre, his brother, and his men-at-arms, hastily carried off the duke and his brother Richard towards Poitou, to Bressaire, and thence to Lusignan, to Bournouiau, to Châteaumur, and other places. He was thus a prisoner for six or seven months, without being confined in any prison or treated personally ill; but he was closely watched, and had only one of his domestics to wait on him. His brother Richard was detained a prisoner with him.

You may suppose, that when the knowledge of this arrest of the duke was made known to the duchess and lords of Brittany, they were highly incensed: in particular, the duchess was so grieved that it was with difficulty she could be appeased. The whole of the nobility were speedily assembled, with the duchess, in the town of Nantes, when they solemnly resolved, on oath, to proceed to the deliverance of the duke, and to make war on the count de Penthievre, and on all his friends, allies, and well-wishers. They unanimously chose the lords de Châteaubriant† and de Rieux‡ as their commanders, who instantly marched a powerful force against Lamballe, which belonged to the count. It held out for fifteen days, and then surrendered; and the castle and town, which were strongly fortified, were destroyed, and the walls razed. They thence marched to Castle Andren, and to la Motte d'Ebron, which were treated in the same manner.

They proceeded to lay siege to Chantoceau, in which was the old countess de Penthievre. The governor was the lord de Bressieres, who defended it well. This siege lasted three months, without much being gained by the besiegers; for it was amply supplied with provision and stores, and well garrisoned by good men-at-arms. During this siege a treaty was made between the count and the duke, who promised to restore all his places, as well those that had been taken as those that had been demolished, and that he would not, by himself or his friends, any way molest him for what he had done. When this treaty had been concluded, and hostages given for its performance, the count sent back the duke, escorted by the lord de l'Esgle his brother.

The first act of the duke was to raise the siege of Chantoceau; but when the barons of

* Afterwards grand-ecuyer to the king of France. He was son of William de Beaumanoir, lord of Landemont, and obtained the lands of Lavardin by marriage with the heiress of that barony.

† Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, lord of Lyon, d'Angers, &c., married to Louisa, daughter of the lord of Montgaugier, by whom he had issue, John, lord of Chalain, his successor, and Guy de Châteaubriant.

‡ John II., lord of Rieux and Rochefort, marshal of France, died in 1417, leaving John III., viscount of Donges, his successor, the same here mentioned, besides two other sons,—Peter, afterwards marshal of France, and Michael, lord of Châteaumont.

Brittany had again possession of their duke, they refused to comply with the treaty he had made, and insisted that the countess of Penthievre should depart from Chantoceau, and that the place should be put into the hands of the duke. A day of conference was appointed between the two parties, to see if any terms could be thought of to put an end to these differences; and the count promised to attend in person, giving his brother William * as an hostage for his keeping his promise: but he did not appear, having had sure information, that if he did come, he would never return. In truth, had he appeared, he would have been executed judicially, for it had been so determined on by the three estates of the duchy; and they told the duke, that if he meant to keep the treaty made with the count de Penthievre, they would deprive him of the dukedom, and elect his eldest son duke in his stead, so that he was obliged to comply with their wills.

The count de Penthievre, on hearing these things, was much troubled, and not without cause; for he knew that all his landed property and lordships in Brittany were confiscated and in possession of the duke, and that his brother remained as hostage in the hands of the duke, without a possibility of his deliverance. On the other hand, he was on bad terms with the dauphin, because he would not give up to him the person of the duke of Brittany, —and was not very safe as to himself, for he found few willing to support him. To avoid greater inconveniences, he withdrew into the viscounty of Limoges, and after some consultations with his brothers, departed thence through the country of Auvergne to Lyon, and thence to Geneva and Basil, on his way to his possessions at Avesnes in Hainault. As he was travelling down the Rhine, he was arrested by the marquis of Baden, by way of reprisal for the pillaging of seme of his people in Hainault, and was detained a long time prisoner. To obtain his liberty, it cost him full thirty thousand crowns; after which he went to Avesnes in Hainault. While he resided at Avesnes, the Duke of Brittany sent some of his people thither to arrest him, and put an iron chain round his neck. They were under the conduct of the following Breton gentlemen: sir Roland de Saint Pol, sir John de Lumon, Jacquet de Faulermine, and others; but they managed the matter with so little secrecy that their enterprise was known, and some were imprisoned. The rest saved themselves by flight. The count was forced to surrender the prisoners to the judicial court of Mons, and none were executed.

The count de Penthievre never returned to Brittany, but remained all his days in Hainault, and married the daughter and heiress of the lord de Quievrain, by whom, at his decease, he left several children, who did not, however, live until of competent age, so that his estates descended to his brother, the lord de l'Esgle.

CHAPTER CCXXXVI.—THE DAUPHINOIS RETAKE VILLENEUVE-LE-ROI.—THE LORD DE CHATILLON CONQUERS CHATEAU-THIERRY, AND MAKES LA HIRE PRISONER.

In the month of February, the Dauphinois regained the town of Villeneuve-le-Roi; but shortly after, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, with others of the Burgundian captains, quartered themselves in all the adjoining villages, by way of blockading it. They, however, only remained a certain time, and then decamped without subjecting the town to their obedience, which caused the country around to suffer much. A treaty was, however, made with the governor to allow provision to be brought unmolested to Paris, on paying certain taxes, of which he was to have his share. At this same time, Château-Thierry, with its castle, was delivered into the hands of the lord de Châtillon†, though garrisoned by the Dauphinois, by means of some of the inhabitants, in which La Hire and many of his men were made prisoners, but were set at liberty afterward on ransom.

During this period, the Dauphinois garrisons at Meaux in Brie, at Compiègne, Pierrefons, and on the borders of the Valois, destroyed all the country round by their inroads, more especially the Beauvoisis, the Vermandois, and Santerre. In like manner did those

* Viscount of Limoges, fourth son of John, count of Penthievre.

† William, lord of Châtillon, brother of Charles de Châtillon, lord of Marigny, killed at Azincourt.

quartered in the country of Guise to the inhabitants of Hainault, the Cambresis, and the adjacent parts. While these troubles lasted, from the year 1415 to 1420, the money in France was greatly lowered in value, insomuch that a gold crown from the king's mint was worth twenty-nine sols in the money of the day, although it had been coined for eighteen sols parisis, which very much affected those lords whose rents were payable in money, and caused several law-suits between the parties, on account of the said diminution of the coin, when a horse-load of wheat was worth from seven to eight francs.

CHAPTER CCXXXVII.—THE DAUPHIN IS SUMMONED BY THE PARLIAMENT TO APPEAR AT THE TABLE OF MARBLE.—THE DUKE OF EXETER ARRESTS THE LORD DE L'ISLE-ADAM IN PARIS.

In this year, before king Henry left Paris to recross the sea, he caused Charles duke of Touraine and dauphin to be summoned to appear before the parliament at the table of marble, with all the usual ceremonies and solemnities, to answer for himself and his accomplices to the charges made against him and them, respecting the murder of the late John duke of Burgundy. And because he neither appeared himself, nor sent any one, he was by the council and parliament publicly banished the realm, and declared incapable of succeeding to any lands or lordships, at present or in times to come,—and even to the succession of the crown of France, notwithstanding he was the true and lawful heir after the decease of his father king Charles, according to the laws and usages of the realm. From this sentence, he made an appeal to his sword. Numbers of the Parisians were greatly pleased at his banishment, for they much feared him.

The duke of Exeter, governor of Paris, for certain reasons best known to himself ordered the lord de l'Isle-Adam to be arrested by some of his English, which caused a thousand or more of the commonalty of Paris to rise in order to rescue him from those who were carrying him to the Bastille. But the Duke of Exeter sent six-score combatants, the greater part of whom were archers, to support them; and they by their arrows, and by proclaiming that what they were about was by the king's order, created so great an alarm that the people retired to their houses, and the lord de l'Isle-Adam remained prisoner to the king of England so long as he lived. He would indeed have had him put to death, if the duke of Burgundy had not greatly interested himself in his behalf.

CHAPTER CCXXXVIII.—THE DUKE OF CLARENCE IS DEFEATED BY THE DAUPHINOIS NEAR TO BAUGEY.—IN THIS ENGAGEMENT GREAT NUMBERS OF THE NOBLES AND GENTLEMEN OF EACH PARTY ARE SLAIN.

The duke of Clarence, who had been appointed governor-general of all Normandy on the departure of his brother king Henry for England, marched his army, on Easter-eve, toward the country of Anjou, to combat a large body of the Dauphinois under the command of the earl of Buchan *, constable to the dauphin, the lord de la Fayette, and several others. It happened that on this day the duke heard that his enemies were near him at a town called Baugey in Anjou; on which, being very renowned in arms, he instantly advanced thither a part of his force, particularly almost all his captains, when a very severe and bloody conflict ensued. The body of his army followed with much difficulty at a distance on account of a dangerous river they had to ford. On the other hand, the Dauphinois, who had been advertised of their approach, fought so manfully, that in the end they obtained the victory over the English. The duke of Clarence, the earl of Kyme, the lord Roos, marshal of England, and in general the flower of his chivalry and esquiredom, were left dead on the

* John Stuart, earl of Buchan, son to the duke of Albany, regent of Scotland; made constable of France after the battle of Baugé; lord of Aubigny, and earl of Evreux.

field*, with two or three thousand common men. The earls of Somerset† and of Huntingdon, the count du Perche‡, with two hundred others, were made prisoners §.

The Dauphinois lost from a thousand to eleven hundred men: in the number were a gallant knight called Charles le Bouteiller ||, sir John Yvorin, Garin des Fontaines, sir John de Passavant, sir John de Bulle, sir John Totavant, with other persons of note, amounting in the whole to the number before specified. From that time forward the affair of this day was called the battle of Baugey.

The English were much cast down at this defeat, and particularly lamented the death of the duke of Clarence, who was much beloved by them for his valour and prudence. They, however, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, recovered the body of the duke, which was carried to Rouen, and thence transported to England, where it was buried with great solemnity ¶.

CHAPTER CCXXXIX.—THE DAUPHINOIS ADVANCE TO ALENÇON: THE ENGLISH MARCH THITHER ALSO.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF ALENÇON,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

[A. D. 1421.]

At the beginning of this year, after the death of the duke of Clarence, the Dauphinois, elated with their victory at Baugey, assembled a large force to besiege Alençon, and in fact lodged themselves very near to the walls, combating the garrison with all their might. The English, notwithstanding their grief at their late loss, detached parties from their different garrisons in Normandy, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, to Alençon to offer battle to the enemy, and force them to raise the siege. But the Dauphinois having had, as before, intelligence of their motions, drew up in battle-array before their quarters, with every appearance of courage. When the English perceived how numerous they were, they retreated to the abbey of Bec, but not without losing, in killed and taken, from two to three hundred men, for they were pursued as far as the abbey. The Dauphinois, however, finding they could not gain Alençon without great loss of men, marched away, leaving everything behind them, and returned to Anjou and Dreux. In these days, a marriage was concluded between the duke of Alençon and the only daughter of the duke of Orleans, a prisoner in England. It was celebrated at the town of Blois, and had been chiefly brought about by the dauphin, to whom she was niece, and the duke of Brittany, uncle to the duke of Alençon **.

When news of the death of the duke of Clarence reached king Henry in England, he was greatly troubled thereat, as well as at the loss of his other nobles and men, and hastened his preparations to return with an army to France, to take vengeance on the Dauphinois, who had thus grieved him at heart.

CHAPTER CCXL.—SIR JAMES DE HARCOURT BEGINS A WAR ON THE VASSALS AND COUNTRIES OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE INCONVENIENCES THAT ARISE FROM THIS CONDUCT.

About this time, sir James de Harcourt, who resided at Crotoy, whence, as has been said, he made war on the English, abstained from having any communication with the duke

* Among the rest, sir John Grey, of Heton, who in 6 Henry V. had a grant of the earldom of Tancarville and its dependencies in Normandy.

† John, second son of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, and brother to Henry, earl of Somerset, who died 7 Henry V., without issue. He was also heir to his uncle, Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, who died 1424.

‡ Q. Who is here meant? Thomas Montacute, earl of Salisbury, was presented with the earldom of Perche, and barony of Longny, by the king, in 7 Henry V., but he was not made prisoner, as is evident from what follows.

§ Among others, lord Fitzwalter, afterwards mentioned.

|| William le Boutellier de Senlis, lord of St. Charlier, died in 1420, leaving two sons, Charles; here mentioned, and William, who survived his brother, and was chamberlain to the duke of Orleans.

¶ This battle took place on Easter-eve 1421. The duke of Clarence's remains were recovered by his son John, bastard of Clarence, and interred in the cathedral church at Canterbury,—the duke having, by his will, dated July 1417, directed that his body should be buried at the feet of that of his father, king Henry IV.

The lady Margaret Holland, daughter to Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, married, first to John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, and secondly to Thomas, duke of Clarence, had a splendid tomb erected over his body in her lifetime. She died in December 1440.

** John II., surnamed le Beau, duke of Alençon, only son of John I., killed at Azincourt, and Mary of Bretagne. Jane, daughter of Charles duke of Orleans, and Isabel of France.

of Burgundy, or with those of his party; he even seized in the port of Estaples a vessel laden with corn, that belonged to sir Hemon de Bouberch, who was attached to the duke of Burgundy. Because he refused to restore it, on being summoned, a sudden war broke out between them, very prejudicial to the whole country of Ponthieu and the adjoining parts. Sir Hemon, in revenge, went and made his complaints to sir William Balledo, lieutenant of Calais, who instantly collected soldiers from the county of Guines, and from his garrison, and carried them by sea to Crotoy,—when, having burnt all the vessels and boats in the harbour, he returned to Calais. In return for this enterprise, sir James forced an entrance into many of the towns of sir Hemon, which he completely plundered, and carried away the pillage to his garrisons of Noyelle and Crotoy.

Shortly after, sir Hemon did the same to the towns of sir James de Harcourt, and the war was carried on with such bitterness that the whole of that country suffered greatly; for sir James, to strengthen himself, obtained reinforcements of men-at-arms from Compiègne and elsewhere. He also formed an alliance with many of the nobles of Vimeu and Ponthieu, with the lord de Rambures, Louis de Vaucourt, le bon de Saveuses, Perceval de Houdent, Pierre Quieret, governor of D'Araines, and with many others. Sir James, by this means, gained possession of several towns and castles, such as the town of St. Riquier, the castles of la Ferté and of Drugy, the island and castle of Pont de Remy, the fortresses of D'Araines, Diaucourt, and Moreul: on the side of the country toward St. Valery, Rambures, Gamaches, and some others, into which, by the exertions of sir James, parties of the Dauphinois gained admittance, who began to make open war on the duke of Burgundy and his adherents, to the ruin of the country. The town of St. Riquier, however, did not submit to sir James until king Henry had crossed from England to France, as you shall hear.

CHAPTER CCXLI.—KING HENRY OF ENGLAND RETURNS TO FRANCE WITH A POWERFUL ARMY TO COMBAT THE DAUPHIN, WHO HAD BESIEGED CHARTRES.

When king Henry had settled the government of England during his absence, and when his army was advanced to Canterbury, having received pay for eight months, he came to Dover; and thence, and at the neighbouring ports, he and his army embarked at day-break, on the feast of St. Barbara, and that same day arrived in the harbour of Calais at two o'clock in the afternoon. The king disembarked from his vessel and was lodged in the castle of Calais; the others landed also, and were quartered in the town and the adjacent parts, according to the orders of the king and his harbingers. Shortly after, when the vessels were unladen, they were discharged, and ordered back by the king to England. It was estimated by competent judges that from three to four thousand men-at-arms disembarked that day, and full twenty-four thousand archers.

On the morrow of the feast of St. Barbara, the king sent the earl of Dorset and the lord Clifford* to the assistance of his uncle the duke of Exeter and the Parisians, who were much straitened for provisions by the garrisons of the Dauphinois that surrounded Paris. They had under their command twelve hundred combatants, and, avoiding all the ambushes of the enemy, rode hastily forward to Paris, where they were joyfully received by the inhabitants, by reason of the intelligence they brought of the king of England being at Calais, to whom they had sent several messages before he left England. The dauphin had now a considerable army, which he marched toward Chartres; and the towns of Bonneval and Galardon, with other castles, surrendered to him, which he regarrisoned, and then fixed his quarters as near to Chartres as possible, and encompassed it on all sides. It was defended by the bastard de Thian and other captains, who had been despatched thither in haste from Paris for that purpose. The dauphin's army was supposed to consist of from six to seven thousand having leg-armour, four thousand cross-bows, and six thousand archers, and this

* John lord Clifford, knight of the Garter, killed at the siege of Meaux. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Harry Hotspur, and had issue, 1. Thomas lord Clifford, killed at the battle of St. Albans. 2. John lord Clifford, the son of Thomas, was surnamed the Butcher, and killed at the battle of Towton. For the romantic history of the son of the last-named John, and father of the first earl of Cumberland, see *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. ii.

statement was sent to the king of England by those who had seen them. The Dauphinois erected many engines to batter the walls and gates, which did some mischief; but as the inhabitants were assured of being speedily relieved by king Henry, they were not under any alarm at their attacks.

CHAPTER CCXLII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND MARCHES FROM CALAIS, THROUGH ABBEVILLE, TO BEAUVAIS, AND THENCE TO MANTES, WHERE THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MEETS HIM.

When king Henry had remained some days in Calais on account of business, he departed in haste; for he had received pressing solicitations from his uncle the duke of Exeter and the Parisians that he would succour Chartres. Taking his march by the sea-side, he was lodged at the hôtel of the Crown in Montreuil, and his army quartered in the low lands near it. Philip duke of Burgundy had arrived there the preceding day to confer with the king; but as he was confined with a fever, and unable to mount his horse, he sent sir John de Luxembourg, with all his chivalry, to meet the king, and make his excuses for not coming himself in person. They remained for three days in this town to confer at leisure on the present state of affairs. They departed together, and went to lodge at Douvast in Ponthieu. As they marched near to Montenay, the king of England ordered the tower, house and mill of sir James de Harcourt to be burnt.

The king was desirous of crossing the Somme at Abbeville, and the duke of Burgundy advanced to that town to negotiate the king's passage, which was obtained, but very unwillingly, on the duke promising that every expense should be fully discharged. While the duke was absent, the king and his nobles amused themselves in hunting in the forest of Cressy, and the following day fixed their quarters at St. Riquier, near to which place was a small fort called La Ferté, garrisoned by about sixty of sir James de Harcourt's men, under the command of the bastard de Ballay, who, on a formal summons, surrendered the place.

A gentleman of the country, called Nycaise de Boufflers*, was appointed by the king and the duke governor, who shortly after yielded it to the Dauphinois (as will be hereafter related), by whom it had before been held. From St. Riquier king Henry came to Abbeville, where he was most honourably received, and many handsome presents were made him, in compliment to the duke of Burgundy. The army and baggage passed very peaceably through the town; and on the morrow, when all the expenses had been paid, the king took leave of the duke, on his promising that he would speedily join him with his whole force. King Henry continued his march through Beauvais and Gisors, to the castle of Vincennes, where were the king and queen of France, whom he saluted most respectfully, and was by them received with great joy. Thither came his uncle the duke of Exeter, with several of the council of the king of France, and many conferences were held on the present state of the kingdom.

Among other things it was ordered, that the florettes, a coin of the king which was current for sixteen deniers, should be reduced to three deniers; but when this ordinance was proclaimed throughout the kingdom, it created great murmurings against the ministers among the commonalty of Paris, and in other places, but without obtaining any redress. Their murmurings were soon after much increased by the coin being still lowered in currency. The king of England now assembled a very large army; and in conjunction with that he had brought with him from England, he marched toward Mantes to offer battle to the dauphin, who had been already seven weeks before Chartres. He sent to the duke of Burgundy to join him instantly with as many men as he could raise, that he might be in time for the day of battle. The duke made all haste to comply, and advanced to the town of Amiens with about three thousand combatants, and thence, marching through Beauvais and Gisors, came to the town of Mantes. He, however, left his army at a large village, and

* Alcaume lord of Boufflers, was made prisoner at Azincourt. His sons were,—1. David, who was in the duke of Burgundy's company in 1417, and died s. p.; 2. Peter, a celebrated Burgundian leader; 3. Nycaise, here mentioned, one of the peers of Ponthieu.

went himself, with few attendants, to wait on the king of England, who was well pleased with his diligence.

In the interim, the dauphin, when he was informed of the great army that was marching against him, broke up his siege of Chartres, and retreated to Tours. When the king and the duke of Burgundy had held several councils on their further proceedings, it was agreed that the duke should return to Picardy to oppose the Dauphinois, who were doing great mischief there by means of the influence of sir James de Harcourt.

CHAPTER CCXLIII.—THE LORD D'OFFEMONT ENTERS ST. RIQUIER.—THE ADVENTURE OF THE LORD DE COHEN, GOVERNOR OF ABBEVILLE.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THESE TIMES.

During the time that the duke of Burgundy was on his march, and when he was with the king of England, the lord d'Offemont and Poton de Saintrailles collected about twelve hundred horse, and, passing through Vimeu, crossed the Somme at Blanchetaque, where they were met by sir James de Harcourt: they thence proceeded to St. Riquier, and gained admittance into the town through the influence of sir James. They treated successfully with Nycaise de Boufflers for the surrender of the castle of La Ferté, which was given up to them; as was that of Drugy, belonging to the abbot of St. Riquier. When they had established themselves in these places, they overran the adjacent country, and even sailed on the river Canche, to a large village called Conchy, and completely burnt the whole, together with a very handsome church, into which the principal inhabitants had retreated with their effects, the greater part of whom were led prisoners to St. Riquier. In another part, the strong fort of Dourier, proudly seated on the river Authie, was surrendered to Poton de Saintrailles; and, by means of this acquisition, the town and neighbourhood of Montreuil were greatly harassed.

The duke of Burgundy heard, on his return with his army, at a town called Croissy, that the lord d'Offemont and Poton de Saintrailles had gained possession of St. Riquier, and how they were proceeding. On this he assembled his council; and it was determined that men-at-arms should be summoned from all parts, and cross-bowmen from the towns under the dominion of the king of France, that St. Riquier might be besieged. With this intent he went to Amiens, and solicited succours, which were granted to him. He thence despatched his messengers to different towns, to make similar requests: the greater part of them promised to serve him liberally. When the duke departed from Amiens, he went through Dourlens, to fix his quarters at Auxi, on the river Authie, within three leagues of Saint Riquier. He was there rejoined by sir John de Luxembourg, who had been detached with a certain number of combatants, through Dourmart in Ponthieu, toward St. Riquier, to make inquiry as to the number and situation of the Dauphinois.

The duke remained three days at Auxi, to wait the arrival of his reinforcements. While these things were passing, the lord de Cohen, governor of the town of Abbeville, going one night after supper to visit the guard, attended by only six persons, but preceded by his servants carrying lighted torches, was suddenly attacked by three or four persons who were lying in wait for him, and severely wounded him in the face. They also struck an advocate, called John de Quex, who was in his company, mounted on a handsome horse: he was stunned with the blow, and in his fright stuck spurs into his horse, who galloped off against a chain that had been stretched across the street from two posts. One of them, by the great strength of the horse, was torn from the ground, but the shock flung the advocate with such force that he died shortly after of the bruises. The lord de Cohen was carried home by his servants thus wounded, and was unable at first to discover the perpetrators of this deed. They were however of Abbeville, and by means of friends escaped secretly, and went to Crotoy to relate what they had done to sir James de Harcourt, who was well pleased thereat, and retained them in his service. Some few years afterward, however, they were taken, and executed for this and other crimes.

CHAPTER CCXLIV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES TO PONT DE SAINT REMY, AND CONQUERS IT.—THE DEEDS OF ARMS THAT WERE PERFORMED BEFORE SAINT RIQUIER.

The duke of Burgundy advanced his whole army from Auxi to a large village called Viurens, within a league from St. Riquier. On the morrow he marched by this last town, and quartered himself and his army at Pont de St. Remy, on the night of the feast of the Magdalen. Some of his men were lodged in large houses near the bridge; but the Dauphinois, who were in the castle and island, discharged rockets into them, and set them on fire, which forced the Burgundians to retire, and fix their quarters further off. Two days after their arrival, the cross-bows from Amiens, and a body of men-at-arms who escorted them, descended the Somme in twelve boats, ready to attack the castle and island. But the Dauphinois, on learning that they were near at hand, took fright, and, packing up their baggage, fled to the castle of D'Airaines, leaving Pont de St. Remy without any guard. Some women, who had remained in the island, lowered the drawbridge on the side where the Burgundians lay, who instantly entered the place, and plundered all that the Dauphinois had left. This same day, by orders from the duke of Burgundy, the castle and town were burnt, wherein were many handsome houses. In like manner, on this and on the following day, were destroyed the castles of Marveil and Jaucourt, which the Dauphinois had deserted from fear of the duke.

While the duke of Burgundy was thus employed at Pont de St. Remy, sir John de Luxembourg went to the town of St. Riquier, under proper passports from the lord d'Offemont, with one hundred picked men-at-arms as an escort to six knights, well mounted and accoutred, who were to perform a deed of arms against six champions of the Dauphinois under the lord d'Offemont. This combat had been previously settled by messages which had passed between the parties. The Burgundian champions were Henry l'Allemant, the bastard de Robaix, Lyonnet de Bournouville, and three others. The Dauphinois were the lord de Verduysant, Guillaume d'Aubigny, and four others, whose names I have forgotten. On the parties meeting, the justings commenced; but at the onset the two Dauphinois killed the horses of their opponents: the others broke several lances gallantly enough; but, from the shortness of the time, two on each side could not just,—and there was no one wounded on either side. The parties took a friendly leave; and sir John de Luxembourg returned with his company to the Pont de St. Remy, and the lord d'Offemont re-entered St. Riquier.

Sir John de Luxembourg had been accompanied for his security by one hundred of the most expert men-at-arms in the Burgundian army: he had also formed an ambuscade of three hundred men in a wood to succour him, should there be occasion. When on his road to St. Riquier, having placed this ambuscade, he halted on an eminence to observe if his orders were obeyed, and to his surprise saw that those in ambush were wandering about and the horses grazing. In a great rage he seized a lance and galloped back to reduce them to proper order; but his men perceiving him coming, mounted their horses and fled as fast as spurs could make them. Nevertheless, he overtook a man-at-arms, named Aloyer, whom he pierced through the thigh and unhorsed, and to many others he gave severe blows. When he had restored order, and severely reprimanded the leaders, he continued his march to witness the deed of arms already related.

CHAPTER CCXLV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES FROM PONT DE ST. REMY TO LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF ST. RIQUIER.—HE BREAKS UP HIS SIEGE TO COMBAT THE DAUPHINOIS, WHO ARE ADVANCING TO THE RELIEF OF THAT TOWN.

After the destruction of Pont de St. Remy, the duke of Burgundy departed for Abbeville with his army, a part of which was quartered in the suburbs. About the end of July, he marched to St. Riquier, and fixed his quarters in the castle of la Ferté, which a little before,

together with the castle of Drugy and the suburbs, had been set on fire. His men were quartered in other places near sir John de Luxembourg, at the gate of St. John leading toward Auxi: the lord de Croy, some days after, was lodged near the gate of St. Nicholas toward Abbeville. At the gate of the Heronhault, leading toward Crotoy, there was not any lodgement of men-at-arms, which gave free liberty to the garrison or inhabitants to go in and out of the town at their pleasure, on horseback or on foot. Numerous reinforcements from the principal towns, in consequence of his summons, now joined the duke. When the quarters had been all marked out, the Burgundians made their approaches near to the walls, and began severely to annoy the garrison. The duke might have under his command, as well men-at-arms as archers and cross-bows, including those sent from the towns, five or six thousand combatants. The enemy, under the lord d'Offemont, Poton de Santrailles, Verduysant, Mengues, and other captains in the town, might consist of twelve or fourteen hundred men; for in addition to those they had brought thither, sir James de Harcourt had sent them some of his most expert soldiers; and they exerted themselves to the utmost to resist the attacks of the Burgundians.

It would be too long and tedious were I to attempt to enumerate all the sallies of the garrison, but in truth they made many in which they gained more than they lost; and in the number was one by which they captured some of the duke's captains, the principal of whom were sir Emond de Boubers, Henry l'Allemant, John de Courcelles, John de Crevecœur, one called Ancellet, and some other noblemen. In the meantime, the engines which the duke had erected broke down the gates and walls, and even destroyed some of the houses within the town; and those which the besieged had pointed against the Burgundian army were equally destructive, so that many lives were lost on both sides during this siege. Sir James de Harcourt sent frequent messengers to the lord d'Offemont, to exhort him and his brother captains to hold out with courage, for that they would shortly be succoured, as he had sent for relief from divers places in Champagne, Brie, Valois, to Compiègne and other places attached to the interest of the dauphin, and had earnestly besought them to assemble as large a force as they possibly could to join him, and offer battle to the duke of Burgundy.

In consequence of this request, the Dauphinois did assemble in force in the neighbourhood of Compiègne, whence they were to begin their march. The duke, however, continued the siege with vigour; but hearing of the intentions of the Dauphinois to force him to raise it, and to offer him battle, he called a council to determine in this case how he should act. It was resolved that the duke should break up the siege, and advance to fight the Dauphinois before they could effect a junction with sir James de Harcourt and the others. In conformity to this resolution, on the 29th of August the duke despatched Philip de Saveuses and the lord de Crevecœur at nightfall from the camp, with six-score combatants, to cross the Somme at Abbeville, whence they were to advance into Vimeu to inquire diligently into the state and condition of the Dauphinois; he earnestly entreated and commanded them to attend particularly to his orders, and to send him as soon as possible a true statement of what the Dauphinois were intending, adding, that his whole army should very speedily follow them.

These two captains rode during the night to Abbeville, where having refreshed their horses a little they advanced into Vimeu. In the meantime, the duke of Burgundy secretly made his preparations for breaking up the siege by packing up his tents, baggage, and stores, and, having set fire to his camp, marched straight for Abbeville. On his arrival there, those of his army who chose to eat or to drink were obliged to do so on horseback; for he would not suffer any one to dismount, as he was every moment expecting intelligence of the enemy from Philip de Saveuses and the lord de Crevecœur. When they had entered Vimeu, they observed about sun-rise, toward Oisemont, the Dauphinois in handsome array, briskly pushing forward and making for the ford of Blanchetaque. They were so near that some of the Dauphinois were taken by them; and by their means they acquired full knowledge of their intentions. They sent them instantly to the duke, who, as I have said, was at Abbeville, that he might hasten his march to meet them before they could cross the river. The duke, on receiving this intelligence, was much rejoiced, and immediately quitted the town and pressed his march as much as he could, leaving behind at Abbeville his archers and cross-bows. The Dauphinois saw the duke's army was pursuing them, and consequently made all

haste to gain the ford of Blanchetaque, and cross the Somme to sir James de Harcourt, who was waiting for them on the opposite side near to Saint Riquier. During this time, repeated messengers were sent to hasten the march of the duke, who, on his side, was equally eager to come up with the enemy, and his forces pushed forward as fast as their horses could carry them.

The Dauphinois were in the act of passing the river Somme, when, perceiving the Burgundians, they deliberately changed their purpose and returned to the plain, where they drew up in battle-array, and advanced with every appearance of giving battle to the duke, although they were very inferior in numbers to his army. Poton de Santrailles had joined them that night, with twelve others from St. Riquier, in order to be present at the battle. The two parties were now advanced near enough to observe exactly the numbers on either side; and because some of the duke's men were behind, several heralds and poursuivants were sent to hasten them forward.

Thus the two armies moved on for a considerable space, approaching each other; but sir James de Harcourt, who, as has been said, was posted on the other side of the river, seeing the two parties ready to engage, never attempted to cross the ford to the assistance of his friends, notwithstanding he himself had sent for them, but returned to Crotoy, whence he had come that morning.

CHAPTER CCXLVI.—THE BURGUNDIANS AND THE DAUPHINOIS DRAW UP IN BATTLE-ARRAY AGAINST EACH OTHER ON THE LAST DAY OF AUGUST.—THE CONSEQUENCES THAT FOLLOWED.

On Saturday, the 31st of August, the two armies kept advancing with much courage, and halted about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at three bow-shots' distance from each other. During this short halt, many new knights were hastily created on both sides. In the number was the duke of Burgundy, by the hand of sir John de Luxembourg, when the duke did the same to Philip de Saveuses; and there were knighted of his party Collart de Commines, John d'Estenu, John de Robais, Andrew and John Villain, Philebert Andrenet, Daviod de Poix, Guerrard d'Acties, the lord de Moyencourt, Le Moyne de Renty, Colinet de Brimeu, Jacques Pot, Louis de Saint-Saulieu, Guillain de Halluin, Derre de Cauroy and others.

On the part of the Dauphinois were, in like manner, created knights, Gilles de Gamaches, Regnault de Fontaines, Colinet de Villequier, the Marquis de Serre, John Rogan, John d'Espaigny, Corbeau de Rieux, and Sarrasin de Beaufort.

When this ceremony was over, the duke sent the banner of Philip de Saveuses, with six-score combatants, under the command of sir Mauroy de Saint-Leger and the bastard de Roussy, across the plain to fall on the flank of the Dauphinois. Both armies were eager for the combat; and these last advanced with a great noise, and fell on the division of the duke with all the strength of their horses' speed. The Burgundians received them well; and at this onset there was a grand clattering of arms, and horses thrown to the ground in a most horrible manner on each side. Both parties now began to wound and kill, and the affair became very murderous; but during this first shock of arms one-half of the duke's forces were panic-struck and fled to Abbeville, where being refused admittance they galloped on for Picquigny. The duke's banner was carried away with them; for in the alarm the varlet who had usually borne it forgot to give it to some other person, and in his flight had thrown it on the ground, where it was found and raised by a gentleman called John de Rosimbos, who rallied about it many of the runaways who had until that day been reputed men of courage and expert in arms. They had, however, deserted the duke of Burgundy, their lord, in this danger, and were ever after greatly blamed for their conduct. Some pretended to excuse themselves by saying, that seeing the banner they thought the duke was with it. It was also declared, on the authority of Flanders king-at-arms, that to his knowledge the duke was either killed or made prisoner, which made matters worse; for those who were most frightened continued their flight across the Somme at Picquigny to their homes, whence they did not return.

Some of the dauphin's forces, perceiving them running away from the duke's army, set out

on a pursuit after them,—namely, John Raullet and Pierron de Luppel, with about six-score combatants, and killed and took a good many of them. They imagined they had gained the day, and that the Burgundians were totally defeated; but in this they were mistaken, for the duke, with about five hundred combatants of the highest nobility and most able in arms, fought with determined resolution, insomuch that they overpowered the Dauphinois, and remained masters of the field of battle.

According to the report of each party, the duke behaved with the utmost coolness and courage; but he had some narrow escapes, for at the onset he was hit by two lances, one of which pierced through the front of his war-saddle and grazed the armour of his right side; he was also grappled with by a very strong man, who attempted to unhorse him, but his courser, being high-mettled and stout, bore him out of this danger. He therefore fought manfully, and took with his own hands two men-at-arms, as he was chasing the enemy along the river-side. Those nearest his person in this conflict were the lord de Longueval and Guy de Rely, and some of his attendants, who, though few in number, supported him ably. It was some time before his own men knew where he was, as they missed his banner; and when John Raullet and Pierron de Luppel returned from their pursuit of the Burgundian runaways, expecting to find their companions victorious and on the field of battle, they were confounded with disappointment on seeing the contrary, and instantly fled toward St. Valery, and with them the lord de Moüy; others made for D'Airaines.

The duke of Burgundy, on coming back to the field of battle, collected his men, and caused the bodies of those to be carried off who had fallen in the engagement, particularly that of the lord de Viefville. Although all the nobles and great lords who had remained with the duke of Burgundy behaved most gallantly, I must especially notice the conduct of John Villain, who had that day been made a knight. He was a nobleman from Flanders, very tall and of great bodily strength, and was mounted on a good horse, holding a battle-axe in both hands. Thus he pushed into the thickest part of the battle, and, throwing the bridle on his horse's neck, gave such blows on all sides with his battle-axe that whoever was struck was instantly unhorsed and wounded past recovery. In this way he met Poton de Saintrailles, who, after the battle was over, declared the wonders he did, and that he got out of his reach as fast as he could.

When the duke had collected his men, and had caused the dead to be inspected and stripped, he returned to Abbeville, where he was joyously received, with those of the Dauphinois who had been made prisoners,—namely, the lord de Conflans, Louis d'Offemont, sir Gilles de Gamaches, his brother Louis, sir Louis de Thiembronne, Poton de Saintrailles, the marquis de Serre, his brother de Saint-Saulieu, sir Regnault de Fontaines, Sauvage de la Riviere, John de Proisy governor of Guise, sir Raoul de Gaucourt, sir John de Rogan, Bernard de St. Martin, John de Joigny, the lord de Mommor, John de Verselles, le bourg de la Hire, Yvon de Puys, John de Sommam, Hervé Dourdis, and others, to the amount of one hundred and six-score.

There were left dead on the field, of both parties, from four to five hundred men; but it was thought only from twenty to thirty were Burgundians, and chiefly belonging to the lord de Viefville and John lord of Mailly*. Those of note slain of the Dauphinois were, sir Peter d'Argensy lord of Ivry, Charles de Saint-Saulieu, Galhaut d'Aarsy, Thibaut de Gerincourt, sir Corbeau de Rieux, sir Sarrasin de Beaufort, Robinet de Verseilles, Guillaume du Pont, the bastard de Moy, and many other gentlemen, to the above amount.

The prisoners made and carried off by the Dauphinois were, sir Colart de Commines, sir Guillain de Halluyn, the lord de Sailly en Hernaise, Lamon de Lannoy, and some others. In this engagement, sir John de Luxembourg, from his too great eagerness at the onset, was made prisoner by a man-at-arms called le Mouse, and carried away to some distance, but he was rescued by a party of his own and the duke's men. He was, however, very badly wounded on the face and across his nose. In like manner was the lord de Humbercourt taken, wounded, and rescued.

* Moreri says that the lord de Mailly himself was killed in this engagement. He was succeeded by his brother, also named John, and called le jeune, also l'Estendart, who was afterwards a very distinguished warrior on the part of Charles VII. The lord de Viefville is mentioned to have been killed in the preceding page.

On the arrival of the duke of Burgundy at Abbeville, he went to the church of our Lady to offer up his prayers and thanksgivings for his great success, and thence to his lodgings at the hôtel of the Crown. His people, many of whom had been wounded in the battle, quartered themselves in the town as well as they could. The duke now first heard that great part of his force had deserted him and fled to Picquigny, which surprised and angered him greatly, and not without cause. He would never afterward admit any of those runaways to his presence, and dismissed all of them who had been of his household: very few men of rank, however, of the latter description, had fled.

When he had remained three days in Abbeville to refresh and recover his men, and had resolved in council not to lay siege again to St. Riquier, on account of the present state of his army, and for other reasons, he departed, and, passing by St. Riquier, fixed his quarters at Auxi. Sir John de Luxembourg was carried thither in a litter on account of the severity of his wounds. On the morrow he advanced to Hesdin, where he made some stay; and, having ordered different garrisons to oppose that of St. Riquier, he disbanded the greater part of his army. By his moderation in their ransoms, he gained over all the captains of the Dauphinois who had been made prisoners, and sent them to his castle of Lille, where they remained a considerable time. Thenceforward this engagement was called the rencounter at Mons in Vimeu, and was not deemed a battle, because the two parties met accidentally in the manner you have heard, and without any banner displayed.

Among the principal persons who had fled were, the lord de Cohen governor of Abbeville, who was not yet recovered from the wound he had received, of which mention has been made, and which prevented him from putting on his helmet: he had been advised, on leaving Abbeville, not to engage in combat; and he was held excused on account of his wound. The others were, the before-named John de Rosimbos, and the whole of those attached to the duke's banner.

CHAPTER CCXLVII.—THE NAMES OF THE PRINCIPAL LORDS WHO HAD ACCOMPANIED AND REMAINED WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY IN THE LATE RENCOUNTER.—ALSO THE NAMES OF THE PRINCIPAL DAUPHINOIS.

Here follow the names of the lords and captains who supported the duke of Burgundy in the late engagement. Sir John de Luxembourg, the lord d'Antoing, sir John de la Trimuille, lord de Jonvelle, the lords de Croy, de la Viefville, de Longueval, de Genlis, de Robais and his son, d'Auxi, de Saveuses, de Crevecœur, de Noyelle, surnamed the White Knight, de Humbercourt, sir Pierre Kieret, sir Guy de Rely, John lord of Mailly, John de Fosseux, le Moyne de Renty, sir David de Brimeu, lord of Ligny, sir Andrew de Vallines, the lord de Saint-Simon, the lord de Framensen, Regnault de Longueval, Aubillet de Folleville, the bastard de Coussy, sir Louis de Saint-Saulieu, who was that day knighted, and on the morrow was drowned in the Somme at Abbeville, as he was giving water to a horse he had taken from the Dauphinois, John de Flavy, Andrew de Toulongeon, sir Philibert Andrenet, sir Gauvain de la Viefville, sir Florimont de Brimeu, sir Mauroy de Saint-Leger, sir Andrew d'Azincourt, the lord de Commines, his brother sir Colart de Commines, sir John d'Estenu, sir John de Hornes, sir Roland du Querque, his son sir John du Querque, sir Guillain de Haluyn, sir John and sir Andrew Vilain, sir Daviod de Poix, the lord de Moyencourt, and many other noble knights and esquires of the duke's household.

On the part of the Dauphinois were, the lord de Conflans*, the baron d'Ivry, the lord de Moy, the lord d'Eschin, Louis d'Offemont, sir Gilles de Gamaches, his son Louis de Gamaches, Poton de Saintrailles†, sir Regnault de Fontaines, sir Charles de Saint-Saulieu, John de Proisy governor of Guise, the marquis de Scare and his brother, Pierron de Luppel, John Raulet, sir John de Rogan, sir Raoul de Gaucourt, sir Louis de Thiembronne, the lord de Mommor, Bernard de St. Martin, Thibaut de Gerincourt, Galhaut d'Aarsy, sir Sarrasin de

* Probably Eustace IV., lord of Conflans, a distinguished house of Champagne.

† John Poton, lord of Saintrailles, marshal of France in 1454, a gentleman of Gascony, and a very distinguished partisan of the dauphin.

Beaufort, Robinet de Verseilles, his brother John de Joigny, Yvon du Puys, John de Sommam, Hervé and John de Dourdis and some more. They had under their command about five or six hundred men-at-arms, and from three to four hundred most able archers, whom they had selected from different garrisons.

CHAPTER CCXLVIII.—NEWS OF THE LATE VICTORY IS MADE PUBLIC IN DIFFERENT PARTS. —THE CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF DOUVRIER.—THE DEPARTURE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FROM HESDIN.

On the morrow of this victory of the duke of Burgundy, the news was spread abroad in divers places, which gave great joy to all of his party, more particularly to the inhabitants of Montrieul and the adjacent country. Soon after, sir John de Blondel, who was but lately returned from his imprisonment in England, collected a body of the gentlemen of that neighbourhood, among whom was sir Olivier de Brimeu, a very ancient knight, and some of the inhabitants of Montrieul, and led them to the fort of Douvrier, then held by the men of Poton de Saintrailles. He addressed them so eloquently and ably that they agreed to surrender the place to him, on condition that they should be safely escorted to St. Riquier, which was done; and he regarrisoned it, to make head against the Dauphinois.

When the duke of Burgundy had disposed of his troops to oppose the further progress of the enemy to his satisfaction, he left Hesdin, and went to Lille; thence he made a pilgrimage to our Lady at Halle, and returned to Flanders, where he made a considerable stay, to attend to his affairs in that country.

CHAPTER CCXLIX.—THE KING OF ENGLAND CONQUERS DREUX, AND PURSUES THE DAUPHIN; HE THEN LAYS SIEGE TO MEAUX IN BRIE,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

We will now return to the king of England, and relate how he conducted himself. When the duke of Burgundy left him at Mantes, as has been before mentioned, he marched thence his army, which was very large, and daily increasing from the reinforcements that joined him from Normandy and Paris, and advanced to Dreux after the dauphin had raised the siege of Chartres. He surrounded Dreux on all sides; but the garrison made a treaty, by which they were to surrender the place on the 20th of August, in case they were not succoured by their lord the dauphin before that day, and gave good hostages for the due performance of it. The dauphin sent them no assistance, so that king Henry obtained possesssion of Dreux, which he strongly regarrisoned with his own men. The Dauphinois, in number about eight hundred, retired with their baggage, after they had promised not to bear arms against the English, or their allies, for one whole year.

When this was done, the king marched toward the river Loire, in pursuit of the dauphin, whom he was very desirous to meet, to revenge the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, and the loss of the English who had fallen at the battle of Baugey. On his march, he reduced to the obedience of the king of France and of himself, the town of Beaugençy on the Loire and some other castles. Finding that the dauphin would not wait to give him battle, he returned toward Beauce. He had noticed that for some days fifty or sixty Dauphinois, very well mounted, had followed his army to observe his motions: on their one day coming nearer to him than usual, he ordered them to be pursued, when they fled to the castle of Rougemont in Beauce, which the king commanded to be instantly attacked; and this was attended with such success that it was won, and all within taken, with the loss of only only one Englishman. King Henry, however, in revenge for his death, caused them all to be drowned in the Loire.

He thence marched to besiege Villeneuve-le-Roi, which soon submitted, on the garrison being allowed to march away with their baggage. It was regarrisoned by Englishmen. Toward the end of September, he fixed his head-quarters at Lagny-sur-Marne, and his army was dispersed in the adjoining villages. At this town he ordered many wooden engines to be constructed, and other necessary machines to lay seige to Meaux in Brie. He despatched

in haste his uncle the duke of Exeter, with four thousand combatants, to gain possession of the suburbs of Meaux, that the inhabitants might not set them on fire.

When king Henry had completed his machines in the town of Lagny, he marched his army thence, consisting of twenty thousand combatants at the least, and on the 6th day of October encamped before Meaux. A few days after, he had his camp surrounded with strong hedges and ditches, to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and at the same time had his engines pointed to batter the walls and gates, which they continued to do with great activity. The defence of the town of Meaux was intrusted by the dauphin to the bastard de Vaurus, captain-general of the place, Denys de Vaurus his brother, Pierron de Luppel, Guichard de Sisay, sir Philip Mallet, sir Louis Gast, the borgne de Caucun, John d'Aunay, Tromagon, Bernard de Meureville, Philip de Gamaches, and others, to the amount of one thousand picked combatants, tried in arms, without including the burghers and commonalty. They made an obstinate defence against the attacks of the king of England, and continued it for a long time, as you shall hear.

In these days it was enacted by the royal council at Paris, that the florettes, which were current for four deniers, should be reduced to two deniers; and that the gold crowns, current for nineteen sols, should now pass for eighteen only. These continued lowerings of the coin gave great cause of discontent among all ranks, seeing that their money-property was diminished an eighth part in value. To keep up a supply of coin, saluts * of gold were issued, which were current for twenty-five sols tournois the piece: two crown-pieces were also coined, one of France and the other of England. In regard to smaller money, doubles were coined that were current for two deniers tournois: these last were in the vulgar tongue called Nicquets, but were not current for more than three years.

CHAPTER CCL.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ENTERS INTO A TREATY WITH HIS PRISONERS FOR THE SURRENDER OF ST. RIQUIER, TO WHICH THE LORD D'OFFEMONT, GOVERNOR OF THE PLACE, AGREES.

The duke of Burgundy was very desirous to get rid of the Dauphinois from the town of St. Riquier, as they committed much mischief on the country round about; and during the month of November, he had frequent conversations on this subject with the principal prisoners whom he had made at the affair of Mons in Vimeu. At length, a treaty was concluded between the duke, on the one part, and the lord d'Offemont, governor of St. Riquier, and the leaders of his garrison, on the other,—by which it was agreed, that the duke should set at liberty all prisoners whom he or his army had taken since he had first come before St. Riquier, free of ransoms; and in return sir Hemon de Bomber, sir John de Blondel, Ferry de Mailly, John de Beaurevoir, John de Crevecœur and some others, were to be delivered from their confinement, and also the town and castle of St. Riquier were to be put in possession of the duke.

Not long after the conclusion of this treaty, sir Hemon de Bomber died in St. Riquier of a lingering disorder, which so angered the duke that he would have violated the treaty, if his counsellors had not persuaded him to the contrary. At last, he sent his prisoners under an escort from Lille to Hesdin, and thence with passports they were conducted to the lord d'Offemont, who delivered up the prisoners he had promised, and the town and castle of St. Riquier, into the hands of the lords de Roubaix and de Croy, who had been commissioned for that purpose by the duke.

The lord d'Offemont, on his departure from St. Riquier, crossed the Somme at Blanchetaque and returned through Vimeu to Pierrefons, Crespy in the Valois, and to other places under his obedience. The lords de Roubaix and de Croy, after examining the town and castle, and receiving the oaths of allegiance from the inhabitants, nominated governors thereof le borgne de Fosseaux knight, master Nicholas Mailly, and his brother Ferry de Mailly, Nycaise de Boufflers, John Doncuerre, with others, and their men, to keep the field against sir James de Harcourt.

* Saluts, an old French crown, of the value of five shillings sterling.—*Cotgrave.*

CHAPTER CCLI.—THE BURGUNDIAN LORDS ASSEMBLE IN ARMS TO CONDUCT THITHER THEIR DUKE FROM PICARDY.—OTHER MATTERS.

About this time, in consequence of summonses from the duke and duchess dowager of Burgundy, the nobles of that duchy assembled in arms, and went to the duke in Picardy, to escort him thither, where his presence was much desired by the duchess, to consult on public affairs that were very pressing. They amounted to six thousand horse, and began their march under the command of the prince of Orange, the lords de St. George and de Château Vilain, Sir John de Colquebrune marshal of Burgundy, and other lords and captains, through Champagne, to near Lille in Flanders. The principal lords left their men in the adjacent villages, and waited on the duke in Lille, who received them with joy.

As the duke was not quite ready to set out, they were requested by sir John de Luxembourg to join him and make an attack on the lords de Moy and de Chin, who were Dauphinois, and had greatly destroyed his own estates, as well as those of his daughter-in-law the countess of Marle. They agreed to his proposal; and, as he had assembled about eight hundred combatants, they advanced to St. Quentin, where they lay the first night, and then continued their march. When they approached the castle of Moy, the usual residence of the lord of that name, they were told that he was absent, but had left it well provided with men, stores and provisions: he had also burnt the lower court, and several houses of the town that joined the castle. The Burgundians, foreseeing that the castle could not be won without a long siege, and great loss of men, concluded among themselves, notwithstanding the entreaties of sir John de Luxembourg, to return to Douay and Lille. They did great mischiefs to all the countries they passed through, as well going as returning, and during their stay, of which heavy complaints were made to the duke by churchmen and others, more particularly from Picardy: to all these clamours he replied, that he would very shortly deliver them from their oppressors, by remanding them to Burgundy. Sir John de Luxembourg, vexed and cast down by the Burgundian lords leaving him, disbanded his own forces, and retired to his castle of Beaurevoir.

On the 16th day of December, the duke and duchess of Burgundy arrived at Arras with count Philip de St. Pol and a grand suite of chivalry. Soon after, sir John de Luxembourg came thither, and the Burgundian lords; and on the third after his arrival the duke went to visit his aunt the countess of Hainault at Douay, and conducted her and her household to Arras, where she was honourably received by the duchess and the lords and ladies of her court. She remained there three or four days, during which many grand entertainments were made for her. Having held some conferences with her nephew, she returned to Quesnoy le Comte in Hainault, where she generally resided.

CHAPTER CCLII.—SIR JAMES DE HARCOURT MEETS A PARTY OF ENGLISH, AND IS DEFEATED WITH LOSS.—A HEAVY TAX LAID FOR A COINAGE TO SUPPLY THE TOWNS WITH CURRENT CASH.

About this period, sir James de Harcourt, making an excursion with six or seven hundred combatants, was met by a party of English, who had accidentally assembled from Harques, Neuf-châtel, and the adjoining parts, to seek adventures on their enemies the Dauphinois. An obstinate battle ensued; but in the end the English gained the victory, and sir James lost from two to three hundred men in killed and prisoners: he himself and the greater part of the knights and esquires saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses. Among the prisoners was the lord de Verduisant, at that time one of the governors of St. Valery for the dauphin. The English were joyful at their success, and returned to the places they had come from with their prisoners.

At this time there was imposed through many parts of the kingdom, and rigorously exacted, especially in the bailiwick of Amiens, a heavy tax, which had been granted by the three estates, at the request of the kings of France and of England. The object of this tax

was to gather as much silver as possible, that a new coinage might be issued, to afford currency to the great towns; and it was collected from persons of all ranks, churchmen, knights, esquires, ladies, damsels, burghers, and from every one who were supposed to have wherewithal, according to the discretion and pleasure of the collectors, and whether they would or not. This gained them great hatred from every one whom they forced to pay. Among others, the bailiff of Amiens was much hated in his bailiwick, from a suspicion which had gone abroad that he was the author of this heavy impost.

CHAPTER CCLIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THE COUNT DE ST. POL DEPART FROM ARRAS, AND WAIT ON THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND.—OTHER MATTERS.

When the duke and duchess of Burgundy had solemnly celebrated the feast of the Nativity at Arras, they separated from each other a few days after, but not without much grief at heart and many tears, especially on the part of the duchess; and they never saw each other again, as you shall hear.

The duke went to the castle of the count de St. Pol at Luchen, where he lay one night, and on the morrow went to Amiens, and was lodged at the house of the bailiff. He had sent his men-at-arms forward to wait for him between Amiens and Beauvais. He lay one night at Amiens, and thence departed with displayed banner and a large body of men-at-arms in noble array, having a van and rear-guard. He was quartered that night at Franc-châtel, and thence, taking the road to Beauvais and through Beaumont, arrived at Paris.

His lady-duchess, on quitting Arras, went with her household to Lille, and thence to Ghent. The duke entered Paris, attended by the count de St. Pol and all his chivalry, and was most respectfully received by the Parisians. The king and queen of France were at that time at Vincennes, whither the duke went to visit them. Having remained some days at Paris, he went to Lagny-sur-Marne, to wait on the king of England, who was employed in the siege of Meaux. He was most honourably received by the king, and they held many councils on the affairs of the realm.

The prince of Orange, and a considerable number of the Burgundian lords and gentlemen, quitted the duke just before he left Paris; and the reason commonly given for this was, that they were unwilling to accompany him to Lagny, lest king Henry should require of them oaths of allegiance, as he had demanded from the lord de St. George, who, a short time before, had waited on him, humbly to solicit the deliverance of his nephew, the lord de Château-vilain, who by command of king Henry had been long detained prisoner in Paris, but was soon after delivered, in consequence of the application of the lord de St. George.*

The duke returned in a few days to Paris, and thence, passing through Troyes, went to wait on his mother, the duchess-dowager, and his sisters, in Burgundy, who received him with the utmost joy. The usual oaths from his Burgundian vassals were made him; and having finished his business, he went to see his uncle in Savoy, who was much rejoiced, and, to do him the more honour, had jousts and other entertainments for his amusement. When these were over, he returned to his duchy of Burgundy, where he remained a considerable time.

CHAPTER CCLIV.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG WAITS ON KING HENRY, TO SOLICIT THE LIBERTY OF THE COUNT DE CONVERSAN, HIS BROTHER,—AND OTHER EVENTS.

About this time, sir John de Luxembourg, attended by a few persons, came to king Henry, at the siege of Meaux, to treat for the deliverance of his brother, the count de Conversan, who had been long a prisoner, and was confined in that town by Pierron de Luppel. By the assistance of the English king, he obtained his brother's liberty on consenting to pay Pierron de Luppel a large sum of money by instalments at certain periods

* William III., lord of St. George, (of the house of Vienne,) admiral of France, married Jane, daughter of the lord of Château-vilain. His son, William IV., is the lord here mentioned, whose son, William, lord of Bussy, and afterwards of St. George, succeeded him in 1434.

agreed on between them. On regaining his liberty, the count de Conversan remained in the service of king Henry during the siege of Meaux; and sir John de Luxembourg returned to Picardy, of which he was governor-general. He was accompanied by sir Hugh de Lannoy, who had been lately appointed grand master of the cross-bows of France by the two kings of France and of England.

This year, Catherine, queen of England, was brought to bed of a son and heir to the kingdom, who, by orders from his father, was baptised Henry: his sponsors were Jacqueline duchess of Bavaria, at that time in England, and others nominated for that purpose *. King Henry felt the utmost pleasure at this event, and there were greater rejoicings throughout England than had been ever seen before on the birth of any prince. During this time, the Dauphinois took the town of Avranches by storm, and killed or made prisoners from two to three hundred English, to the great vexation of their king. On receiving this intelligence, he sent off from the siege of Meaux a strong detachment to the earl of Salisbury, governor of Normandy, who made such good use of his reinforcement that he retook Avranches, and put to death or made prisoners many of the Dauphinois.

At this same time, Arthur count de Richemont was delivered by a certain treaty from his imprisonment in England, and came to the siege of Meaux with a large body of men-at-arms to serve king Henry, in whose service he remained during the life of that king.

CHAPTER CCLV.—THE LORD D'OFFEMONT, ATTEMPTING TO ENTER MEAUX, IS MADE PRISONER BY THE ENGLISH.—THE BESIEGERS TAKE THE TOWN BY STORM.

The lord d'Offemont assembled about forty combatants, the most expert and determined he could find, and led them near to the town of Meaux, which the king of England was besieging in person, with the intent to enter it secretly, as the inhabitants had sent him frequent messages to come and be their governor, and knowing of his arrival were prepared to receive him. They had placed a ladder on the outside of the wall, by which the lord d'Offemont and his people were to gain admittance; and on the appointed day, when the lord d'Offemont approached to accomplish his enterprise, he met a party of the English guard, whom he soon put to death. He then led his men to the bank of the ditch, and they began to ascend the ladder; but he himself, who had staid to see his men mount before him, stepping on an old plank that had been thrown over the ditch, it broke under him, and he fell, fully armed, into it, whence he could not be raised, although they gave him two spears, which remained in his hands. In the mean time, the besiegers, hearing a noise, came in numbers to the spot, and made them prisoners. The lord d'Offemont was cruelly wounded in the face, and his men were also wounded; and thus were they carried to the king of England, who was well pleased at the capture which his men had made. Having questioned the lord d'Offemont on many subjects, he put him under a good guard, to whom he gave strict orders to be careful of his person.

On the morrow, the besieged, sorrowful at heart for their disappointment in the loss of their looked-for governor, and thinking the town could not hold out much longer, began to carry their most valuable articles into the market-place. This was observed by the men of John de Guigny, a Savoyard, who was at the siege, and he instantly made an attack on that side of the town. The onset likewise commenced on the opposite quarter, and was continued with such vigour that the place was won with little loss to the besiegers. The garrison then retreated into the market-place, not however without some being slain or taken, but in no great numbers. The king and very many of his men were lodged in the town, and soon after they gained a small island, on which they planted some bombards that terribly annoyed the buildings. Those who had retired into the market-place were sorely oppressed, for king Henry had caused several bulwarks to be erected against the walls, and they were hourly expecting to be stormed; for all hopes of succour had fled, since the time appointed by the dauphin to send them aid was passed. The English, pushing matters forward, increased their distress by the capture of the corn-mill of the market-place, so that no corn could be ground without infinite danger.

* See for them in Rymer, &c.

CHAPTER CCLVI.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG CONQUERS, THIS CAMPAIGN, THE FORTRESSES OF QUESNOY, LOUVROY, AND HERICOURT.—OTHER MATTERS.

We must now speak of what sir John de Luxembourg, with some of the Picard lords, did this year, by orders from the kings of France and England. Sir Hugh de Lannoy, the newly-appointed grand master of the cross-bows, the vidame of Amiens, the lord de Longueval, the lord de Saveuses, the lord de Humbercourt, and a great number of knights and esquires, mustered their forces, in the month of March, in the town of Eure. When this was done, few people knew whither sir John intended to lead them: at length he directed their march toward Amiens, to a miserable castle called le Quesnoy, belonging to John d'Arly, in which about forty pillagers of the dauphin's party had quartered themselves, and, in conjunction with those in D'Airaines, had greatly harassed the whole country of Vimeu, and down the river Somme from Amiens to Abbeville. The vidame of Amiens and the lord de Saveuses had advanced their men thither the preceding day to prevent their escape. On sir John de Luxembourg's arrival, having arranged his quarters, he caused his artillery to be pointed against the walls, which shortly made large breaches in them, and in such numbers, that the besieged finding all resistance vain offered to capitulate.

The following terms were soon agreed on between them and the lord de Saveuses, who had been commissioned for that purpose by sir John de Luxembourg, namely, that they should surrender the castle and everything within it to sir John de Luxembourg; and the greater number of these pillagers were to be given up to his will. Waleran de St. Germain, their leader, in fact betrayed them, giving them to understand that their lives would be spared,—but he only bargained for himself to depart freely, with sufficient passports.

On the conclusion of this treaty, the castle gates were thrown open, and those within carried to a house in the town, when part of them were shortly after hanged, and the others sent to the bailiff of Amiens, who had them gibbeted: in the latter number was a gentleman, named Lienard de Picquigny, who said he was distantly related to the vidame of Amiens. This castle was razed to the ground after the wood-work had been burnt. Sir John then marched his forces toward Gamaches, where he was joined by three hundred English combatants under the command of sir Raoul le Bouteiller; and he subjected to the obedience of the kings of France and of England certain fortresses in Vimeu, as Louvroy *, Hericourt, and others. In the mean time, the men of the lord de Gamaches, who were posted at Compiègne, took by storm the castle of Mortemer, near Mondidier, belonging to Conherrard de Brimeu, then absent with the army of sir John de Luxembourg in Vimeu. They placed a strong garrison within it, which much oppressed the country round. In another part, a company of Dauphinois, quartered at Marcoussy, to the amount of two hundred combatants, with their captain, secretly marched by night to the bridge of Meulan, to which they did great mischief. Their plan was to establish a garrison there to defend it; but the king of England sent thither the count de Conversan, with a number of men-at-arms, who having besieged them, they soon surrendered on having their lives and fortunes spared.

CHAPTER CCLVII.—THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY RAISES THIS YEAR AN ARMY AGAINST THE HERETICS OF PRAGUE.—SIMILAR HERESIES ARE DISCOVERED NEAR TO DOUAY.—THE SIEGE OF D'AIRAINES.

In this year the emperor of Germany assembled a large body of men-at-arms from all parts of Christendom, to combat and oppose the false and stinking heretics that had arisen within the city of Prague, and in the adjoining country from two to three days' journey around it. This armament was composed of many princes, prelates, knights, esquires, and others, as well on foot as on horseback, from parts of Germany, Liege, Holland, Zealand, Hainault, and elsewhere. Their numbers were so great they could scarcely be counted; but the heretics defended themselves so courageously in Prague that they could not do much harm to them,

* Louvroy. In du Cange's MS. notes it is called Hornox.

except in some skirmishes, when many were put to death. They were firmly united, and the country so strong, that the Christians were forced to retreat for want of provisions; and these accursed people were obstinate in their errors, and not afraid of any punishments which might be inflicted on them: they even armed their women, who were very devils in cruelty; for several, dressed as men, were found among the slain in different engagements. Similar heretics of both sexes were also discovered near to Douay, who held their meetings at the village of Sains, and were carried prisoners to the court of the bishop of Arras. Some of them recanted, and were pardoned; but the rest, having been preached to by the bishop and inquisitor, were publicly burnt at Douay, Arras, and Valenciennes.

Sir John de Luxembourg returned with his captains and his whole army, on Easter-night, before the two castles of D'Airaines, and surrounded them on all sides. He had his artillery pointed against the walls, which made breaches in several places; but the besieged made a good defence with their cannon, and some sallies, by which indeed they did not gain much: however, as they were well supplied with stores and provision, they held out a considerable time, in the expectation of being powerfully succoured, according to the promises that had been given them by some of the dauphin's partisans.

CHAPTER CCLVIII.—THE DAUPHINOIS ASSEMBLE TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF D'AIRAINES.—THE BURGUNDIANS AND ENGLISH MARCH TO MEET THEM, AND OFFER THEM BATTLE.

[A. D. 1422.]

At the beginning of the year, a party of the Dauphinois assembled near to Compiègne, with the intent of marching to the succour of D'Airaines. Their leaders were, the lord de Gamaches, the lord de Moy, and Poton de Saintrailles, and their force amounted to from eight hundred to a thousand men. They first advanced to Pierrepont, which belonged to the vidame of Amiens; and although its outworks had strong hedges, and ditches full of water, they formed a lodgement therein, and made an attack on the fortress, but it was too well defended by those on guard. While they were thus occupied at Pierrepont, news was brought of their proceedings to sir John de Luxembourg, at the siege of D'Airaines. He advised with his principal nobles, and then detached some of the captains, with a thousand combatants, to meet these Dauphinois. The commanders of the detachment were, sir Hugh de Lannoy *, master of the cross-bows of France, sir Raoul le Bouteiller, an Englishman, le borgne de Fosseaux knight, the lord de Saveuses, and others expert in arms.

They lay the first night at Coucy, and on the morrow very early advanced to Moreul, where they heard that the Dauphinois were still in Pierrepont. They, in consequence, marched in very handsome array to meet them; but the Dauphinois, having heard of the near approach of their enemies, mounted their horses, and, after setting fire to their quarters, drew up in order of battle above Mondidier. The English and Burgundians traversed the town of Pierrepont as speedily as they could, but were much delayed by the fire, and formed themselves in battle-array fronting the enemy. On this occasion many new knights were made on the part of the Burgundians, namely, le bègue de Launoy, Anthony de Reubempré, James de Brimeu, Robert Fritel, Gilles de Hardecourt, Matthew de Landas, Philip du Bos, John de Beauvoir, Waleran de Fieses, Framet de la Tramerie, and many more. Much skirmishing took place between them, in which several men-at-arms were unhorsed and severely wounded or slain. During this the Burgundian and English infantry remained inactive, and the Dauphinois galloped away in good order toward Compiègne, forming a rear guard of their ablest men for their security.

The Burgundians, seeing this, despatched the lord de Saveuses with a certain number of men-at-arms, to pursue and check them, while the main body kept advancing after them as fast as they could. The Dauphinois, however, were panic-struck, and made their escape with a trifling loss of seven or eight men, who were killed on the first onset: in the number was a gallant man-at-arms called Brunet de Gamaches. On the side of the Burgundians, an old man from Auxerre, named Breton d'Ailly, who for a long time had not followed the

* Hugues de Lannoy, grand master of the cross-bows, appointed in January 1421.

wars, was slain, and a few others. The English and Burgundians now returned to their quarters at Moreul and other villages, and thence to sir John de Luxembourg at the siege of D'Airaines. The besieged were informed of the fate of the succour intended them, and that there was no hope of being relieved, which induced them to accede to a treaty by which they were to surrender the castles, and to have permission to march unhurt, with their baggage, under passports from sir John de Luxembourg, to Compiègne, Crotoy, Gamaches, St. Valery, or to any other places within their obedience from the river Seine to Crotoy.

The garrison consisted of about one hundred men-at-arms, and as many archers, under the command of sir Cocquart de Cambronne and John Sarpe. The two castles, when surrendered, were found full of stores and provision; but sir John de Luxembourg destroyed one of them, namely that of the lady of D'Airaines. The other he strongly regarrisoned, and appointed sir James de Lievin the governor. When the Dauphinois had marched off, sir John returned with his army to his castle of Beaurevoir, where he dismissed his captains and the others who had followed him.

Shortly after, sir James de Harcourt made an inroad as far as Auxi on the river Authie, and to other towns and villages, whence he returned to Crotoy with many prisoners and much plunder.

CHAPTER CCLIX.—KING HENRY REDUCES MEAUX TO HIS OBEDIENCE.—THE EXECUTIONS THAT TAKE PLACE IN CONSEQUENCE OF ORDERS FROM HIM.

The king of England was indefatigable at the siege of Meaux, and having destroyed many parts of the walls of the market-place, he summoned the garrison to surrender themselves to the king of France and himself, or he would storm the place. To this summons they replied, that it was not yet time to surrender,—on which the king ordered the place to be stormed. The assault continued for seven or eight hours in a most bloody manner; nevertheless the besieged made an obstinate defence, in spite of the great numbers that were attacking them. Their lances had been almost all broken,—but in their stead they made use of spits, and fought with such courage that the English were driven from the ditches, which encouraged them much. Among the besieged who behaved gallantly must be noticed Guichart de Sisay; and his courage and ability were remarked by king Henry, who, after the reduction of the place, offered him a large sum if he would take the oaths and serve him,—but he would never listen to the proposal, and remained firm to the dauphin.

Many new knights were made by the English at this attack, such as John Guigny, a Savoyard, and the bastard de Thiam, who had formerly been a great captain in the free companies under duke John of Burgundy. There were also at this siege, under the king of England, the lords de Châtillon and de Genlis, with many others of the French nobility.

From the commencement of this siege until the last moment, when they had no longer any hopes of relief from the dauphin, the besieged poured torrents of abuse upon the English. Among other insults which they offered, they had an ass led on the walls of the town, and, by beating it, made it bray, and then cried out to the English that it was their king calling out for assistance, and told them to go to him. This conduct raised the king's indignation against them. During the siege, a young knight, son to sir John Cornwall, and cousin-german to king Henry, was killed by a cannon-shot, to the great sorrow of the king and the other princes; for, although he was but a youth, he was very well-behaved and prudent.

Toward the end of April, the besieged, having lost all hopes of succour, and finding they could not hold out longer, offered to enter into terms of capitulation. King Henry appointed his uncle the duke of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, the count de Conversan, and sir Walter Hungerford, his commissioners for this purpose. On the part of the besieged were nominated, sir Philip Mallet, Pierron de Luppel, John d'Aunay, Sinader de Gerames, le borgne de Caucun, John d'Espinach, and Guillaume de Fossé. They had several conferences, and at length agreed to the following terms:—

First, on the 11th day of May, the market-place and all Meaux was to be surrendered into the hands of the kings of France and England.—Item, sir Louis de Gast, the bastard de Vaurus, Jean de Rouvieres, Tromagon, Bernard de Meureville, and a person called

Oraches, who had sounded the trumpet during the siege, were to be delivered up to justice, and such punishment was to be inflicted on them as they might deserve.—Item, Guichart de Sisay, Pierron de Luppel, master Robert de Gerames, Philip de Gamaches, and John d'Aunay, were to remain in the power of the two kings until all the forts held by them or their allies in the realm should be given up; and when that was done they were to have their liberty.—Item, all the English, Welsh, Scots, and Irish, subjects to the king of England, who had assisted in the defence of the place, were to be delivered up to the two kings.—Item, all other persons, as well men-at-arms as burghers, were to have their lives spared, but to remain prisoners to the two kings.—Item, the count de Conversan was to be acquitted of all his engagements to Pierron de Luppel respecting his ransom; and the latter was to promise that he would hold him acquitted of the above, without fraud or malice.—Item, the besieged, within eight days preceding the surrender of the town, were to carry all their effects to an appointed place, without any way injuring them, and to deliver inventories thereof to commissaries named by the said kings. They were to carry all relics, ornaments, or church-furniture, to a separate place.—Item, they were to deliver up all prisoners, whether confined in the market-place or in other forts, and acquit them of their pledges.—Item, they were not to suffer any person to quit the place before the surrender of the town, and, in like manner, were not to permit any one to enter it, unless so ordered by the kings.—Item, for the due observance of these articles the besieged were to give assurances signed with the hand and seal of one hundred of the principal townsmen, four-and-twenty of whom were to remain as hostages so long as the two kings might please.—Item, on the signing this treaty all hostilities were to cease on each side.

Matters now remained in this state until the 10th day of May, when the substance of the above articles was put into execution by commissaries appointed by the two kings, who sent off the prisoners under a strong guard. Some of the principal were carried to Rouen and thence to England, and others to Paris, where they were confined. The whole of the prisoners of war might be about eight hundred; and their commander-in-chief, the bastard de Vaurus, was, by king Henry's command, beheaded, and his body hung on a tree without the walls of Meaux, called thenceforth Vaurus's Tree. This Vaurus had, in his time, hung many a Burgundian and Englishman: his head was fixed to a lance and fastened on the tree over his body.

Sir Louis Gast, Denis de Vaurus, master John de Rouvieres, and he who had sounded the trumpet, were beheaded at Paris,—their heads fixed on lances over the market-place, and their bodies hung by the arms to a gibbet. All the wealth found in Meaux, and which was very great, was distributed according to the pleasure of king Henry. He was very proud of his victory, and entered the place in great pomp, and remained there some days with his princes to repose and solace himself, having given orders for the complete reparation of the walls that had been so much damaged by artillery at the siege.

CHAPTER CCLX.—AFTER THE REDUCTION OF MEAUX, MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES SURRENDER TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, WHO REGARRISONS THEM WITH HIS OWN MEN.

In consequence of the reduction of Meaux, many considerable towns and forts, as well in the county of Valois as in the surrounding parts, submitted to king Henry, through the intervention of the lord d'Offemont, under whose power they were. In the number were, the town of Crespy in the Valois, the castle of Pierrepont, Merlo, Offemont and others. The lord d'Offemont, however, kept possession of his own towns and forts, and was acquitted of his ransom as prisoner, on condition that he swore obedience to the terms of the peace last concluded between the two kings at Troyes, and gave sufficient securities for his so doing. The bishop of Noyon and the lord de Cauny were his sureties, who pledged their lives and fortunes in his favour. Those who had been made prisoners in Meaux likewise submitted many towns and castles to the kings of France and England. When the leaders of the Dauphinois in the Beauvoisis heard that king Henry was proceeding so vigorously, and reducing to obedience, by various means, towns and castles that were thought

impregnable, they began to be seriously alarmed, and sent ambassadors to treat with him for their safe retreat, in case they were not relieved by the dauphin on a certain day, which they would make known to him.

Among them was the lord de Gamaches, who treated for the surrender of the town of Compiègne, of which he was governor, and for the fortresses of Remy, Gournay sur Aronde, Mortemer, Neufville in Hez, Tressousart, and others in that district. He also gave hostages to deliver them up to such commissaries as the two kings should appoint, on the 18th day of June following. Sir Louis de Thiembronne made a similar treaty for the garrison of the town of Gamaches, on condition of their having passports to retire whithersoever they pleased with their arms and baggage, and that the inhabitants were to remain in peace, on taking the oaths of allegiance.

Through the management of Pierron de Luppel, the strong castle of Montagu surrendered to the two kings, which fortress had kept a large tract of country under subjection from its strength; and its garrison had done much mischief to the towns of Rheims and Laon, and the adjacent parts. On the other hand, those in the castle of Moy, hearing of all these conquests, and fearing lest sir John de Luxembourg and the English should unexpectedly besiege them, set fire to it, and withdrew to Guise. In like manner were the castles of Montescourt and Brissy destroyed.

CHAPTER CCLXI.—THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND RETURNS TO FRANCE IN GRAND STATE.—AN ASSEMBLY OF THE THREE ESTATES IS HELD IN PARIS.—OTHER MATTERS.

On the 21st day of May in this year 1422, Catherine queen of England, who had been some time recovered of her lying-in of her first-born child Henry, arrived at Harfleur in

Vincennes.—From an original drawing.

grand state, attended by ladies without number, and escorted by a large fleet filled with men-at-arms and archers under the command of the duke of Bedford, brother to the king.

On landing, she went to Rouen, and thence to the castle of Vincennes, to meet the king. Queen Catherine travelled in royal state, alway accompanied by the duke of Bedford and the men-at-arms.

King Henry departed from Meaux with his princes to meet her, and she was received by them as if she had been an angel from heaven. Great rejoicings were made by the king and queen of France for the happy arrival of their son-in-law and their daughter; and on the 30th day of May, Whitsun-eve, the kings of France and of England, accompanied by their queens, left Vincennes, and entered Paris with much pomp. The king and queen of France were lodged at the hôtel of St. Pol, and the king of England and his company at the Louvre. In each of these places, the two kings solemnly celebrated the feast of Pentecost, which fell on the day after their arrival.

On this day, the king and queen of England were seated at table gorgeously apparelled, having crowns on their heads. The English princes, dukes, knights, and prelates, were partakers of the feast, each seated according to his rank, and the tables were covered with the rarest viands and choicest wines. The king and queen this day held a grand court, which was attended by all the English at Paris; and the Parisians went to the castle of the Louvre to see the king and queen at table crowned with their most precious diadems; but as no meat or drink was offered to the populace by the attendants, they went away much discontented; for in former times, when the kings of France kept open court, meat and drink was distributed abundantly to all comers by the king's servants.

King Charles had indeed been as liberal and courteous as his predecessors, but he was now seated in his hôtel of St. Pol at table with his queen, deserted by the grandees and others of his subjects, as if he had been quite forgotten. The government and power of the kingdom were now transferred from his hands into those of his son-in-law king Henry; and he had so little share, that he was managed as the king of England pleased, and no attention was paid him, which created much sorrow in the hearts of all loyal Frenchmen, and not without cause. During the king of England's residence at Paris, he ordered the tax of silver to be collected, for the coinage of new money, in the manner before described. This gave rise to great murmurings and discontent; but, from dread of king Henry, the Parisians dared not show any other signs of disobedience and rebellion than by words.

CHAPTER CCLXII.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND GO FROM PARIS TO SENLIS.—THE SIEGE OF SAINT VALERY.—THE REDUCTION OF COMPIEGNE.—AN EMBASSY SENT TO SIR JAMES DE HARCOURT.

The two kings, with their queens and attendants, departed from Paris and went to Senlis, where they made some stay. As the day for the surrender of Gamaches was near at hand, the king of England sent the earl of Warwick thither with three thousand combatants; and, according to the terms of the treaty, he entered the town on the 18th of June. Having delivered back the hostages safe and well, he received the oaths of allegiance from the inhabitants, in the name of the two kings, and then appointed sir John Felton, an Englishman, governor, with a sufficient garrison of men-at-arms and archers. Having finished this business, the earl of Warwick marched for St. Valery, which was in the possession of the Dauphinois. When he was near the town, he sent forward the van of his army to reconnoitre the place; but the garrison made a sally, of a hundred picked men-at-arms well mounted, who instantly attacked the English, and a sharp conflict ensued, in which many were killed and wounded, and some prisoners taken from the English.

While this was passing, the earl hastened the march of his army to the support of the van, which forced the Dauphinois to retreat within their town. The earl marched round part of the town with his army, and quartered some of his men in the monastery, and the rest in tents and pavilions. After this he caused his engines to play incessantly on the walls, and damaged them in many places. With regard to the frequent sallies of the garrison, I shall, for brevity' sake, pass them over; but, as the town was open to the sea,

from the besiegers' want of shipping to blockade the port, the garrison and inhabitants could go whither they pleased for provisions, to Crotoy or elsewhere, to the great vexation of the earl of Warwick.

The earl sent to the ports of Normandy for vessels; and so many came that the harbour of St. Valery was shut up, to the grief of the besieged, who now lost their only hope of holding out the town. In consequence, at the end of three weeks or thereabout, they made a treaty with the earl to surrender on the fourth day of September, on condition of being allowed to depart safely with their baggage, should they not be relieved before that day by the dauphin. During this time, the besieged were to abstain from making any inroads, and from foraging the country; and to deliver sufficient good hostages to the earl for the due performance of the articles of this treaty, who, after this, returned with the English to king Henry. The king of England sent also his brother the duke of Bedford, and others of his princes, grandly accompanied, to the town of Compiègne, to receive it from the hands of the lord de Gamaches, who had promised to surrender it to the duke on the 18th day of June.

The lord de Gamaches marched from Compiègne with about twelve hundred combatants, and, under passports from the king of England, conducted them across the Seine to the dauphin. In like manner did the lord de Gamaches yield up the other forts before mentioned according to his promises. Thus were all the places which the Dauphinois had held between Paris and Boulogne-sur-Mer subjected to the obedience of the two kings, excepting the town of Crotoy and the territory of Guise. When the duke of Bedford had received oaths of allegiance from the burghers and inhabitants of Compiègne, and nominated sir Hugh de Lannoy governor thereof, he returned to his brother the king at Senlis.

At this time, ambassadors were sent by the two monarchs to sir James de Harcourt in Crotoy: they were his brother the bishop of Amiens, the bishop of Beauvais, sir Hugh de Lannoy master of the cross-bows of France, with a herald from king Henry, to summon sir James to yield up the town of Crotoy to their obedience; but, notwithstanding their diligence and earnestness, they could not prevail on him to consent, nor to enter into any sort of treaty.

CHAPTER CCLXIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND GOES FROM SENLIS TO COMPIEGNE.—THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF SAINT DIZIER.—A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE DAUPHINOIS AND BURGUNDIANS.

At this period, the king of England went from Senlis to Compiègne to see the town. While there, he received intelligence that a plot had been formed to take the town of Paris, through the means of the wife of one of the king of France's armourers. She was discovered one morning very early by a priest who had gone to his garden without the walls, speaking earnestly with some armed men in a valley under his garden. Alarmed at what he saw, he instantly returned to the gate of Paris, told the guard what he had seen, and bade them be careful and attentive. The guard arrested the woman and carried her to prison, where she soon confessed the fact. This intelligence made king Henry return to Paris with his men-at-arms, where he had the woman drowned for her demerits, as well as some of her accomplices: he then returned to the king of France at Senlis.

About this time, sir John and sir Anthony du Vergy gained the town of St. Dizier in Pertois; but the Dauphinois garrison retired to the castle, wherein they were instantly besieged. La Hire, and some other captains, hearing of it, assembled a body of men for their relief; but the two above-mentioned lords, learning their intentions, collected as large a number of combatants as they could raise, and marched to oppose them; when they met, they attacked them so vigorously that they were defeated, with about forty slain on the field: the rest saved themselves by flight. After this, the lords du Vergy returned to the siege of the castle of St. Dizier, which was soon surrendered to them; and they regarrisoned it with their people.

HERE FOLLOW THE COMPLAININGS OF THE POOR COMMONALTY AND LABOURERS OF FRANCE.

[*Translated by my friend, the Rev. W. Shepherd, of Gateacre in the County of Lancaster.*]

" Ah, princes, prelates, valiant lords,
Lawyers and tradesfolk, small and great!
Burghers and warriors girt with swords,
Who fatten on our daily sweat!
To labouring hinds some comfort give:
Whate'er betide, we needs must live.

But live we cannot long, we trow,
If God deny his powerful aid
Against the poor man's cruel foe,
Who doth our goods by force invade,
And, flouting us with pride and scorn,
Beareth away our wine and corn.

No corn is in our granary stored,
No vintage cheers our heavy hearts,
But once a week our wretched board
Scant fare of oaten bread imparts;
And when we raise the asking eye,
The rich from our distresses fly.

But fly not:—think how ye offend
Who shut your ears against our cry.
And oh! some gracious succour lend,
Or else with want we surely die.
Oh hear! and on our wasted frame
Have pity, lords! in JESUS' name.

Pity our faces, pale and wan,
Our trembling limbs, our haggard eyes!
Relieve the fainting husbandman,
And Heaven will count you truly wise.
For God declares to great and small,
Who lacketh kindness, lacketh all.

All hope is lost, all trust is gone!
For when we beg from door to door,
All cry, 'God bless you!' but not one
Gives bread or meat to feed the poor.
The dogs fare better far than we,
Albeit we faithful Christians be.

Yea, Christians, sons of God we be!
Your brethren too, who trust in wealth,
And think not that at Heaven's decree
Gold disappears by force or stealth.
Rich tho' ye be, to death ye bow:
Ye little wis, or when, or how.

How dare ye say, what oftentimes
Ye utter in a thoughtless mood,
That want we suffer for our crimes,
That misery worketh for our good?
For CHRIST his sake, no more say so,
But look with pity on our woe.

Our woe regard, and ne'er forget
That ye subsist upon the toil
Of weary labourers,—and yet
Their scanty goods ye daily spoil.
Yea, thus ye act, of what degree,
Estate, or rank soe'er ye be.

Be then advised, and bear in mind
That perish'd are our little gains,
Whilst no protecting master kind
Vouchsafes to pay us for our pains.
But if we longer thus are shent,
Believe us, lords! ye will repent.

Repent ye will, or late or soon,
If from our plaints ye turn away:
For your tall towers will tumble down,
Your gorgeous palaces decay:
Sith true it is, ye lordly great,
We are the pillars of your state.

The pillars of your state do crack:
Your deep foundations turn to dust:
Nor have ye prop or stay, alack!
In which to put your steadfast trust.
But down ye sink without delay,
Which make us cry, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! ye bishops grave,
Lords of the faith of Christian folk,
Naked and bare, your help we crave,
The wretched outcasts of your flock.
For love of God, in charity
Remonstrate with the rich and proud,
That tho' they raise their heads so high,
They are maintained by the crowd,
Whose bread perforce they take away,
And make us cry, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! our gracious king,
The noblest prince in Christian land,
What mischiefs do their counsels bring,
Who bade thee lay thy heavy hand
On thy poor liege men!—but be wise.
God gave thee power our rights to guard:
Then listen to our doleful cries,
And deal th' oppressor's just reward;
So shall the poor no longer say,
In grief of heart, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! great king of France,
Remember our unhappy lot:
Long have we borne our sad mischance,
And patient are we still, God wot!
But if you do not soon apply
Choice remedies to our distress,
Eftsoons our tens of thousands fly,
In foreign lands to seek redress.
And when from hence we haste away,
'Tis you will cry, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! good prince, beware;
For thoughtless kings, in days of yore,
Who for their subjects did not care,
By loss of lands were punish'd sore.
Are you not sworn to work our weal?
Bid, then, our sore vexations cease:
Humble the proud with prudent zeal,
And grant us safety, grant us peace:
So shall we no more need to say,
In grief of heart, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! when thrice a-year,
Your surly sergeants came perforce,
And, levying tallage on our gear,
Drive from our field both cow and horse.
But yet in JESUS' name, we trow,
That scant proportion of the same
Doth to the royal coffers flow.
Then our complaints no longer blame,
Nor marvel if our piteous lay
Is burdened still with 'Welladay!'

Ah, welladay! ye lords so great,
Whose counsels guide our sovereign king,
Who rule each province of the state,
To him our tale of sorrow bring.
The keys of this fair realm you hold,
Then bid him pass the just decree,
(Assisted by his barons bold,)
Which from our woes may set us free.
Thus underneath his gentle sway,
No more we'll sing, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! ye counts so brave,
In dread we bear your heavy thralls.
While rain pours down and winds do rave,
We stand upon your castle-walls.
And while, with night's all-piercing dew
So numb and cold, we keep the guard,
Your captains beat us black and blue,
Swearing we sleep upon our ward.
And all because we sorrowing say,
In murmurs low, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! thus beaten sore,
Full many a crown we needs must pay,
To fill that maw which craves for more,
While insolence oppressive sway
More bitter renders!—but is this
The claim of reason or of right?
Ah, simple are ye, well we wis,
Who proudly deal us such despite!
Simple, in sooth; or ye would say,
Pitying our moan, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! against our will,
Thus of your captains we complain;
But sheep and lambs and hogs they steal,
And rifle all our store of grain.
And if in pity ought they leave,
The sergeants glean the scanty dole;
And all the gear your towers receive,
For shelter, pays a grievous toll.
The castellan, whom thus we pay,
Recks not our cry, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! what end of trouble!
When royal taxes are decreed,
We tillers of the land pay double,
Albeit in times of greatest need,
Your men-at-arms, like hungry thieves,
Prowl through our fields with sharpen'd eye,
And drive and slay our fattest beeves!
Or if protection ye supply,
Both gold and grain therefore we pay.
Well may we then sing 'Welladay!'

Ah, welladay! ye men-at-arms,
Little it boots us to complain,
Albeit ye multiply our harms,
And seize perforce our stacks of grain.
But well I wot that frost and snow
Shall be the guerdon of your crimes,
And ravenous Death shall lay you low,
As Pharaoh fell in elder times.
Then shall we smile, nor longer say,
In grief of heart, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! ye lawyers grave,
Your simple clients to embroil,
A subtle web of quirks ye weave,
And fill your purses by our spoil.
Thus do you, by your dark deceit,
Make wrong seem right, and right seem wrong,
While artless husbandmen ye cheat,
And all our woes and griefs prolong,
When you should join our doleful lay,
And cry with us, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! ye burghers too,
Whom erst our rents and toils maintain'd;
When times were good, our jovial crew
With plenteous cheer ye entertain'd;
But now that loathsome poverty,
And debts, consume our squalid band,
Reckless ye view our misery,
And will not stretch the helping hand.
Thus held in scorn we sorrowing say,
In doleful dumps, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! ye tradesfolk all
Who sold your paltry wares so dear,
But grudged our gains so scant and small,
Whene'er ye purchased of our gear.
Your knavery and your wicked lies,
Your tricks and violated troth
Shall surely meet their due emprise,
When God descends in vengeful wrath,
Then will ye curse your wealth, and say,
In fear of heart, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! ye craftsmen too,
Farriers, and wights that curry skins:
Your grinding avarice ye shall rue,
When judgment falls upon your sins.
The glibness of your glosing tongue
Has fleeced us worse than usury,
Though victims of your cunning wrong,
Aye doomed to meagre misery.
For you we work for wretched pay,
Which makes us cry, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! full well ye know,
When we have sown our yearly seed,
From driving rain, and frost and snow,
And all the vermin wars do breed,
What ills our rising crop betide.
Alas! our hoards of pulse and corn,
The toiling peasant's joy and pride,
Those vermin to their holes have borne:
There while they heap their stores of prey
Well may we sigh, 'Ah, welladay!'

Ah, welladay! if sooth we sing,
Wherefore your pardon should we crave?
Our doleful state your hearts should wring,
For nought can we from pillage save.
Our sleekest beeves, our fairest kine,
Which fed us with their milky store,
Our fleecy sheep, and fatted swine,
Are vanish'd to return no more;
And when we miss them, well we may
Cry out, 'Alas! and welladay!'

Ah, welladay! Can folks who wear
The form of men, and have a soul,
Behold us through the frosty air
Begging, in rags, the scanty dole?
For all is gone: the hungry Scot
And haughty Spaniard, in their turn,
Have stripp'd us to the skin, God wot!
And left us to lament and mourn.
Hear then our dismal tale, nor say
For nought we cry, 'Ah, welladay!'

Oh, holy church! Oh, noble king!
Sage counsellors, and soldiers brave,
Lawyers, and tradesfolk, thus we bring
To you our plaints so sad and grave.
For God, and for his mother's sake,
Attend with pity to our cries,
And on our state compassion take,
Else will ye see, with weeping eyes,

Your towers consumed by hostile fires ;
For if ye slight our humble prayer,
Our urgent wants and just desires,
Far different letters shall declare.
But if you please, in serious mood
And kind, these presents to peruse,
God shall direct you to your good,
Nor will ye still our prayer refuse.
Then shall we cease to sigh and say,
In grief of heart, 'Ah, welladay!'
Amen! so God grant of his grace!"

CHAPTER CCLXIV.—THE DAUPHIN LAYS SIEGE TO CÔNE-SUR-LOIRE.—THE EXPEDITION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FOR ITS RELIEF.—THE DEATH OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.

We must now speak of the duke of Touraine, dauphin, who had assembled from divers parts an army of twenty thousand men, the greater number of which he had marched to Sancerre, where he had fixed his residence. During his stay there, he had won the town of La Charité-sur-Loire, which he regarrisoned; and had so closely besieged Cône-sur-Loire, that the garrison were constrained to capitulate with the commissaries of the dauphin for its surrender on the 6th day of August, unless the duke of Burgundy should come or send a force sufficient to combat his enemies; and for the due performance of this they gave sufficient hostages. The two dukes of Touraine and Burgundy mutually promised each other, by their heralds, to meet on the appointed day in battle array for the combat.

The duke of Burgundy had before made his arrangements to return to Artois; but in consequence of the above, he resolved to stay in Burgundy, and sent messengers to summon assistance from Flanders, Picardy, and elsewhere. He sent also to the king of England, earnestly to request the aid of a certain number of his men-at-arms and archers, with some of his princes and chief captains. The king gave for answer to the duke's messengers, that he would not only comply with the request they made, but would come to the duke's aid in person, and with his whole army.

Sir Hugh de Lannoy, master of the cross-bows of France, was not idle in raising men in Flanders and in the neighbourhood of Lille, and assembled great numbers. In like manner did sir John de Luxembourg, the lord de Croy, and many other captains in Picardy, who, toward the end of July, advanced by different roads round Paris, and marched thence through Troyes in Champagne. On the other hand, the king of England, though in a very bad state of health at Senlis, ordered the army that was in and about Paris to march toward Burgundy, under the command of his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and other princes and captains. He himself, notwithstanding his illness, took leave of his brother the king of France, of the queen, and of his own consort, whom he never after saw, and departed from Senlis to Melun, where he had himself placed in a litter, intending to join his army on the day appointed for the battle between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy. But he daily grew so much weaker, that he was forced to return to the castle of Vincennes, where he took to his death-bed.

In the mean time, the English army, under the duke of Bedford, advanced near to Burgundy,—as did the lords of Picardy by another route. They at length came to the town of Veselay, where they found the duke of Burgundy waiting for them with a considerable army collected from all quarters. The duke received them with great joy, and feasted them grandly, more especially the duke of Bedford and the English lords, whom he gratefully thanked for the powerful succour they had brought him in his time of need. When the junction of all these reinforcements was completed, the whole advanced toward Cône-sur-Loire, having van, centre, and rear battalions, in which were intermixed English, Burgundians, and Picards, so that no jealousies might arise among them, and that none of the three parties might claim any particular honour on the day of battle.

In this order they came before Cône, and there took up their quarters for the night, ready for the combat on the morrow, according to the promises of the dauphin. But the dauphin and his advisers, having heard of the immense force of the duke of Burgundy and the princes his allies, withdrew with his army to Bourges in Berry, and no person appeared for him on the appointed day. Thus the town of Cône remained in possession of the duke of Burgundy, who marched back toward Troyes. The army suffered much from want of provision, especially bread; but when they were arrived near Troyes, they spread themselves

over the low countries, which were very much oppressed by them on their going and returning.

The duke of Bedford received intelligence on the march, that his brother the king was so ill that his life was despaired of: on which the duke, and some of the most faithful of the king's household, quitted the army, and hastened to the castle of Vincennes, where they found him worse than had been told them. The duke of Burgundy hearing this, despatched sir Hugh de Lannoy to visit him, and inquire into the state of his health.

King Henry finding himself mortally ill, called to him his brother the duke of Bedford, his uncle of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, sir Louis de Robesart, and others, to the number of six or eight of those in whom he had the greatest confidence, and said, that he saw with grief it was the pleasure of his Creator that he should quit this world. He then addressed the duke of Bedford.—"John, my good brother, I beseech you, on the loyalty and love you have ever expressed for me, that you show the same loyalty and affection to my son Henry, your nephew; and that, so long as you shall live, you do not suffer him to conclude any treaty with our adversary Charles, and that on no account whatever the duchy of Normandy be wholly restored to him. Should our good brother of Burgundy be desirous of the regency of the kingdom of France, I would advise that you let him have it; but should he refuse, then take it yourself. My good uncle of Exeter, I nominate you sole regent of the kingdom of England, for that you well know how to govern it; and I entreat that you do not, on any pretence whatever, return to France; and I likewise nominate you as guardian to my son; and I insist, on your love to me, that you do very often personally visit and see him. My dear cousin of Warwick, I will that you be his governor, and that you teach him all things becoming his rank, for I cannot provide a fitter person for the purpose.

"I entreat you as earnestly as I can, that you avoid all quarrels and dissentions with our fair brother of Burgundy; and this I particularly recommend to the consideration of my fair brother Humphrey,—for should any coolness subsist between you, which God forbid, the affairs of this realm, which are now in a very promising state, would soon be ruined. You will be careful not to set at liberty our cousin of Orleans, the count d'Eu, the lord de Gaucourt and sir Guichart de Sisay, until our dear son shall be of a proper age; and in all other things you will act as you shall judge for the best."

The king having said these words and some others, the lords replied, with grief and respect, that all he had ordered, and whatever they should think would be agreeable to him, they would execute to the utmost of their power, without altering any one thing. They were greatly affected at seeing the melancholy state he was in; and some of them left the apartment.

Sir Hugh de Lannoy having accomplished the business he had been sent on by the duke of Burgundy, and having had some conversation with the king, returned to the duke. The king then sent for his physicians, and earnestly demanded of them how long they thought he had to live. They delayed answering the question directly; but, not to discourage hope, they said that it depended solely on the will of God whether he would be restored to health. He was dissatisfied with this answer, and repeated his request, begging of them to tell him the truth. Upon this they consulted together, and one of them, as spokesman, falling on his knees, said, "Sire, you must think on your soul; for, unless it be the will of God to decree otherwise, it is impossible that you should live more than two hours." The king, hearing this, sent for his confessor, some of his household, and his chaplains, whom he ordered to chant the seven penitential psalms. When they came to "Benigne fac, Domine," where mention is made "muri Hierusalem," he stopped them, and said aloud, that he had fully intended, after he had wholly subdued the realm of France to his obedience, and restored it to peace, to have gone to conquer the kingdom of Jerusalem, if it had pleased his Creator to have granted him longer life. Having said this, he allowed the priests to proceed, and, shortly after, according to the prediction of his physicians, gave up the ghost the last day of August.

The duke of Bedford, the other princes, and in general all the English, made loud lamentations for his death, and were truly sorry for it. Shortly after, his bowels were buried

in the church of the monastery of Saint Maur des Fosses, and his body embalmed and put into a leaden coffin. During this time, the duke of Burgundy came from Braye-Comte-Robert to Vincennes, to visit the duke of Bedford and the other princes; and having had a short conference with them went to Paris, where he was lodged in his hotel of Artois.

The body of king Henry was carried in great funeral pomp, attended by the English princes, his household, and a multitude of other people, to the church of Notre-Dame, in Paris, where a solemn service was performed; after which it was conveyed to Rouen in the same state, where it remained a considerable time.

In the mean time the princes, namely, the duke of Bedford, the duke of Burgundy, and the duke of Exeter, with other great lords, assembled in council at Paris, to deliberate on the future government of France, when it was resolved, that what had been formerly agreed to and settled between the two kings at Troyes in Champagne, for the establishment of peace, should be the ground-work of the future government. It was now publicly known, that the disorder king Henry died of was a heat in his fundament, very similar to what is called the disorder of St. Anthony*. After the princes had agreed on the future government of the kingdom, the duke of Burgundy quitted Paris, and returned with his Picards to Artois and Flanders; and the duke of Bedford, with the English lords, to Rouen, to regulate the affairs of that duchy. The queen of England was conducted to Rouen in great state; for she had been kept in ignorance how dangerously ill the king was, and knew not of his death until some time after it had happened.

The royal coffin was placed within a car, drawn by four large horses, having on its top a representation of the deceased monarch, of boiled leather, elegantly painted, with a rich crown of gold on the head: in his right hand a sceptre, in his left a golden ball, with his face looking to the heavens. Over the bed on which this representation lay was a coverlid of vermilion silk interwoven with beaten gold. When it passed through any towns, a canopy of silk (like to what is carried over the host on Corpus Christi day) was borne over it. In this state, and attended by his princes and the knights of his household, did the funeral proceed from Rouen straight to Abbeville, where the body was placed in the church of St. Ulfran, with rows of priests on each side of the coffin, who day and night incessantly chanted requiems. Masses were daily said for his soul in the churches of all the towns through which the funeral passed, from break of day until noon. From Abbeville the procession proceeded to Hesdin, and thence to Montrieul, Boulogne, and Calais. During the whole way there were persons on either side the car, dressed in white, carrying lighted torches: behind it were his household clothed in black, and after them his relatives in tears, and dressed in mourning. At about a league distance followed the queen, with a numerous attendance. From Calais they embarked for Dover, and, passing through Canterbury and Rochester, arrived at London on Martinmas-day.

When the funeral approached London, fifteen bishops dressed in pontificalibus, several mitred abbots and churchmen, with a multitude of persons of all ranks, came out to meet it. The churchmen chanted the service for the dead as it passed over London-bridge, through Lombard Street to St. Paul's cathedral. Near the car were the relations of the late king uttering loud lamentations. On the collar of the first horse that drew the car were emblazoned the ancient arms of England: on that of the second, the arms of France and England quartered, the same as he bore during his lifetime: on that of the third, the arms of France simply. On that of the fourth horse were painted the arms of the noble king Arthur, whom no one could conquer: there were three crowns or, on a shield azure. When the funeral service had been royally performed in the cathedral, the body was carried to be interred at Westminster abbey with the kings his ancestors. At this funeral, and in regard to everything concerning it, greater pomp and expense were made than had been done for two hundred years at the interment of any king of England; and even now, as much honour and reverence is daily paid to his tomb, as if it were certain he was a saint in paradise.

Thus ended the life of king Henry in the flower of his age, for when he died he was but

* The parliamentary history says that he died of a dysentery.

forty years old*. He was very wise and able in every business he undertook, and of a determined character. During the seven or eight years he ruled in France, he made greater conquests than any of his predecessors had ever done. It is true, he was so feared by his princes and captains that none dared to disobey his orders, however nearly related to him, more especially his English subjects. In this state of obedience were his subjects of France and England in general; and the principal cause was, that if any person transgressed his ordinances he had him instantly punished without favour or mercy.

When this ceremony was over, the three estates of England assembled to consider the present state of the realm, when they unanimously elected the young son of their departed monarch king, although he was but sixteen months old, and submitted themselves to his will notwithstanding his youth. They instantly granted him a royal establishment, and agreed that he should be under the governance of the earl of Warwick.

While these things were passing, a noble knight of Picardy used a joking expression to his herald respecting king Henry, which was afterward often repeated. Sir Sarrasin d'Arly, uncle to the vidame of Amiens, who might be about sixty years of age, resided in the castle of Achere, which he had had with his wife, sister to the lord d'Offemont, near to Pas in Artois. He was laid up with the gout, but very eager in his inquiries after news of what was going on. One day his poursuivant, named Haurenas, of the same age as himself, and who had long served him, returned from making the usual inquiries; and on sir Sarrasin questioning him, and asking him if he had heard any particulars of the death of the king of England, he said that he had, and had even seen his corpse at Abbeville, in the church of St. Ulfran, and then related how he was attired, nearly as has been before described. The knight then asked him, on his faith, if he had diligently observed him. On his answering that he had, —"Now, on thy oath, tell me," added sir Sarrasin, "if he had his boots on." "No, my lord, by my faith, he had not." The knight then cried out, "Haurenas, my good friend, never believe me if he has not left them in France!" This expression set the company a laughing, and then they talked of other matters.

CHAPTER CCLXV.—THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY DIES IN THE TOWN OF GHENT.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD IS MADE REGENT OF FRANCE.—SEVERAL FORTS ARE DEMOLISHED.

During the absence of the duke of Burgundy, and while he was making his preparations for the expected battle of Cône, his duchess, daughter to the king of France and sister to the dauphin, fell ill at Ghent, and died there. All her attendants, and indeed the whole of the inhabitants of Ghent and Flanders, were much grieved at her death, for she was greatly beloved by all who knew her, and adored by the subjects of her lord, duke Philip, and not without reason, for she was of high extraction, and adorned with every good qualification, as it was reported by those who, from their situations, must have been perfectly acquainted with her. Her body was solemnly interred in the church of the monastery of Saint Bavon, near to Ghent.

It was, however, commonly reported and believed in Ghent, that her death had been hastened; and one of her ladies, called Ourse, wife to Coppin de la Viefville, born in Germany, was suspected of having done it. She had been the great confidante of the duchess, who had intrusted her signet to her, but, during her illness, had dismissed her from her service; and she had retired to the town of Aire. The municipality of Ghent sent six score men thither to arrest and bring her back; but, on their arrival at Aire, they were met by sir Gauvain de la Viefville, and some other gentlemen of name, friends to her husband, who promised to deliver her up to the duke of Burgundy, for him to deal with her as he pleased. On receiving a solemn promise to this purpose, the Ghent men returned to their town; but the municipality were very angry that their orders had not been obeyed, and confined several of them prisoners. They were also much displeased with the mayor, sheriffs, and jurats, for not having delivered up the said Ourse, according to their mandate.

* The authors of "L'Art de Verifier les Dates" say, he was but thirty-six years old when he died. According to Hume, he died in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

Notwithstanding the lord de Roubaix had never quitted the duke since he first set out for Burgundy, the Ghent men banished him their town and Flanders, believing him to be concerned in the above business. When the duke returned he restored to him his lands, and soon after made his peace with those of Ghent, for he had not the least suspicion of the lord de Roubaix, knowing that he had never left his company. Thus ended this affair, and nothing more was done in it, nor were any further inquiries made.

By authority from the kings of France and of England and their grand council, the duke of Bedford was appointed regent of France, in consequence of the duke of Burgundy not wishing to undertake that office. A little prior to this, the following castles had been razed to the ground by royal command, namely, the castle of Muyn, Cressensac, Mortemer, Tilloy, Araines, Hericourt, Louvroy, and others, to the great vexation of their owners, but they could not any way prevent its being done.

CHAPTER CCLXVI.—CHARLES VI. KING OF FRANCE DIES IN HIS HOTEL OF SAINT POL, AND IS INTERRED AT SAINT DENIS WITH HIS ANCESTORS.

In these days Charles king of France was confined to his bed by illness, and on the 22d day of October, the feast of the eleven thousand virgins, he departed this life at his hotel of St. Pol. Only his chancellor, his first chamberlain, his confessor, almoner, and a very few of his household, were present at his decease. Shortly after his death was made public, the lords of his council, the members of his parliament, the chamber of accounts, the university of Paris, many of the colleges, the sheriffs, burghers, and multitudes of the common people, went to see him as he lay on his bed.

His attendants placed the body in a leaden coffin, when it was very reverently borne by knights and esquires to the chapel within his hotel, where it remained for twenty whole days, until the duke of Bedford were returned to Paris from Normandy in the following month of November. During these twenty days, masses were daily celebrated in the king's chapel in the same manner as in his lifetime, by the priests attached to it, after which the service for the dead was celebrated. The four orders of mendicant friars, and the canons from the different colleges, daily performed alternate services. The university caused one grand one to be celebrated, as did the college of the Quatre Nations, and in general this was done by all the parishes in Paris.

On the 10th of November the king's body was carried from his hotel of St. Pol to the cathedral of Notre Dame, in grand procession, preceded by the members of the different churches dressed in their robes, each according to his rank. The prelates were on the right hand, namely, the bishops of Paris, of Chartres, of Terouenne,—the abbots of St. Magloire, of St. Germain des Prés, of St. Maur, and of St. Genevieve. On the left hand were the heads of the universities and doctors, equally near as the prelates to the body, which was borne by the king's foresters, and by those of his stable. Then followed the maîtres d'hôtel and the esquires of the stable. On the left of the body were the provosts of Paris and of the merchants, having sergeants-at-arms between them, and near to the body was the king's first valet de chambre. The members of the court of parliament bore the pall, at the head of which was the king's first chamberlain, and the others in succession. After them came the king's pages, and then at a little distance, the duke of Bedford as regent of the kingdom. None of the princes of the royal blood of France attended the funeral, which was a melancholy consideration, when it was remembered what great power and prosperity the king had enjoyed during the early part of his reign. Then came, after the duke of Bedford, the chancellor of France, the masters of requests, the members of the chamber of accounts, secretaries, notaries, burghers, and a great multitude of the commonalty of Paris.

The body was placed on a handsome litter, over which was a canopy of cloth of gold on a ground of vermilion and azure, besprinkled with flowers de luce. Over the coffin was an image of the late king, bearing a rich crown of gold and diamonds, and holding two shields, one of gold, the other of silver; the hands had white gloves on, and the fingers were adorned with very precious rings. This image was dressed with cloth of gold on a vermilion ground,

with close sleeves, and a mantle of the same lined with ermine; the stockings were black, and the shoes of blue velvet besprinkled with flowers de luce. In this state was he solemnly carried to the church of Notre Dame, where a mass for the defunct was chanted by the patriarch of Constantinople. When the service was finished the procession moved to St. Denis. The body was borne by the attendants of his stable as far as a cross, half-way between Paris and St. Denis, when the measurers and carriers of salt in Paris took it from them, having each a flower de luce on his breast. They carried the body to a cross near St. Denis, where the abbot, attended by his monks and all the clergy of the town, with great multitudes of people bearing lighted torches, received it. Thence with chanting and singing, recommending his soul to God, was it carried to the church of St. Denis.

During this whole time, neither the duke of Bedford nor any of those before mentioned quitted the body. On the body being placed in the church, another service was celebrated by the patriarch of Constantinople, but a night intervened between the two services. No one but the duke of Bedford went to the offering.

There were full twenty thousand pounds of wax expended at these two services, and sixteen thousand persons attended the almsgiving, when three blancs of royal money were given to each. When the last service had been performed in the church of Saint Denis, and the king's body laid in the sepulchre of his forefathers, the patriarch gave his benediction in the usual manner,—on which the late king's ushers-at-arms broke their staves and threw them into the grave, and turned their maces downward. Then Berry, king-at-arms, attended by many heralds and poursuivants, cried over the grave, "May God show mercy and pity to the soul of the late most puissant and most excellent Charles VI. king of France, our natural and sovereign lord!" Immediately after Berry cried, "May God grant long life to Henry by the grace of God king of France and of England, our sovereign lord!" which cry he again repeated. After this, the sergeants-at-arms and ushers returned their maces and shouted together, "Long live the king! long live the king!"

When the ceremony was over, the lords returned to Paris, which had been placed under the guard of sir Guy le Bouteiller and the bastard de Thian, with a very large body of men-at-arms. They had also under their command different detachments in the environs, with able captains, to prevent any surprise or attempts of the Dauphinois.

The duke of Bedford was now regent and sole governor of the realm, in the name of his nephew the young king Henry, in so far as to those parts under his obedience.

Thus ended the life of the most noble king Charles, in the 43rd year of his reign, during great part of which the kingdom was sorely troubled and ruined by the continual quarrels of the princes of his blood with each other. May God through his infinite goodness have mercy on and receive his soul!

THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

BOOK II.

PROLOGUE.*

The celebrated philosopher Vegesus tells us, in his work on the valour and warlike skill displayed by the votaries of chivalry, that the empire which the ancient Romans were enabled to extend over the greater part of the world, may be attributed to their constant exercise of arms, and their continual warfare. This opinion appears to be well founded, since well-directed manœuvres, perseverance, and skill in arms, do more to procure victory, than a great assembly or the multitude of combatants. And in truth, the Romans, whose forces were comparatively small, could have effected little against the nations by whom they were surrounded, had they not possessed superior skill in military affairs. But all their institutions were founded with that object in view, and they daily practised warlike exercises, whereby they acquired, during their supremacy, great renown and inestimable praises, which have been recorded in many books still extant, written by wise and eloquent clerks, philosophers, and poets, both in prose and verse, and which are often quoted, and are with pleasure seen and heard before princes and great lords, for the sake of the bold enterprises and courageous feats of arms therein written and recorded. But we should consider that the all-powerful God, maker of heaven and earth, has given to each of us a certain measure of understanding different from that of any other person, by which he is distinguished from his fellows, and that it is not uncommon for two persons to receive very different impressions from the same thing; as for instance, when we see many modern additions made to the works written by the wise ancients on the various sciences; yet we are not to imagine that the subject was unintelligible without these additions, but that the authors wrote only so much as in their opinion the subject appeared to require; and as to the additions made by those whose natural talents, reading, or experience, have enabled them to search for and discover them, they should, inasmuch as their intention is useful and reasonable, be favourably received without any reproach to the original author. And thus it is not surprising that men furnished with warlike engines, invent or imagine new things which appear necessary and applicable to their management. And although in their ardour they pay little attention to the names by which these improvements may be distinguished, they take all possible methods which appear to them advantageous for the annoyance of their enemies or their own defence, relying as much on art and laudable skill, as on prowess and valour of body; all men

* This Prologue, which is omitted in the Johnes's translation, is given from M. Buchon's edition of the original.—Ed.

of noble courage who address themselves to warlike pursuits, either at the call of the laws, by constraint, or pressing necessity, ought to instruct themselves in the art to the extent of their power, and to occupy themselves valiantly and honourably for the public good, and in guarding and defending their own honour and persons, and by such conduct will acquire great reputation. Without desiring to derogate from the valour and prowess of the ancient warriors, or undervaluing their excellent and noble deeds, we may, in my opinion, discover as many high and excellent achievements of several kinds, which have been performed in the time of which this present history or chronicle makes mention, as in those which have been seen and heard and recorded heretofore; for many various and cruel instruments of war have been invented and continue in use, of which no knowledge was formerly possessed; and by their means, with other subtleties, many diverse manners of conducting and carrying on war have come into practice.

To preserve these things in memory in a faithful record, I, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, residing in the city of Cambray, who have heretofore taken a laborious pleasure in putting into writing, in the manner of a chronicle, the marvellous adventures and valorous deeds of arms, worthy of praise and record, which have happened in the most Christian kingdom of France, the neighbouring countries, and distant parts, as well in Christendom as beyond it, to the best of my little skill, without embellishment, or going beyond the matter in hand, but narrating the simple facts, following the relations which have been made to me by many men of noble birth, and other distinguished persons, and also by kings-at-arms, heralds, and poursuivants, worthy of faith and credence, who have been present, have applied myself to the continuation and further pursuit of the work I have long ago begun, and have undertaken the labour of compiling this history; it comprises, as those who have an opportunity of reading or hearing it, may see, accounts of mortal battles, the desolation of many churches, cities, towns, and fortresses; the depopulation of a great extent of country, and other marvels, piteous to record; of valiant and prudent men, as well nobles as others, who long perilled body and goods, and suffered and endured pain and labour in peril of their life, and many of whom, in consequence of their valour, or by some unhappy misadventure, ended their days; such should be esteemed happy, and well recompensed by having their courage, their renowned actions, and noble deeds recorded, to the honour of themselves and of their successors, and should be held by the living in perpetual memory. When such things are recited, all noble persons of valour and daring courage should feel fresh incitements loyally to serve their prince and rightful lord, and to fight steadfastly in his quarrel and for his right.

For these reasons I have devoted my time to this pursuit; for as I have had frequent opportunity of beholding the pleasure which many princes and lords of great authority and of other conditions take in seeing and hearing such acts, so I well know the pains, anxiety, and labour, of arranging them in proper order. Nevertheless such labour is not ungrateful to the author who enters zealously upon his task.

I shall begin my second book with the month of October 1422, where my first volume, composed of the history of the preceding time, ends, and with the reign of Charles the well-instructed, of most noble memory, by the grace of God, king of France, the seventh of that name, and will end with the month of May 1488, in which month and year the truces between the kingdoms of France and England were arranged and finally concluded, at the city of Tours in Touraine.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.—INFORMATION OF THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES THE WELL-BELOVED IS CARRIED TO HIS ONLY SON CHARLES THE DAUPHIN.—OTHER MATTERS.

News of the death of king Charles the well-beloved was soon carried to his only son the dauphin, then residing at a small castle called Espally, near to Puy in Auvergne, and belonging to the bishop of that place. The dauphin was very much grieved on receiving this intelligence, and wept abundantly. By the advice of his ministers, he instantly dressed himself in mourning, and on the morrow when he heard mass was clothed in a vermilion coloured robe, attended by several officers-at-arms in their emblazoned coats. The banner of France was then displayed in the chapel, and all present shouted "Vive le Roi!" After this, the service of the church was performed without any other ceremony, but henceforth all that were attached to the party of the dauphin styled him king of France.

When the duke of Burgundy was returned to Artois, after the death of the king of England, he held a council of his captains in Arras, when it was determined that sir John de Luxembourg should assemble a body of men-at-arms to subdue the Dauphinois in the county of Guise and in the adjacent parts,—for they were harassing greatly the Cambresis and the Vermandois. Sir John therefore fixed his place of rendezvous for his men at and about Peronne. At this time the lord de l'Isle-Adam obtained his liberty through the solicitations of the duke of Burgundy. He had been for a long time prisoner in the bastille of St. Anthony, by orders of the late king of England. He was restored to his possessions, and, in part, to the offices he had held.

Many knights and esquires of Picardy were now sent to St. Valery to summon sir James de Harcourt to surrender the place according to his promise. The gates of the town were thrown open to their summons, and sir John de Blondel was made governor thereof.

On Martinmas-night, by means that had been practised before, the town of Rue was given up to sir James de Harcourt, and the inhabitants swore allegiance to the dauphin, thus violating the peace that had been made. Sir James appointed the lord de Verduisant governor, and as his force was inadequate for its defence, he sent for a reinforcement from the county of Guise, which, on its arrival, oppressed the country much. About this same time the lord de Bosqueaux, who had long been most active to serve the Dauphin and Orleans party, was made prisoner in the castle of Thoisy-sur-Oise and carried to Paris, where he was beheaded and quartered, for having some time past maliciously murdered sir Guy de Harcourt, bailiff of the Vermandois.

CHAPTER II.—CHARLES THE DAUPHIN IS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS FATHER'S DEATH.

After the death of the king of France, his only son Charles the dauphin, by the advice of the nobles of his party, was crowned king, in the town of Poitiers,—and from that day was called king of France by his adherents, as his father had been before him. A short time prior to this he had narrowly escaped being killed; for while he was holding a council in the town of la Rochelle, part of the chamber in which he was sitting fell in, when John de Bourbon, lord of Préaux, and some more were killed. The dauphin was slightly wounded; but his attendants hastily extricated him from his danger, and carried him to a place of security, where he soon recovered his health.

In this year, sir Mansart d'Esne was made prisoner in the castle of Vitry, of which he was governor, by la Hire, both of them being adherents to the dauphin, and notwithstanding they had long been intimate friends. Sir Mansart, however, was deprived of all his effects, of his castle, and a high price withal fixed for his ransom, while he was kept in close con-

finement for a length of time. It was commonly reported, that John Raoullet was a party concerned with la Hire in playing this trick.

When sir John de Luxembourg had collected his men-at-arms at Peronne, he entered the country of Guise, and having soon subdued the forts of Buissy-sur-Fontaines, Proisy, and some others, and conquered that country, he returned homeward, and disbanded his troops, when they all retired to the places they had come from.

CHAPTER III.—THE PARISIANS SEND AN EMBASSY TO ENGLAND, TO YOUNG KING HENRY AND TO HIS MINISTERS.—OTHER MATTERS.

In this year the Parisians sent a solemn embassy to king Henry, and to the queen of England, to request they would speedily order a sufficient force to France, to oppose the daily advances of the party of the new king of France, the late dauphin of Vienne. The ambassadors were, the bishop of Terouenne, master John de Mailly, sir Bourdin de Salignies, Michault Lallier, and other persons of note. They took their road through Lille, to have a conference with the duke of Burgundy, and thence to Calais, where they embarked for England. They were joyfully received by the king and queen, and promised effectual and speedy succours by their ministers. Having thus accomplished the object of their embassy, they returned to France.

On the 14th of January in this year, the fortress on the bridge of Meulan was surprised by the French under the command of sir John de Grasville. He had with him some able captains and a body of five hundred combatants who slew all the English they found there, and used great diligence to put the place in better repair, and to revictual it; for they intended to defend the town and castle against their enemies. At this time, the countess-dowager of Hainault was defied by a noted plunderer of the name of L'Escremont Castel, a native of Ligny, in the Cambresis, and then captain of the tower of Beaumont under sir John de Luxembourg. Having sent his defiance to the countess, he attacked many of her towns, and made war on her subjects and vassals for a considerable space of time.

About Christmas in this year, some of the burghers of Paris formed a conspiracy against king Henry, with the intent to deliver up Paris to the Dauphinois; but it was discovered, and many arrested, some of whom were beheaded. A woman that had been concerned therein was burned: the rest saved themselves by flight, (among the latter was Michault Lallier,) and their property was confiscated to king Henry. At this period, the town of La Ferté-Milon was won by the French, with the consent of the inhabitants; but the castle was well defended by the garrison, who sent in haste for succour to the lord de l'Isle-Adam, to the lord de Castillon, and to the bastard de Thian. The lord de l'Isle-Adam collected a force of five or six hundred men, and marched them secretly in the rear of the castle, whence, at an hour previously agreed on with the garrison, they made a joint attack on the town, which was soon gained without any great resistance being made; and the greater part of those found within it were put to death without mercy, and all their effects carried off.

Shortly after the capture of Meulan, the duke of Bedford, who styled himself regent of France, assembled a large body of combatants, English, Normans, Picards, and others, and led them to lay siege to the bridge of Meulan on each side of the river. He had bombards and other warlike engines erected against the gates and walls to destroy them, and continued this siege with great perseverance from the beginning of January until the following March, when the besieged offered to capitulate.

In the month of February, while this siege was carrying on, sir John de Luxembourg conquered the forts of Franquemez, Neufville, Endorans, Vironfosse, and Canaple. He had with him the lord de Saveuses, sir Daviod de Poix, and many expert and tried men-at-arms. After these conquests, he returned before the town of Guise, and had a grand skirmish with its garrison. Having thus succeeded, sir John returned to his castle of Beaurevoir, where he dismissed his captains and men-at-arms.

CHAPTER IV.—THE CAPTAINS OF KING CHARLES ASSEMBLE IN GREAT NUMBERS TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF MEULAN.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TREATS WITH THE GARRISON.

Toward the end of February, a large body of combatants, attached to king Charles from the country of Berry, assembled under the command of the count d'Aumarle*, the earl of Buchan, a Scotsman, the viscounts de Narbonne, d'Annechy†, de Châtel Breton and others: they amounted to about six thousand men, and were marched to within six leagues of Meulan, where they formed themselves in battle-array; but a quarrel arose among their

Meulan.—From an original Drawing.

leaders, so that they broke up in a very disorderly manner, and departed without advancing farther. They lost great numbers of men from the sallies made by the garrisons of Chartres, and other places in the hands of the English, while retreating in such disorder.

The besieged in Meulan, hearing of what had happened, were exceedingly enraged that they had failed of having the promised succour. In their rage, they tore down the banner of king Charles that had been displayed over the gate, and flung it to the ground. Many gentlemen ascended the battlements, and in sight of the English tore to pieces the crosses they had worn as badges of king Charles, and loudly abused those who had been sent to their relief for perjured traitors.

The garrison was not long before they held a parley with the duke's officers; and persons were chosen on each side to conclude a treaty. On the part of the English were deputed, the earl of Salisbury, sir John Fastolfe, sir Pierre de Fontenay, sir John de Pouligny lord

* I suspect that this ought to be *Aumale*. John, count of Aumale, son to the count of Harcourt. He was killed the following year at Verneuil.

† Q. Annebaut? John, lord of Annebaut, was attached to the person of the count of Aumale in 1421.

de la Motte, Richard Widville*, Nicholas Bourdee, grand butler of Normandy, and Pierre le Verrad. The deputies from the town were, sir John de Grasville, sir Louis Martel, sir Adam de Croisines, knights, John d'Estainbourg, Jean de Mirot, Roger de Boissie, Oudin de Boissie, and Jean Marle, esquires. These deputies having met several times, at length agreed to a treaty, the terms whereof were as follow:—

CHAPTER V.—A COPY OF THE TREATY OF MEULAN.

In the first place, the besieged shall surrender the bridge and fortress into the hands of my lord duke of Bedford, or to his commissaries, fully repaired, and with all its cannons, powder, cross-bows, and all other warlike stores, without fraud or deceit, and without committing any damages to these articles. The said bridge and fort shall be thus honestly surrendered three days after to-morrow,—that is to say, on the fifth day of this present month of March.—Secondly, all persons now within the fort of the bridge of Meulan, whatever may be their rank, shall submit themselves, with the utmost humility, to the will of my lord the regent, who, in consideration of this their very humble obeisance, and from motives of mercy and religion, in honour of God, and with due reverence to this holy time of Lent, shall grant them their lives, excepting those who shall have formerly been subjects to the late king of England, (whose soul may God pardon!) and such as shall have sworn to the observance of the last peace between the kingdoms of France and England; those who shall have been in any way accomplices in the murder of duke John of Burgundy; all Welsh, Irish, and Scots, should any there be, are also excepted,—and more particularly so, John Dourdas, Savary a Bernardine monk, Olivier de Launoy, the cannoneers, and those who formed the ambuscade by which the bridge was surprised: all these last are to remain at the disposal of the lord regent. Thirdly, it is agreed that if any gentleman or others (excepting such as have been before excepted) be willing to submit themselves to the obedience of the king our sovereign lord of France and of England, and to my lord regent, as true and loyal subjects, and carry on a war against his enemies in the manner they had done against the king,—my lord regent will receive them into his favour and acquit them of all imprisonment and ransom, provided they give sufficient pledges for their future good conduct.

Item, all persons now within the fort of the bridge of Meulan who may hold any towns or castles, by themselves or others, against our said king, shall deliver them up to the lord regent, or to his commissioners deputed for that purpose; and they shall exert themselves to the utmost that their relations or friends shall in like manner surrender all castles or towns they may be possessed of. And until all these things shall be done, they are to remain at the disposal of the regent, who engages, on their due accomplishment, to restore them to liberty.—Item, if any persons now within the fort of the bridge of Meulan shall detain there, or elsewhere, any prisoners, English, French, or Burgundians, or merchants, having sworn allegiance to the king of England, they shall release them without calling on them or their securities for any ransom whatever.—Item, it is agreed that the besieged shall, the day after to-morrow, either by themselves or others, carry to one or more appointed places, all their armours, without any way damaging the smallest article of them; and they will also have carried to another part all gold and silver plate, money, jewels, and every article of value within the said fortress, without concealing any part thereof or destroying it. They will deliver to the commissaries of the lord regent exact lists of the same without fraud or deception, under pain of forfeiting all benefit of this treaty, and of the grace of the lord regent.—Item, they will also deliver up their horses at an appointed place in the state they are now in, with their armours, to the said commissaries of the lord regent, on pain of forfeiture as above.—Item, under similar penalty, the besieged shall not, until the full

* Sir Richard Widville, seneschal of Normandy, 8 Hen. V.; constable of the tower, 3 Hen. VI.; 15 Hen. VI., married Jaqueline of Luxembourg, widow to the duke of Bedford; 26 Hen. VI., made knight of the Garter, and baron Rivers; 29 Hen. VI., seneschal of Aquitaine; 6 Edw. IV., his daughter Elizabeth being married to the king, he was created earl Rivers, treasurer and constable of England; and 9 Edw. IV. was beheaded, by orders of the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick.

accomplishment of the treaty, suffer any person or persons to depart from or to enter the said fortress, without the express leave of the lord regent first had and obtained.—Item, under pain of the above, they shall denounce and deliver up to the said commissioners all those who have been especially named. And in order that all these articles may be fully complied with, the commissioners and deputies of either party have thereto set their seals, this first day of March, in the year 1422.

This treaty was fully completed,—and in consequence of it, the fortresses of Marcoussy, of Montlehery, and several others held by the besieged, were yielded up to the regent. On the day Meulan was surrendered, one hundred gentlemen, and two hundred others of the garrison, took the oaths before required, and swore faith and allegiance to the lord regent,—even the lord de Grasville took these oaths,—when they were conducted prisoners to Rouen, until all the articles of the treaty should be accomplished. The lord de Grasville certified to the regent's commissioners that king Charles was in full health when he parted from him to come to Meulan,—but that he had been hurt by the falling in of a room at la Rochelle, where he was holding a council, as has been before mentioned.

CHAPTER VI.—THE FRENCH TAKE THE FORTRESS OF DOMMART IN PONTHIEU, BY SCALADO.—AND MANY OTHER EVENTS.

On the 20th day of March in this year, the French escaladed and won the castle of Dommart in Ponthieu,—in which were the borgne de Fosseux knight, and Jacques de Craon his son-in-law, who made their escape, with a few attendants, by a postern, on hearing the tumult and the numbers of the enemy. Sir Simon de Boulenviller, John de Douceure, and others within the castle, with the lady of de Fosseux, were detained prisoners. All the effects, which were very abundant, were seized as lawful prey and carried off.

Shortly after, the lord de Crotoy, with three or four hundred combatants, fixed his quarters at a castle belonging to the bishop of Amiens, called Pernois, about a league distant from Dommart, to make head against and oppose the farther progress of the French. A treaty was concluded with the French some days after the lord de Crotoy's arrival, by which they were to return unmolested, with their plunder, on condition they surrendered Dommart. The chief of this expedition was one called Dandonet.

At this period the duke of Gloucester married Jacqueline duchess of Bavaria, countess of Hainault and of Holland, who had for some time resided in England, notwithstanding that Jacqueline had been married to duke John of Brabant, then living. This marriage astonished many persons. In this same year, the king of Arragon went to Italy at the request of queen Johanna, wife to sir James de Bourbon, as her elected heir*. On his arrival, he drove the duke of Anjou, who styled himself king of Sicily, and all his people, out of that country. He then attached to his service all the great captains of the queen of Naples, namely, Sforza, Braccia-Monte, and Tartaglia, with others of the leading men in Italy, who, uniting with the king of Arragon, made the queen Johanna prisoner. Thus was she punished in the same way she had treated her former lord sir James de Bourbon. The king of Arragon by these means remained for a considerable time master of great part of Italy; even the pope joined his party, and sent the cardinal of St. Angelo to conclude a treaty of friendship with him. This cardinal, while on the journey, fell from a plank, as he entered a fort, into the ditch, and was so grievously bruised that he died soon after.

News was now brought to France that the heretics at Prague were in great force, and attempting to subdue all the Christian castles and fortresses. Their heresy was more powerful and extended than it had ever been, insomuch that the emperor, unable to resist them, was returned to Hungary without effecting anything.

About this time also, sir James de Harcourt's men made several secret inroads to the countries of Vimeu, Ponthieu, and Artois, and seized and carried away many ploughs from the farmers of Mont St. Eloy, near to Arras, which they sold, with other booty, in the town of Crotoy, so that the farmers were afraid of residing on or working their lands. On the

* See Giannone, lib. 25, c. 3.

other hand, the French quartered at Guise made frequent visits to Crotoy and Rue, by which the country was sorely harassed by each party, and justice was nowhere obeyed.

The burghers and commonalty of Tournay had, at this time, great dissentions, and assembled in arms under the banners of the different trades, that is to say, the great against the small. The commonalty admitted the lord de Moy into the town, who was attached to the party of king Charles as well as themselves; and they elected several men of low degree for their captains, in place of the provost and their rulers. This time, however, the quarrel was appeased without coming to blows; but similar agitations and changes frequently took place afterward within the town of Tournay.

Two thousand five hundred English were now assembled in Normandy under the command of the lord de la Pole, sir Thomas Berry, and other captains, who marched them through the country of Maine, wasting every part they passed through, to Angers, where they did much damage, and made numbers of prisoners. They returned with them and their plunder to a large town, called Busignes de la Graville, where they halted many days.

While these things were passing, John d'Aumarle, who had received from the country people intelligence of this expedition together with the baron de Colilouvre, the lord de Fontaines in Anjou, and sir Peter le Porc, collected a large body of men-at-arms and common people, and lay wait for the enemy in handsome array not far from La Graville. When the English perceived them, they dismounted, and posted the baggage in their rear. The French were mounted, and began the attack with great vigour, but the English defended themselves with such courage, the conflict was very severe and doubtful; but at length the English were conquered, and left full twelve hundred men on the field. The lord de la Pole was made prisoner, and thirty other gentlemen at least. Of the commonalty on the side of the French, six score persons were killed.

CHAPTER VII.—THE DUKES OF BEDFORD, BURGUNDY, AND BRITTANY, MEET AT AMIENS, AND FORM A TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

[A. D. 1423.]

In the beginning of this year, the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Brittany, met in the town of Amiens, attended each by a large company of knights and esquires. With the duke of Bedford, who styled himself regent of France, came the great council of the young king Henry of England; and with the duke of Brittany was his brother Arthur count de Richemont. These princes, on their arrival at Amiens, paid each other the utmost respect, and every outward symptom of affection; and the duke of Bedford splendidly and royally entertained them at dinner at the bishop's palace, where he lodged. When this had been done, they formed a triple alliance, in the form and manner following, signed with their hands and sealed with their seals.

"John governor and regent of the kingdom of France, Philip duke of Burgundy, and John duke of Brittany, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

"Know ye, that in consideration of our friendships, and the approaching near connexion about to take place by the marriages concluded between us, John duke of Bedford, regent of France, on the one part, with our very dear and well-beloved companion and cousin Anne of Burgundy on the other part; and between our very dear and well-beloved brother Arthur count de Richemont, de Montfort and of Ivry, on one part, with our very dear and well-beloved sister and cousin, Margaret of Burgundy, on the other part; and for the general welfare of the king our lord, and of his kingdoms of France and England, for ourselves and for our lordships, lands and vassals, do faithfully swear and promise to each other eternal friendship and love so long as we shall live, as affectionate brothers ought to do; and we will defend the honour of each both publicly and in private, without fraud or any dissimulation, and we will mutually inform each other of whatever may be for the advantage or disadvantage, the glory or disgrace, of ourselves or of our territories and subjects. Should any persons make evil reports to us of either in his absence, we will not put any belief in such reports, but detain all those who shall make such in safe custody, and give immediate notice to him of whom such reports shall have been made.

"Should either of us feel himself bound in honour, or for the safeguard of his inheritances, to make war, each of us binds himself to aid the other, when called upon, with five hundred men-at-arms, or with an equivalent number of archers, according to the will of the person making such demand for aid. He who shall send the succour shall be obliged to pay them for the first month, and the supplicant to pay them for so long as they shall remain with him more than the time of one month. Should a greater number of men be required by either of us, the others shall furnish him therewith to the utmost of their power, without, however, leaving their countries defenceless.

"Item, we engage to exert ourselves to the very utmost to the relief of the poor of this realm, who have suffered, and are now suffering greatly from poverty,—and to the driving out all foreign bands from the kingdom, so that peace and tranquillity may be restored, that God may be properly served and honoured, and commerce and labour be renewed.

"We, and each of us, do loyally promise, on the word of a prince, to fulfil all the above articles of alliance so long as we shall live, without doing any one thing to the contrary, under pain of forfeiting our honour in this world and our salvation in the next. In testimony of which, we have set our respective seals to these presents, and signed the same with our own hands, in the town of Amiens, this 27th day of April, in the year 1423."

With this treaty, the intended marriages were confirmed, between the duke of Bedford, regent, with Anne sister to the duke of Burgundy,—and Arthur of Brittany with Margaret, sister also to the said duke, who had been before married to the eldest son of the late king Charles, duke of Aquitaine and dauphin of Vienne. In truth, the duke of Burgundy gave with his sister Anne, the county of Artois, with all its dependancies, to the duke of Bedford, to inherit for ever, in case he had by this marriage legal heirs. When all these things had been settled, the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy quitted Amiens, and returned together to Paris. The count de Richemont went to Arras; and the duke of Brittany, having received six thousand crowns to defray the expenses of his journey, by orders from the regent returned home with his Bretons.

During the time these dukes were at Amiens, the duke of Burgundy requested of the regent, that in case the castlewicks of Peronne, Roye and Mondidier were placed under subjection to king Henry, he might have the towns of Amiens, Abbeville, Montrieul, Dourleans, Beauquesne, with all their appurtenances, given to him in exchange. The regent replied, that he would lay the matter before the grand council.

The duke of Bedford, after a short stay in Paris, went to Troyes in Champagne with a very grand attendance of English,—whither was conducted, in a most honourable manner, from Burgundy, Anne sister to duke Philip, magnificently attended by the lady of Rochefort, and the lady of Salins, the lord de St. George, and many other great barons of Burgundy. With them came one John de Quielong, whom the duke had sent to the duchess dowager, to make preparations for this ceremony. The regent espoused the lady Anne on her arrival at Troyes, and the wedding was celebrated solemnly and royally. After some days the ladies who had accompanied the duchess took their leaves, but not without many tears, and returned to Burgundy. The duke and duchess of Bedford journeyed towards Paris; but on the road he attacked the town of Pont-sur-Seine with such courage that it was taken by storm, and all the French within it cruelly put to the sword. He then continued his journey, and resided a considerable time in the hôtel des Tournelles in Paris, which he had caused to be magnificently fitted up for his reception.

CHAPTER VIII.—POTON DE SAINTRAILLES AND LYONNEL DE WANDONNE PERFORM A COMBAT AT ARMS AT ARRAS, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

In these days, a combat at arms was performed at Arras, in the presence of the duke of Burgundy as judge of the lists, between Poton de Saintrailles and Lyonnel de Wandonne. Poton had demanded of Lyonnel to break six lances with him, and Lyonnel, in return, had required, afterward, a combat with battle-axes so long as they should hold out. When the preparations had been finished, and the day of combat was arrived, Poton entered the lists

first as the appellant, handsomely accompanied by his friends, and having made his reverence to the duke, who was seated as judge, he retired to his pavilion. Soon after, Lyonnel entered the lists, attended by sir John de Luxembourg, who, during the fight, supplied him with lances, and some other lords and friends. He, like Poton, went to make his bow to the duke, and then retired to the end of the lists, when the combat began. Many strokes were given with great vigour, and several lances broken and damaged on both sides. However, towards the end, the helmet of Lyonnel was somewhat fractured by the point of the lance of his adversary, and his head slightly wounded. When the duke saw this, he put an end for this day to any further combat on horseback.

On the morrow, the duke of Burgundy returned to the lists about ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the count de Richemont and the lords of his council, to be ready for the champions who were to fight on foot. Shortly after came Lyonnel, attended as before by sir John de Luxembourg, and, having made his obeisance to the duke, withdrew to his pavilion to wait for his opponent. Poton was not long in making his appearance, and, saluting the duke retired to his pavilion also. Upon this, the usual proclamation was made by a herald, for all persons to clear the lists, and to give no hindrance to the champions on pain of death. Lyonnel de Wandonne then, as appellant, issued from his tent, his battle-axe on his wrist, and marched with long strides toward his adversary, who, seeing him approach, advanced to meet him. Lyonnel made a gallant attack, and gave Poton many back-hand strokes with his battle-axe, without drawing breath. Poton coolly received and parried them as well as he could; but, watching his opportunity, closed with Lyonnel, and struck him such repeated blows with the point of his axe under the vizor of his helmet that he broke it, and the face of his opponent was clearly seen. On finding his danger, Lyonnel grappled and seized the end of the axe under his arm, and Poton, taking hold of the broken part of the helmet, scratched his face with his gauntlet. While the struggle lasted, Lyonnel nearly replaced his visor, but the duke put an end to the contest by causing them both to be conducted to him by those who had charge of the lists, and ordered them henceforth to be good friends, for that they had well performed their combat. On this they returned to their lodgings, where Poton kept up a great expense with his companions.

The next day a tilting took place with lances between Rifflard de Champremy, attached to king Charles, and the bastard de Rosebecque. They broke many lances, but, in the end, Rifflard was pierced through his armour and side but not mortally hurt. The duke then put an end to the business; and each party retired to his lodgings with his friends. Within a few days after this last combat, Poton, with his companions, went back to the county of Guise.

CHAPTER IX.—THE EARL OF SALISBURY BESIEGES THE CASTLE OF MONT-AQUILON, WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM.—OTHER MATTERS.

At this period, the earl of Salisbury, by orders from the duke of Bedford, who called himself regent of France, laid siege to the castle of Mont-Aquilon in Champagne. Lord Salisbury was then governor of the countries of Champagne and of Brie. The siege, notwithstanding the many attacks that were made, and the warlike engines employed, lasted for six months, or thereabout. The garrison consisted of full six score combatants, under the command of the lords de la Bourbe, de Cotigny, and a man-at-arms named Bourghenon. Very many of these six score left the place, so that toward the end no more than about thirty remained, who were so much distressed that they were forced to eat their horses. At length, the earl of Salisbury accepted their surrender, on condition that they paid twenty-two thousand saluts of gold for their lives being spared; and for the payment of which, they were to give four of the principal men-at-arms as pledges. The garrison now departed in their bare pourpoints, under safe escorts, excepting those who had sworn to the observance of the last peace between the kings of France and England; and then the castle was demolished and razed to the ground.

About this same time sir Mauriod de St. Leger was arrested in Arras, by command of

the duke of Burgundy, many complaints having been made against him to the duke, and particularly for having plundered his town of Auchin. He was carried prisoner to the castle of Chavetignes, where he remained a whole year, and was delivered therefrom by the solicitations of his friends.

The duke of Bedford now caused the strong castle of Orsay, between Paris and Montlehery, to be besieged by his English. It held out for about six weeks, and then was unconditionally surrendered. The garrison were led to Paris bareheaded, in their under doublets, some with cords round their necks, and others with the points of their swords turned to their bosoms. In this manner they were brought before the duke and duchess of Bedford, at the hôtel des Tournelles, when the duke commanded them to be carried instantly to the Châtelet; but the duchess, moved by pity, pressed the duke so urgently for mercy that they were all set at liberty, without any other punishment, and went whithersover they pleased. Some joined the English, and others returned to their own party.

In the month of May, seven hundred English marched from Rouen and the territory of Caux, under the command of the bailiff of Caux, through Abbeville, to besiege the castle of Noëlle on the sea side, belonging to sir James de Harcourt. Those within the castle being doubtful of succour, after a few days surrendered it, on condition that their lives and fortunes should be spared. Sir James de Harcourt, on hearing this, hastily remanded his men from Rue, and abandoned that town, without any defence, to his enemies. The English lost no time in taking possession of it, and much harassed the poor inhabitants who had remained. They made it a frontier-town, to oppose that of Crotoy, as you will hear.

In this month of May, a severe battle was fought near to Naples, between Alphonso, king of Arragon, and the great captains of Italy, who had revolted from him*. The defeat was so complete that Alphonso was forced to fly with a few attendants, or he would have been slain or made a prisoner by his enemies.

About St. John Baptist's day following, the English besieged Crotoy by sea and land, under the command of sir Raoul le Bouteiller, who having posted his men very advantageously, had his camp strongly fortified. Sir James de Harcourt prepared for an obstinate defence, and pointed many cannon and other warlike engines to annoy the enemy, and to prevent their nearer approach. The country people round were very much rejoiced at this siege.

CHAPTER X.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE HAS THE TOWN OF CREVANT BESIEGED BY THE CONSTABLE OF SCOTLAND AND THE COUNT DE VENTADOUR.

In the beginning of the month of July, king Charles ordered a large body of forces to cross the Loire and besiege the town of Crevant, which was of the Burgundian party. The chief of this expedition was the constable of Scotland, who had under him many great lords and expert captains; and they vigorously assaulted the town by their engines of war. As neither the English nor Burgundians seemed to attend to this siege, the duchess-dowager of Burgundy sent in haste to the nobles of that country, to require, in the name of her son the duke, that they would assemble their men and march to the relief of Crevant. The lord de Toulongeon, marshal of Burgundy, in consequence, assembled his men, and, with the united forces of the other lords, advanced to Auxerre to join the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Willoughby, and other English lords, whom the duke of Bedford had sent thither to the amount of four thousand combatants, all picked men and tried in arms. To do these English honour, the count de Joigny, the borgne de Toulongeon, the lord du Vergy, sir John and sir William de Vienne, sir Regnier Pot, the lord de Rochefort†, and many more notable lords, went out of Auxerre, to meet them on their march. On their meeting, very great and mutual respects were shown on both sides; and they rode together in handsome array into the town, where the earl of Salisbury was lodged in the bishop's palace.

* Under the command of Sforza. The queen immediately afterwards declared for Louis of Anjou, and Alphonso retired into Spain. See Giannone, lib. 25, c. 4, 5.

† James, lord of Rochefort, bailiff of Auxois. Issue —1. Charles, lord of Rochefort, chamberlain of Burgundy, d. s. p. 1438; 2. John, master of artillery to the duke of Burgundy, d. s. p. 1442; 3. James, lord of Rochefort, who continued the line.

When they had somewhat refreshed themselves with meat and drink, the English and Burgundians assembled in the cathedral, and there entered into such resolutions as you shall hear.

This united force began their march toward Crevant; and when within a long quarter of a league from the town they dismounted. It was at the time very sultry; and they suffered much thus marching on foot, by the weight of their armour and from the extreme heat of the sun. This day were knighted, William de Vienne*, son to the lord de St. George, John lord of Auxi, Philip lord de Trenont, and Coppin de la Viefville.

The regulations that had been made by the chiefs of the English and Burgundians, when in the cathedral of Auxerre, were as follow:—First, that on the morrow, Friday, they would march away at ten o'clock in the morning, to fix their quarters near to Crevant. Secondly, two marshals were to be appointed to overlook and inspect the army, namely, the lord du Vergy for the Burgundians, and sir Gilbert de Hallesal† for the English.

Thirdly, it was to be proclaimed that the Burgundians and English should live in good harmony with each other, without quarrels or strife, on pain of being severely punished by their commanders. Fourthly, that the whole should form one army; and that there should be six score men-at-arms, namely, sixty English and sixty Burgundians, with as many archers, sent forward as scouts to gain intelligence. Fifthly, it was ordered that when the army should arrive near any spot where a battle was likely to take place, proclamation should be instantly made for every one to dismount,—and those who refused should be put to death: the horses were to be led half a league in the rear; and all that should be found nearer the army should be seized and confiscated.

It was also ordered, that every archer should provide himself with a stake with two sharp points, to plant before him should it be found necessary.——Item, that no person, whatever might be his rank, should dare attempt making any prisoners on the day of battle until the field should be fairly won. Should any such be made, the prisoner was to be instantly put to death, and with him the person who had taken him, should he refuse to obey.——Item, that every man should provide himself with provision for two days; and that the town of Auxerre should send after the army as much provision as could possibly be collected, for which they were to be well and truly paid.——Item, it was then also ordered that no one should precede or remain behind their captains, but that every man should keep the station that had been assigned him, under pain of corporal punishment.

All these regulations and orders were proclaimed by sound of trumpet throughout Auxerre; and on the ensuing day, after having heard mass with great devotion, and drank a cup, they departed from Auxerre in much brother-like affection, and fixed their quarters within a short league of their enemies.

On the following Saturday, they decamped at ten o'clock in the morning, and advanced in handsome array toward the French, whom they saw posted on a mountain in front of the town of Crevant, and where they had remained the preceding night waiting the arrival of more men.

Upon the English and Burgundians crossing to the other side of the river Yonne, near to Coulogne les Vimeus or Vigneuses, the French descended the mountain, and marched toward the enemy with great appearance of courage; and each party formed their order of battle, in which they remained without doing anything more for three hours, as the river Yonne was between them. The English and Burgundians, however, made an advance, and gained possession of a bridge, whence they annoyed the French greatly, those in Crevant, at the same time, making a sally, and attacking them briskly in their rear. The battle now began in earnest on both sides, and, finally, the English and Burgundians won the day and the field; the greater part of the Scots, amounting to three thousand, who were in the front ranks, were either killed or taken. The constable of Scotland surrendered himself prisoner to the lord de Châtellux, but with the loss of an eye. In like manner, the lord de Ventadour surrendered to the lord de Gamaches, and he also had lost an eye. Stephen and John de Farsmeres‡, Scots knights, with several gentlemen of note, to the number of four hundred,

* William, lord of Bussy, eldest son of William IV. de Vienne, lord of St. George.

† Called in Hall's Chronicle, sir Gilbert Halsell.

‡ To clear up, if possible, these misnomers, I consulted my friend, Dr. Robert Anderson, at Edinburgh. He thinks, that "Stephen and John de Farsmeres may perhaps mean Ferrier, or Ferrieres, which are Scottish names. It may be Farmer, or Farnihurst, or Fernihurst, the ancient

were made prisoners. The nephew of the earl of Buchan was slain, as were sir Thomas Secron*, sir William Hambon† and his son, all three knights of Scotland, John Pillot‡, a Scots captain and bastard to the king, with many others, to the amount of twelve hundred or thereabout.

The English and Burgundian captains assembled together in great harmony and joy after the victory, and entered the town of Crevant rendering thanks to the Creator for their success. They were received with every demonstration of joy, and their men lodged within and near to it. Perrinet, however, and some others followed the runaways, and took and slew several in the pursuit. On the Monday following, when all their men were returned, the army separated; the Burgundians went home, and the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk returned to the siege of Mont-Aquilon, whence they had come, having left a sufficient force to blockade the place.

Soon after the battle of Crevant, the earl of Suffolk laid siege to the town of Coussy, which was yielded up to him within a few days. He thence marched into the Maconnois, where he subdued many castles held by the French. He ordered one of his captains, called Claidas, to besiege the strong castle of la Roche, which in the end surrendered to him.

CHAPTER XI.—MANY EVENTS BRIEFLY SPOKEN OF.

While these things were passing, the duke of Burgundy left Artois, and, making Paris in his road, went to Burgundy, where he remained until the month of February following. He took with him the count de Richemont, who there espoused his sister, as this marriage had been agreed on some time before.

At the end of July, a body of French assembled from the borders of Mousson, the county of Guise and other parts, and suddenly shut up within Bethlehem the bailiff of the Vermandois, and the bastard de St. Pol; but sir John de Luxembourg and the earl marshal of England instantly collected a number of their men, and hastened to raise the siege. The French, on hearing this, decamped as speedily as they could for their own territories, and were pursued full twenty leagues by the earl marshal and sir John de Luxembourg, who hastened after with the intent to combat them.

In this year, a numerous army of Castilians and Arragonese arrived at the port of Naples, and took by storm that town, which was plundered and sacked. Eight hundred of the principal inhabitants were made prisoners and sent to Arragon, where the greater number of them died. A third part of the town was burnt and totally destroyed, to the great grief of king Louis; but he shortly after, by the succours sent him from the duke of Milan, reconquered it and several other towns.

In August following, sir John de Luxembourg took by storm the fortress of Arsie, in which were about thirty pillagers of the party of king Charles, some of whom were beheaded, others hung, and the place demolished. Sir John went thence to besiege Landrecy, where he remained until October battering the wall with his engines of war. In the end, however, the garrison surrendered, on having their lives and great part of their fortunes spared; and the castle was also demolished. At the same time, the earl marshal of England, with about six hundred combatants, entered the Laonnois; and those of the party of king Charles assembled a body of men to repel him,—but the earl, having notice thereof, marched against them, and forced them to fly. Part of them, in their flight, took shelter in a fort wherein they were so closely besieged by the earl, that they surrendered at discretion, when many of them were hanged, and the fort demolished.

In this month of August, the governor of la Buisserie, between Tornus and Mâcon, who

title of the family of Lothian. Stephen, however, is a Christian name of but rare occurrence.

The nephew of the earl of Buchan is doubtful. Robert Stewart was active in raising the levies, but whether he attended his uncle to France, and was killed at Crevant, is uncertain.

* Sir Thomas Secron is probably sir Thomas Swinton, who is mentioned by our historians among the gentlemen of reputation and honour who fell at this battle. This is almost certain.

† Sir William Hambon is evidently sir William Hamilton. Hume mentions him among those who were left on the field of battle.

‡ John Pillot does not apply to any Scottish name, except perhaps Pollock, which seems probable. Of the bastard of the king I find no name."

was attached to king Charles, fixed a day for the surrender of that castle to the lord de Toulongeon, marshal of Burgundy, on payment of a sum that had been previously settled between them; but on that day the governor placed two ambuscades near to the town, and when the lord de Toulongeon had passed the first with but a dozen persons, those in ambush fell on him so suddenly, that few escaped being carried with their lord prisoners into the castle. After a certain time, he was exchanged for the count de Ventadour, made prisoner at the battle of Crevant, as has been related.

In this year also, sir John de Luxembourg reduced to obedience the strong places which king Charles held in the Cambresis and Tierache; and all the lands in that country belonging to the count de Pontieuvre were placed in the hands of the count de Hainault by the lord de Havrech, governor thereof,—because it was suspected that the count de Pontieuvre would not garrison the strong places which he had there, such as Landrecy, Avesnes, and others.

CHAPTER XII.—SIR JAMES DE HARCOURT HOLDS A CONFERENCE WITH SIR RAOUL LE BOUTEILLER FOR THE SURRENDER OF CROTOY.

Sir Raoul le Bouteiller having continued the siege of Crotoy by sea and land until the month of October, then held a parley with sir James de Harcourt, when each of them

Sir James de Harcourt discussing with sir Raoul le Bouteiller the terms for the surrender of Crotoy. From an illumination in the MS. Monstrelet in the Royal Library, Paris.

appointed commissioners to draw up a treaty, truces having been agreed on for the intermediate time. After a short delay, the following were the terms proposed by their commissioners, and ratified by them.

Articles of a treaty concluded between sir Raoul le Bouteiller, knight, and William Miners, esquire, as deputies for that most excellent prince John duke of Bedford, regent of France, on the one part, and sir James de Harcourt, knight, lieutenant-general of Picardy for king Charles,—he the said sir James answering for the clergy, nobles and inhabitants of the town and castle of Crotoy on the other part.

In the first place, my lord regent, or his deputies, shall, on the first day of March next, appear in arms in the plain between Crotoy and Rue, and for three successive days, from sunrise until three o'clock in the afternoon; when if they should not be combated by the said sir James so powerfully that the field of battle shall remain to the said sir James de Harcourt, he, the said sir James, engages loyally to deliver up the town and castle of Crotoy to the said lord regent, or to whomever else he may appoint. This is to be accomplished at three o'clock in the afternoon of the said ensuing third day of March.—Item, the said sir James de Harcourt and all such as may please shall have full liberty to depart from the town and castle of Crotoy, on the day of its surrender, excepting those who may have been implicated in the death of the late duke of Burgundy, should any such be there, who are to remain at the discretion of the lord regent.—Item, sir James shall leave within the castle all the powder, cross-bows and bolts, without any way injuring or damaging them, with the exception of nine veuglaires, two kegs of powder, twenty-three cross-bows, and nine boxes of bolts. His men to be allowed to carry with them their armour, clothes and other effects. —Item, in case any of the men-at-arms, or inhabitants of the said town and castle, shall wish to take the oaths of allegiance to the lord regent, all their effects, moveable and immoveable, shall be preserved to them, and sufficient certificates given them thereof.

Item, the said sir James shall have the use of part of the fleet before Crotoy, namely, the great hulk and the barge, Colin l'Anglois, Plumeterre, Balenier, Jacquese and Martinet,— and he shall leave behind all other vessels. The boats of the fishermen shall remain to their owners, on condition that they take the oaths of allegiance.—Item, sir James shall deliver up all the prisoners whom he may have at this moment in the town and castle of Crotoy, and, in return, sir Raoul le Bouteiller will give up one of his men, whom he has captured. —Item, during the whole intermediate time henceforth to the first day of March, all those within the said town and castle shall abstain from making war either secretly or openly, saving that sir James de Harcourt may carry on the war wheresoever he pleases on the other side of the Seine.

Item, it is strictly forbidden any persons that belong to the lord regent to make any inroads, or to plunder the lands appertaining to the said town and castle, or on the lands of any of their allies, during this said space of time.—Item, from henceforward to the first day of March, the inhabitants of Crotoy may carry on commerce with the towns of Rue, Abbeville, and Saint Valery, provided they obtain leave from the governors of these towns, but not otherwise. They shall also have liberty to traffic by sea, and to bring wines and other provision for sale, but not in sufficient quantities to revictual the town or castle, but solely for their daily supply during the aforesaid term.—Item, all persons attached to the lord regent shall have liberty to enter the town of Crotoy on business, provided they first obtain leave from the governor.

Item, should it happen that, during this intermediate time, any armed vessel, or other having men-at-arms on board, appear before Crotoy, such shall not be admitted into the harbour, nor receive any succour from the vessels then within the port. Sir James de Harcourt shall not, during this aforesaid term, in any way strengthen or demolish the said town and castle.—Item, the lord regent, or his commissioners, shall, at the time of surrender, grant passports to all within the town and castle to go whithersoever they may please to join their party, and carry with them all their effects,—for the moving of which they shall be allowed fifteen days, and passports to continue for fifteen days more.—Item, sir James de Harcourt shall in like manner have passports for himself, his children, and family, to depart by sea or land, as he may please, and whithersoever he shall choose.

Item, for the due performance of these articles, the said sir James shall deliver as hostages the lord Pierre de Hergicourt, knight, Boort de Fiefiez, Jean Sarpe, and Percival Combiet, esquires, Jean d'Estampes, Gilles le Roi, and Jean de Gonne, burghers of the town of

Crotoy. These hostages shall be set at liberty on the surrender of Crotoy; and in case that he who calls himself their king shall, by himself or others, come to their succour, and remain victorious, these said hostages shall have their liberty as before.

On the signing this treaty, and the delivery of the hostages, the siege was broken up. Sir James de Harcourt had all his stores of provision in Abbeville and elsewhere sold, and ordered his children from Hainault to the castle of Hamesche, whence, on their arrival, he sent them to Monstreul-Bellay. After sir James had disposed of his stores, he embarked with a part of his people and his immense wealth, leaving sir Choquart de Cambronne his lieutenant in the castle of Crotoy. He sailed for Mont St. Michel, where he was received honourably, and thence to visit his children at Monstreul-Bellay, where he deposited the greater part of his wealth.

Some days after he waited on king Charles, who received him very kindly, and made him kingly presents. He thence took his way to visit the lord de Parthenay, uncle to his lady*, who was attached to the Burgundy interest. When the lord de Parthenay had shown him much honour and liberal entertainment, sir James required his uncle to give up his castle to his guard, and that he would quit the duke of Burgundy, whose quarrels he had hitherto espoused, and he (sir James) would make his peace with king Charles, so that he should keep up his usual state. The lord de Parthenay replied, that it was his intention to remain lord of his own castle and lands; and that those to whom they would belong after his decease, might then do with them as they listed. Upon this, sir James, having formed his plan so that it could not fail, laid hands on the lord de Parthenay, and made him prisoner in the name of king Charles. Sir James's people raised the drawbridge of the castle, but in doing so they made a noise which alarmed the townsmen, who hastened in crowds to inquire what was the matter,—and as the bridge was neither fastened by bolt nor latch, they pulled it down again, and entered the castle so suddenly, that they put to death sir James, Jean de Husclames, Jean de Frousieres, Philip de Neufville, and others of his men. Thus did sir James de Harcourt find a sudden and cruel death through somewhat too much covetousness, —although this has been related in various other manners.

CHAPTER XIII.—SEVERAL EVENTS BRIEFLY TOUCHED UPON.

In these days, the county of Hainault was in great alarm and tribulation for fear of a war between the dukes of Gloucester and of Brabant, which now seemed very probable, for both of them had espoused the heiress of these territories, and each styled himself lord of the country as a matter of right. The lords of these parts were also divided, some declaring for the duke of Brabant, and others for the duke of Gloucester, notwithstanding they had all sworn fidelity to the duke of Brabant, and had, for a long time, acknowledged him for their legal lord.

The dukes of Bedford and of Burgundy met at Amiens, having with them many of their council, to adjust the differences between these two dukes; but not being able to do so, they adjourned the business for final determination at Paris, and fixed a day for meeting there.

About this time the regent caused the castle of Ivry to be strongly besieged by his English, in conjunction with the lord of Isle-Adam and the bastard de Thian. The count d'Aumarle, the bastard d'Alençon, and other captains, assembled a large force to raise this siege. On their march for this purpose they met the governor of Avranches, brother to the earl of Suffolk†, who, returning from an excursion, had dismissed a part of his men. The French instantly charged and defeated his remaining force, and made him prisoner; and supposing

* Parthenay was an ancient house descended from that of Lusignan. Jane, daughter of William l'Archevesque, lord of Parthenay, married William de Melun, count of Tancarville, and the only issue of that marriage was Margaret de Melun, who married sir James de Harcourt, and brought into that family all the possessions of her house.

† Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, died 12 Rich. II., leaving Michael, his son and heir, who succeeded him, and died of the flux at Harfleur, 3 Hen. V. His sons were, 1. Michael, earl of Suffolk, killed at Azincourt; 2. William, earl, and afterwards duke, of Suffolk, the same here mentioned; and 3. John de la Pole, captain of Avranches, also here mentioned.

that Avranches would have now but a small garrison, they pressed forward to the attack, thinking to conquer it. They did, indeed, make a sharp assault; but the townsmen defended themselves so courageously, that many were slain and wounded, and left in the ditches. The French, having heard that the duke of Bedford was on his march to combat them, departed with all speed for the duchy of Touraine, but not without being closely pursued by the English.

On the third day of October, in this year, the town of Hamme-sur-Somme was taken by escalade by a party of king Charles's men, under the command of Poton de Saintrailles, through neglect of the night-guard. Sir John de Luxembourg was so much vexed at this event, (as that town belonged to him,) that he instantly collected a body of men-at-arms, and on the third day after the capture advanced thither. He had it suddenly attacked, and with great courage; and ordered a detachment to cross the river with his banner, which was valiantly borne on that day by a man-at-arms called Jacotin de Cambray. In short, sir John speedily reconquered the town, and cruelly put to death the greater part of his enemies. Poton de Saintrailles escaped as quickly as he could, and fled to Tierache, but was pursued by the Burgundians, and many of his men were taken. In this attack on Hamme, two men-at-arms were grievously wounded, namely, sir John de Fontenelle and Valerien de St. Germain; but this last was almost immediately beheaded, by orders from sir John de Luxembourg.

About this time, king Charles's queen was brought to bed of a son, who was christened Louis*, dauphin of Vienne. This birth caused great rejoicings throughout all parts under his dominion, more especially in Tours, where bonfires were made in all the streets, carols sung, and every sign of joy manifested.

The French gained also the castle of Beaumont-sur-Oise, which was, however, soon after besieged by orders from the duke of Bedford, reconquered and demolished. The commonalty of Tournay again rose in rebellion, with displayed banners, because they were suspicious of the lords de Moy and de Conflans, who, having great weight in the town, would introduce a garrison sufficiently strong to keep them in awe. This rebellion was soon appeased without coming to blows; but the two above-mentioned lords quitted the town for fear of the populace,—and the lord de Moy fixed his residence at Liége.

About this time the town of Compiègne was won by escalade by a party of king Charles's men, through neglect of the watch; they amounted to nearly three hundred combatants, under the command of Yvon du Puis, Angerot de Laux, and Broussart, who, instantly on winning the town, imprisoned all the English and Burgundians, with those attached to them, and seized their effects. Shortly after, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, Lyonnel de Bornouville, the lord de Thian, with others, appeared before it, to reconquer it; but they did little or nothing, although the country round suffered great oppressions from them.

In these same days the town of la Charité-sur-Loire was retaken from king Charles, by an adventurer attached to the duke of Burgundy, called Perrinet Crasset, who had a long time before carried on a successful war in the country of Berry, and in that neighbourhood. The French were much grieved and vexed at this loss; for they were prevented crossing the Loire, which would have been of great utility to them.

In this year, Arthur count of Richemont, notwithstanding his marriage with Margaret of Burgundy, and the oaths and alliances he had made with the late king Henry and his successors, joined king Charles, owing, as it was said, to a quarrel between him and the duke of Bedford†. King Charles received him with the utmost joy, and instantly made him constable of France; but very many wondered at this change, considering how lately he had connected himself with the duke of Burgundy.

In the month of January of this year, the dukes of Bedford and of Burgundy, the count de Conversan, the bishop of Tournay his brother, sir John de Luxembourg, with a number of other notable persons, the ministers of each prince, and commissioners from the dukes of

* Afterwards Louis XI.

† There seems in this place to be an anachronism. It is true, according to other historians, that at this time the count of Richemont was disgusted with the English, because he failed of obtaining the command of the army from the duke of Bedford. But he did not immediately join the party of king Charles, who, after the battle of Verneuil, bribed him by the offer of the constable's staff, only then vacant by the death of the earl of Buchan

Gloucester and Brabant, assembled in the town of Amiens. Although the matter of dispute between these two last had been frequently discussed, nothing amicable could be concluded. The meeting was therefore broken up, and the commissioners ordered to meet them again on Trinity-day following.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE TOWN OF COMPIEGNE IS DELIVERED UP TO THE ENGLISH.—THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF CROTOY ARE SURRENDERED TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

About this period, the duke of Bedford went to the town of Mondidier, where he staid five or six days; he thence gave orders for his captains, as well Burgundian as English, to lay siege to Compiègne, and appointed the lord de Saveuses chief of the expedition. The principal captains were, the bailiff of Rouen, the governor of Gisors, called Malberry, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, sir Lyonnel de Bournouville, the bastard de Thian, the lord de Crevecœur, and Robert de Saveuses. In obedience to these orders, they assembled their men with all speed at the bridge of St. Maixence, and thence marched in good array toward Compiègne. The lord de Saveuses advanced with the English on the side toward Mondidier, and fixed his quarters in a meadow near to a town called Venvette,—while the lord de l'Isle-Adam, Lyonnel de Bournouville, and other captains, advanced on the opposite side of the river to the abbey of Royaulieu, and then besieged the town on both sides of the river for about three weeks.

During this time many considerable skirmishes took place; but at length the French, not having any hope of succour, entered into a treaty with the English to surrender the town within three weeks from that time, if they were not delivered by their king, and on condition they should depart in safety with all their effects. They gave hostages for the due performance of the above, and were likewise to deliver up the lord de Soral, who had been made prisoner by the besieged. On the conclusion of this treaty, every one returned to his home. On the appointed day no succours arrived, and the place was put into the hands of the English by command of the duke of Bedford, who styled himself regent of France. The lord de Montferrant, who had received the surrender of Compiègne, nominated the lord de l'Isle-Adam governor thereof.

About the end of February the duke of Bedford went to Abbeville with a large army, to keep the appointment that had been made for him to meet the French before Crotoy; but as the duke had received certain assurances that the French would not appear, he sent sir Raoul le Bouteiller to command in his stead, while he remained at Abbeville. Sir Raoul kept the field on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of March; when, about twelve o'clock on that day, sir Cloquart de Cambronne surrendered the castle and town of Crotoy into the hands of sir Raoul, who returned him the hostages, and gave him passports for himself and his men to join their king, or to go whithersoever they pleased on the other side of the Seine. When sir Raoul le Bouteiller had made his entry, he received the oaths of allegiance from the inhabitants of Crotoy, and from such as had remained within the town and castle. He was appointed by the regent governor general of that place and its dependancies; but this surrender was not very agreeable to many of the neighbouring lords and commonalty, for they suspected that the connexion between the English and the duke of Burgundy would not be of long duration, and that by means of this place they would be totally ruined, notwithstanding that many of them had been already great sufferers.

In this year died Pietro della Luna, who called himself Pope Benedict. He had been, ever since the council of Constance, rebellious and contumacious to the Roman church, being resolved to die Pope. The cardinals of his party attempted to elect another on his decease; but they soon returned to a proper obedience to the church, and to the holy father pope Martin, and thus perfect union was restored to the whole Christian church.

CHAPTER XV.—TWO MASTERS OF ARTS ARE SENT TO TOURNAY TO ADMONISH THE PEOPLE, AND TO KEEP ALIVE THEIR AFFECTION TO KING CHARLES.

In this year, two masters of arts were sent to Tournay by king Charles, to admonish the burghers and commonalty, and to press them to continue in the loyalty they had for some time borne to him, promising, on the word of a king, that should he, through the grace of God, succeed in regaining his kingdom, he would most handsomely reward them. These ambassadors were received by the nobles and commonalty with every honour and respect; rich presents were made them, and their expenses were most liberally paid by the municipality. When they had staid some time in Tournay, one of them departed for Berry; but the other remained behind, and made many harangues to induce the inhabitants to keep steady to the interests of king Charles,—but at length his establishment was lessened, and those in Tournay were cooled in their attachment to him, and began to repent having made him such large presents on his first arrival.

In the month of April following, sir John de Luxembourg assembled his men-at-arms, and in company with sir Thomas Ramstone, an English knight, went to lay siege to Oysi in Tierache. Within a few days, le Cadet, the governor, treated conditionally to surrender the place on the 5th of May next, if he were not relieved before that day. Thus the siege was broken up, and the surrender took effect. Nearly at the same time, sir John de Luxembourg besieged the church of Broissi, which some pillagers of king Charles's party had fortified, and committed great ravages over the country. He also besieged the tower of le Borgne; and at the capture of both places about fourscore of these marauders were taken, with one of their captains called le Gros Breton; and they were all hung on trees near to Sery les Maizieres.

In this year, a mischievous fire burnt about six hundred houses in the town of St. Amand, with the gates of the lower court of the abbey, and the apartments of two monks of that place: only two small houses were saved within the gates of the town; and the poor inhabitants were in the utmost distress and affliction.

The truces were now broken, that had subsisted for thirteen years, between the sultan of Babylon and the king of Cyprus,—owing to falsities told the sultan by renegado Christians, that the king of Cyprus put to death the sultan's subjects whenever he could lay hands on them. On this report, the sultan, without any declaration of war, sent six galleys full of Saracens to invade Cyprus and destroy the country with fire and sword. They first burnt and demolished the town of Lymessa, and many other parts. When the king of Cyprus was informed of this, he sent one of his knights, sir Philip Prevost, with a large body of men, to oppose them; but at the first skirmish he was sorely wounded by an arrow in the face, and fell from his horse,—when the Saracens, advancing, cut off his head, and seizing his golden spurs, carried both with them to their galleys, and made sail for Syria.

CHAPTER XVI.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG BESIEGES THE CASTLE OF WIEGE.—HE LAYS AN AMBUSH, IN WHICH POTON DE SAINTRAILLES AND HIS COMPANIONS ARE MADE PRISONERS.

Sir John de Luxembourg now besieged the castle of Wiege with a numerous army. The siege lasted for three weeks, during which he continually battered the walls and gates with his engines. At length, the besieged, losing all hope of relief, made a treaty with sir John to surrender the place, on condition they should depart in safety with their effects, promising not to bear arms again on that side of the Loire, except when in company with king Charles. On the signing of the treaty they went away for Guise, and the castle was demolished. One or two days after this, sir John decamped with some of the most trusty of his men, and formed a plan for taking Poton de Saintrailles, as you shall hear. Sir John, on the departure of the garrison, placed an ambuscade behind a small church, on the borders

of the country of Guise, to watch the motions of the enemy, and to be prepared should they attempt any incursions on that side.

Poton de Saintrailles, l'Estandart de Mailly, the lord de Verduisant, with some others expert in arms, made a sally from Guise, near to where the ambuscade had been posted. When they were far enough advanced, sir John, profiting of his advantage, made so vigorous a charge that they were instantly thrown into confusion,—and Poton, the lord de Verduisant, and a few more, were taken prisoners. But l'Estandart de Mailly, on the first shock, pointed his lance against Lyonnel de Vandonne, unhorsed him, and gave him so violent a blow on the shoulder that ever after the said Lyonnel was lame on that side. L'Estandart finding, however, that prowess would avail nothing, and that numbers were against him, wheeled about, and returned as quickly as his horse could carry him to the town of Guise.

Sir John de Luxembourg pursued for a long time the others, who fled different ways. On his return he collected his men together, and, rejoicing at his good fortune, carried the prisoners to his castle of Beaurevoir, where he dismissed his captains until further orders.

CHAPTER XVII.—A LARGE BODY OF ENGLISH ARRIVE AT CALAIS.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG BESIEGES THE TOWN OF GUISE.—OTHER MATTERS BRIEFLY SPOKEN OF.

[A.D. 1424.]

At the beginning of this year, sixteen hundred combatants or thereabout were landed at Calais from England,—the greater part of whom went to the duke of Bedford at Paris, and the rest to sir John de Luxembourg on the borders of the country of Guise. Sir John consented to treat with Poton de Saintrailles and the other prisoners, on condition that they would, with their men, abandon Guise, and cross the river Loire without harassing the country, and promise never to return unless in company with king Charles. By this treaty, and a considerable sum paid down as ransom, Poton and his companions obtained their liberty, and marched away to the country on the other side of the Loire.

In this year, La Hire, Jean Roullet, and some other of king Charles's captains, assembled a large body of men on the borders of Champagne, whom they led toward the Ardennes and the Rethelois, and besieged Olivier d'Estanevelle in his castle.

About this time, sir John de Luxembourg, by orders from the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, made great preparations, with men and artillery, to lay siege to the town of Guise in Tierache. When all was ready, he marched thither, accompanied by the lord de Picquigny, the vidame of Amiens, the lords d'Antoing, de Saveuses, sir Colart de Mailly, his brother Ferry de Mailly, sir Daviod de Poix, Maufroy de St. Leger, sir Lyonnel de Bournouville, the bastard de St. Pol, and very many more. Sir Thomas Ramstone, and a certain number of English, were also with him. On commencing their attacks, they met with great resistance from the garrison within the town, who, to prevent the enemy from approaching, had set fire to the suburbs, where many handsome houses were burnt.

But this availed them nothing; for sir John instantly surrounded the place with his men, and had his engines pointed against the walls and gates on the side next the suburbs. Intelligence of this siege was immediately sent to Réné duke of Bar, to the count de Guise*, and to the duke of Lorraine, his father-in-law, by John lord de Proisy, governor of Guise, who informed them of the urgent necessity there was of instant relief being sent him. This news was very displeasing to the two dukes, who held many councils thereon, and assembled men-at-arms, in compliance with the governor's request; but, fearful of incurring war with the young king of England and the duke of Burgundy, they abstained from any open hostilities. The siege continued for a considerable time without any material occurrences, excepting that the garrison made frequent sallies to annoy the enemy,—but it would take too much time to enter into the detail of each.

About St. John Baptist's day in this year, the earl of Salisbury, governor of Champagne and Brie, and very renowned in arms, besieged a good little town called Sodune, in the

* This ought to be "Réné, duke of Bar and count of Guise." He was both, and became also duke of Lorraine in 1430, in right of his wife Isabel, daughter of duke Charles the Bold.

county of Vertus, which was taken by storm, by means of a mine, and the greater part of those within were cruelly put to death, to the amount of two hundred at least, and the rest made prisoners. Their effects were pillaged, their women ravished, and the place demolished. The lord de Châtillon was with the earl of Salisbury, and created a knight by the hand of the earl within the mine. The governor of the town was a valiant man-at-arms called William Marin, who was slain with the others at the storming.

While this was passing, the duke of Bedford caused the castle of Gaillon, a very strong place belonging to the archbishop of Rouen, to be besieged, as it was held by the partisans of king Charles. It was battered so effectually, that the garrison surrendered on having their lives spared, and the place was utterly destroyed.

In the month of June, the duke of Bedford ordered the town and castle of Ivry to be besieged. The first was soon won; but the castle, being strong and well garrisoned, held out for about a month, when the garrison capitulated to deliver up the fort to the English on the night of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, in case king Charles should not appear before that day with a sufficient force to combat them with success. When the treaty had been signed, and proper hostages given for its performance, the siege was broken up.

The English and Burgundians at this time besieged many places on the borders of Normandy. Neelle in Tardenois submitted to king Henry: and Alardin de Monsay treated with the duke of Bedford for the castle of La Fere, and stipulated that he would not make further war against him if he should be suffered to keep it, unless king Charles should muster forces enough to cross the Seine, and advance to Champagne. The French were at this time much the weakest.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE LORD DE LONGUEVAL AND MANY OTHER FRENCH LORDS TURN TO THE PARTY OF KING CHARLES.

In this year the lord de Longueval, his brother Reginald, John Blondel, the lord de Saint-Simon, John de Mailly, the lord de Maucourt, and several other knights and gentlemen of the Vermandois, who had always been attached to the Burgundy party, assembled at Roye to consider on the most effectual means of opposing the bodies of men-at-arms who frequently despoiled their towns, and who had likewise very improperly taken possession of their lands on their return from the expeditions of sir John de Luxembourg to conquer the county of Guise.

On their meeting at Roye, many of them formed an alliance to resist these intruders; but others, fearing sir John de Luxembourg, excused themselves, and advised that the meeting should be adjourned to another day. In the mean time, a conciliatory message was sent to sir John de Luxembourg, to know his opinion, and whether it were with his consent that such depredations had been committed on their lands, and if he would order his men away. Nevertheless some among them did not intend that matters should be carried to the lengths they were, and quietly forbore their attendance at similar meetings. However, the lord de Longueval, his brother sir Reginald, John Blondel, the lord de Maucourt, Pierre de Recourt, and several more, continued the business, and in the end determined to turn to the party of king Charles. They placed strong garrisons in many places under their command; but as their intentions were soon made known, they were forced to hide themselves with the utmost care,—for all their towns, castles, and estates were put into the hands of the king of England, and themselves publicly banished.

In consequence, they openly espoused the cause of king Charles, carrying on a warfare night and day against king Henry and the duke of Burgundy, which surprised very many; for the lord de Longueval and others of the aforesaid had long served the duke of Burgundy, and followed his interests. They excused themselves by saying, that they thus acted to revenge the insults they had received, and were daily receiving, from the men of sir John de Luxembourg; and that it was better to risk the loss of everything than be reduced to such subjection, which they had borne as long as they were able. Some of them, for their conduct, were executed, as will be seen hereafter.

CHAPTER XIX.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD MARCHES A LARGE ARMY TO KEEP HIS APPOINTMENT BEFORE IVRY.—THAT TOWN AND CASTLE SURRENDER TO HIM.

History relates, that about the 8th day of August in this year, the duke of Bedford assembled a considerable force of men-at-arms and archers, under the command of the earls of Salisbury and of Suffolk, the lord Willoughby, and several other captains, as well from Normandy as elsewhere, to the amount of eighteen hundred men-at-arms and eight thousand archers. He marched them to be present at the surrender of Ivry, of which mention has been made, and arrived before that place on the eve of the Assumption of our Lady.

That whole day he remained in battle array, expecting his enemies, who were very numerous, and but three leagues distant, and amounting to eighteen thousand combatants, under the command of the duke d'Alençon, the counts d'Aumale, de Ventadour, de Tonnerre, the earls of Douglas, Buchan, and Murray, the viscount de Narbonne, the lord de la Fayette, and many other lords and princes of great renown. They sent off forty of their most expert and best mounted men, to reconnoitre the enemy,—who, having observed the duke of Bedford's army in such handsome array, hastened back, but not without being closely pursued by the English, to relate what they had seen. The French lords, finding they had not any way the advantage, turned about, and marched in a body to the town of Verneuil in Perche, which was in the possession of the English, and gave the inhabitants to understand that they had completely defeated the English army, and forced the regent to fly with a very few attendants. On hearing this the garrison opened the gates of Verneuil, and showed them all obedience in the name of king Charles. After the surrender of the place, passports were granted, according to the stipulations of the treaty, to the English within it who were sent with their baggage to the duke of Bedford.

Gerard de la Pailliere, governor of Ivry, seeing the hour for his relief was passed, waited on the duke, who was in the front of his army expecting the enemy, and presented to him the keys of the castle, demanding at the same time, in conformity to the articles, passports for himself and his men, which were instantly granted. The duke, in the presence of Gerard, pulled out some letters, and, showing them to him, said, "I perceive that eighteen great barons attached to my lord king Henry, have this day failed in their promises of bringing me succour." Their seals were affixed to these letters; and immediately afterwards, four gentlemen of Gerard's friends were put in confinement as security for them.

The duke of Bedford now ordered that the French should be pursued by a body of men, under the command of the earl of Suffolk, to the amount of sixteen hundred combatants. The earl marched to Damville, and thence to Breteuil in Perche, within two leagues of Verneuil, where the whole of the French force was. The duke went with the remainder of his army to Evreux, whither the earl of Suffolk sent him information that the whole of the French army was in Verneuil. The duke, on hearing this, advanced with his force to join the earl of Suffolk, and offer them combat. Verneuil had belonged to the English,—but, as I have before said, the French gained it by the false information of their having defeated the English. This battle took place on the 16th day of August, in the manner you shall now hear.

CHAPTER XX.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD COMBATS THE FRENCH BEFORE VERNEUIL.

When the duke of Bedford had gained the town and castle of Ivry, he appointed a knight of Wales, renowned in arms, governor, with a sufficient garrison to defend them. He detached the earl of Suffolk in pursuit of the French, who had advanced to within three leagues for its relief, and went with the rest of his army to Evreux. He there received intelligence that the French had won Verneuil by stratagem, and were with their whole force within it. He instantly dislodged, and marched for Verneuil; but the French, having had information thereof, made all haste to prepare for his reception, and drew their men up in battle array without the town, ready for the combat. They only formed one grand division, without any advanced guard,—and ordered the Lombards, with others, to remain on horseback, under the command of the borgne Cameran, du Rousin, Poton, and La Hire,

to break the ranks of the enemy on their flanks and rear. The grand battalion of the French was on foot,—which being observed by the duke of Bedford, he ordered his army to be formed in the same manner, without any vanguard, and not having any party on horseback. The archers were posted in front, each having a sharp-pointed stake stuck in the ground before him; and the stoutest of these men were placed at the two ends of the battalion, by way of wings. Behind the men-at-arms were the pages, the horses, and such as were unfit for the combat. The archers tied the horses together by their collar pieces and tails, that the enemy might not surprise and carry them off. The duke of Bedford ordered two thousand archers to guard them and the baggage.

Very many new knights were now created on both sides; and when all was ready, these two powerful armies met in battle, about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the 16th day of August. The English, as usual, set up a grand shout as they advanced, which alarmed the French much; and the conflict raged with the utmost violence for three quarters of an hour; and it was not in the memory of man that such armies had been so long and warmly engaged without victory declaring for either of them. That division of the French which had been ordered to remain mounted to attack the rear of the English, while the combat was going on, came to the horses and baggage of the enemy, but could make no impression from the resistance of the guard of archers: they however seized some of the cavalry and baggage, with which they fled, leaving their army fighting on foot. The archers, then, finding themselves thus disembarrassed from the enemy, were fresh to join their companions in the front, which they did with loud shouts.

The French now began to fail; and the English, with great bravery, broke through their ranks in many places, and, taking advantage of their success, obtained the victory, but not without much effusion of blood on both sides; for it was afterward known by the kings-at-arms, heralds, poursuivants, and from other persons worthy of belief, that there were slain of the French, and left on the field of battle, from four to five thousand, great part of whom were Scotsmen, and two hundred made prisoners.

On the part of the English sixteen hundred were killed, as well from England as from Normandy,—the principal persons of whom were two captains of the name of Dudley and Charleton. The following is a list of those of name who fell on the side of the French:—Jean count d'Aumale, the son of the count de Harcourt, the count de Tonnerre, the count de Ventadour, the earl of Douglas *, sir James Douglas his son, the earl of Buchan, at that time constable to king Charles, the earl of Murray, the lord de Graville the elder, the lord de Montenay, sir Anthony Beausault, Hugh de Beausault his brother, the lord de Belloy† and his brother, the lord de Mauny, the lord de Combrest, the lord de Fontenay, the lord de Bruneil, the lord de Tumblet, the lord de Poissy. From Dauphiny, the lord de Mathe, the lord de Rambelle. From Languedoc and Scotland, sir Walter Lindsay, sir Gilles de Gamaches‡, Godfrey de Malestroit, James Douglas, sir Charles de Boin, sir John de Vretasse, sir Gilles Martel, the son of Harpedame, sir Brunet d'Auvergne, sir Raoul de la Treille, Guy de Fourchonivere, sir Pochart de Vienne, sir John de Murat, the lord de Vertois, sir Charles de Gerammes, Dragon de la Salle, the lord de Rambouillet, the bastard de Langlan, the viscount de Narbonne, whose body, when found on the field, was quartered, and hung on a gibbet, because he had been an accomplice in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy; the lord de Guictry §, sir Francis de Gangeaux, sir Robert de Laire, sir Louis de Teyr, the lord de Foregny, Moraut de la Mothe, sir Charles d'Anibal and his brother Robinet d'Anibal, Pierre de Courçeilles, sir Aymery de Gresille, Andrew de Clermont, sir Tristan Coignon, Colinet de Vicomte, Guillaume Remon, sir Louis de Champagne, Peron de Lippes, sir Louis de Bracquemont, the lord de Thionville, the lord de Rochebaron, sir Philip de la Tour, and Anselin de la Tour.

The principal prisoners were, the duke d'Alençon, the bastard d'Alençon, the lord de la

* Archibald, earl of Douglas, father-in-law to the earl of Buchan. Made duke of Touraine, and lieutenant-general of France, in order to give him precedence over his son-in-law the constable.

† Peter, lord of Bellay, &c., third son of Hugh VII. who was killed at Azincourt.

‡ John de Ronault, lord of Boismenard, father of Joachim de Ronault, marshal Gamaches, and son of Giles, lord of Boismenard, was killed at this battle.

§ Charles de Chaumont en Vexin, son to William lord de Guictry, before mentioned.

Fayette, the lord de Hormit, sir Pierre Herrison, sir Louis de Vaucourt, Roger Brousset, Huchet de St. Mare, and Yvon du Puys; but there were numbers of others whose names I cannot remember. When the duke of Bedford had gained this important victory at Verneuil, he assembled his princes and captains around him, and with great humility, with uplifted hands and eyes, he returned thanks to the Creator for the great success he had given him. The dead were then stripped, and whatever was valuable taken away.

The duke encamped that night round Verneuil, and appointed a strong guard to prevent any surprise from the enemy. On the morrow, the French within the town and castle were summoned to surrender. They were so much terrified by the defeat and carnage of their army that they instantly obeyed, on condition that their lives and fortunes should be spared. The lord de Rambures, governor, was also permitted to depart. After the duke had re-garrisoned Verneuil and its castle, he marched his army into Normandy.

On the very day that this battle took place, a number of knights and esquires from Normandy and the adjacent parts deserted from the duke's army, although they had before sworn loyalty and obedience to him. For this offence, some of them were afterwards severely punished in their bodies by the duke, and all their estates and effects confiscated to the use of king Henry. In the number were, the lord de Choisy and the lord de Longueval.

About this time the lord de Maucour was taken, who had been implicated by the lord de Longueval, and others accused before master Robert le Jeune, bailiff of Amiens; he was beheaded by orders from the council of king Henry, in the town of Amiens, his body hung on a gibbet, and his fortune confiscated to the king. In like manner was afterward taken Pierre de Recourt, implicated likewise with the above, by one named Raoul de Gaucourt, who sent him to sir John de Luxembourg; and sir John sent him to Paris, where his body was quartered, and parts of it hung up at the usual places.

Very soon was intelligence of this unfortunate battle carried to king Charles, who was sorely affected at the destruction of his princes and chivalry, and for a long time was mightily grieved, seeing that all his plans were now unsuccessful.

CHAPTER XXI.—THE INHABITANTS OF TOURNAY REBEL AGAINST THEIR MAGISTRATES.

In the beginning of the month of September, the inhabitants of Tournay rose in rebellion, — the burghers against the magistrates and others of rank,—namely, those of the market-place, and of the old precincts, against those within the walls. This commotion was caused by a blacksmith having fastened a chain during the night about the slaughter-houses, for which he was banished the town. In consequence of this banishment, those within the old precincts, to a large number, put on as badges an upright cross; while those of the market-place raised the bridges, and erected many bulwarks against them. They began hostilities with courage; but in the end a truce was agreed on, for the sake of their annual procession, —and at last peace was established, without any great harm being done to either party.

CHAPTER XXII.—THE GARRISON OF GUISE CAPITULATE TO SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG AND SIR THOMAS RAMPSTONE.

When sir John de Luxembourg and sir Thomas Rampstone had, with great perseverance, continued their siege of Guise and its castle until the month of September,—the garrison, finding provisions grow short, and losing all hope of relief, offered to capitulate with the two aforesaid lords, on the following terms.

"To all to whom these presents shall come, we, John de Luxembourg lord de Beaurevoir, and Thomas Rampstone knight, chamberlain to the lord-regent, and governors of this district for the king of France and of England, our sovereign lord, by the appointment of my lords the regent and the duke of Burgundy, send health and greeting.—Know ye, that we have this day signed a treaty in the names of our lords aforesaid, with John de Proisy governor and captain of the town and castle of Guise, and with the churchmen, gentlemen, men-at-

arms, and the burghers of the said town, according to the terms and articles hereafter to be declared.—First, the governor and the persons aforesaid, residing within the town and castle of Guise, do promise truly and faithfully to surrender the said town and castle to one of us, or to such other person or persons as the king of France and England may depute for that purpose, on the first day of March next ensuing; provided that, on or before that day, they be not relieved by the princes or others of the same party as themselves, by combating us between the town of Sains and the house of Fouquausuins, which spot we have fixed on, in conjunction with the garrison of Guise, for the field of battle. Should those of the party of king Charles be defeated in fair combat, by the forces of the king of France and England, or put to flight, the garrison of Guise shall hold themselves bounden to deliver up the town and castle. In case the contrary should happen, and we of the party of the king of France and of England be beaten, or afraid to appear on the appointed day, we shall be bounden to return without ransom the hostages which shall have been given to us for the due observance of this treaty.

"Item, my lord the regent, and my lord of Burgundy, or those commissioned by them, shall be bound to appear with such force as they may please on the first day of March, to hold the wager of battle, namely, from sunrise of that day until sunset; and if they shall not then be fought with nor defeated, the garrison shall, without fail, or any fraud whatever, surrender the town and castle immediately after sunset, on receiving back the hostages whom they had given.—Item, during the term of this treaty, and within one month afterward, the governor and all others within the said town and castle, of whatever rank they may be, shall have free liberty to depart singly or in companies across the river Seine, to such places as are held by their party, and carry with them, or have carried, their armour, horses, baggage, and all their effects; and, for their greater security, we promise to deliver to them sufficient passports in the name of my lord the regent, if so required, that shall include not more than twenty in a company. Should any of them wish to go out of the kingdom, even to Hainault, they must do so at their peril.

"Item, should any now resident within Guise be inclined to remain there, or elsewhere, under the dominion of our lord the king, or of our lords the regent and the duke of Burgundy, they shall have full liberty, on taking the oaths of allegiance, and on swearing to preserve the last-made peace between the kingdoms of France and England, with the free enjoyment of all their effects and inheritances that may not before have been disposed of. Should they wish to depart, they shall not carry with them any of their moveables.—Item, the inhabitants of Guise having passports from the conservators of the articles of this treaty, who are bounden to give them, may go to such towns as we have notified, and enter the same with the permission of their captains or governors, namely, St. Quentin, Riblemont, Laon, Bruyeres, Crespy, Marle, Aubenton, Vertus, and the adjacent villages, to procure provision and other necessaries for money, so that the quantities be not more than sufficient for their sustenance, until the capitulation be expired.—Item, the inhabitants of Guise may pursue their lawful and just debts before the said conservators, who will take cognizance thereof, and do justice between the parties, on hearing each side.

"Item, if, during the terms of this treaty, any of the king's party shall take by scalado, or otherwise, the town and castle of Guise, we will exert ourselves to the utmost of our loyal power to force them to evacuate the same, and we will replace them in their former state; for we will neither attempt to take them ourselves, nor suffer others to do so during the said term.—Item, in like manner, those within Guise shall not, during the same term, gain openly or secretly any places dependent on the king or his allies, nor carry on any manner of warfare against his or their vassals.—Item, a general pardon shall take place with regard to all persons indiscriminately within Guise, excepting, however, those who may have been implicated in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy, whose soul may God pardon! those who have sworn to observe the articles of the last peace concluded between France and England; those guilty of treason on the person of the duke of Brittany; all English and Irish who may be in the said town or castle; all of whom must be delivered up to justice. For the better knowledge of the aforesaid persons, the governor of Guise shall give to us, in writing, the names and surnames of all men-at-arms now within that town and castle.—

Item, should any violences be committed, contrary to the above articles, by either party during the said term, this treaty shall not thereby be infringed nor violated; but the conservators shall have full powers to arrest and punish those guilty of any violence, and to make restitution of whatever things may have been unlawfully plundered.

"Item, the garrison of Guise shall not, during the said term, although they have possession of the castle and town, carry on any warfare, nor give aid or support to any of their party that may be so inclined. Should it happen that any persons acting hostilely be pursued by the king's party, and chased visibly into the said town or castle, the governor shall cause them to be delivered up to those who had thus pursued them, to be dealt with like prisoners. —Item, the inhabitants of Guise shall not, during the said term, demolish any part of the fortifications or outworks of the said town and castle; nor shall they in any way add to their strength.—Item, so soon as we shall have withdrawn all our cannon, artillery, stores, and engines of war, to a place of security, we will raise the siege, and depart from before the said town and castle, to go whithersoever we shall please.

"Item, the governor, the gentlemen, and burghers within the said town, to the number of twenty-four persons, shall solemnly swear punctually to observe all the above articles, and promise faithfully not to infringe any one of them in the smallest degree; and those who may have a seal shall seal these articles with their seal.—Item, for the better observance of these articles, eight persons shall be given as hostages, namely, Jean de Regnault, du Hamel, Jean de Cadeville, Jean de Beauvoir, Jean de St. Germain, the elder Wautier, sir Walerant du Mont, and Jean Flangin de Noulles. In case any of the above shall die, or make their escape during the time aforesaid, those of Guise shall be bounden alway to find eight sufficient hostages on demand of the besiegers.—Item, the inhabitants of Guise, in conjunction with us, have unanimously appointed, as conservators of this treaty, sir Daviod de Poix, knight, and Collart de Proisy, or his deputy. To this sir Daviod de Poix, or to his deputy, we have given full powers and authority to grant to the said inhabitants of Guise good and sufficient passports, and to determine all suits at law that may be brought before him from either party, according to what has been before mentioned.

"Item, we have promised and sworn, and do by these presents promise and swear, to fulfil all things contained in these said articles most loyally and honourably, to the utmost of our powers, and that we will have them faithfully observed and maintained by all subjects and vassals under the obedience of our lord the king, of our lord the regent, and of our lord of Burgundy.—Item, for the greater security of the above, we will have these articles confirmed by our said lord the regent, in manner hereafter to be declared. In testimony of which, we have affixed our seals to these presents. Given at our camp before the town and castle of Guise, the 18th day of September, in the year 1424."

When the treaty had been signed, and the hostages delivered, the siege of Guise was broken up. Sir John de Luxembourg returned to his castle of Beaurevoir, and dismissed his captains; and sir Thomas Rampstone went with the English to wait on the duke of Bedford at Paris, by whom he was most graciously received.

About this time, the lord de Montagu, a Burgundian, concluded a treaty with Estienne de Vignolles, called La Hire, of the opposite party, that Vitry en Pertois, and other fortresses held by La Hire, should be surrendered to the lord de Montagu on the first Sunday in Lent, in case they were not relieved on or before that time by king Charles. No succour arrived, and in consequence they were yielded up according to the agreement. In these days, sir Manfroy de St. Leger and the bastard de St. Pol assembled from four to five hundred combatants, and led them into Barrois, where they committed infinite mischiefs, and gathered much riches, with which they returned in safety, and without opposition, to their own country.

In the month of October, the duke of Gloucester and Jacqueline of Bavaria, countess of Hainault, of Holland, and of Zealand, (whom the duke of Gloucester had married some time before in England, although duke John of Brabant, her first husband, was still alive,) disembarked at Calais with five thousand English combatants, intending to make a powerful invasion on Hainault, and gain the government thereof, as belonging of right to the said Jacqueline. The earl marshal of England was commander-in-chief of these men-at-arms.

CHAPTER XXIII.—THE DUKES OF BEDFORD AND OF BURGUNDY ENDEAVOUR TO MAKE UP THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE DUKES OF GLOUCESTER AND OF BRABANT.

About the end of October the dukes of Bedford and of Burgundy met at Paris, with their confidential ministers, according to what had been agreed on when they were last at Amiens, to discuss the differences that had arisen between the dukes of Gloucester and of Brabant. The matter was most fully debated during several days before their council, notwithstanding a suit was still pending at the court of Rome. At length, the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy agreed on the terms of a pacification, according to the opinions of their counsellors, and sent them to the dukes of Gloucester and of Brabant. The ambassadors who went to the duke of Gloucester and his lady at Calais were, sir Raoul le Bouteiller and the abbot Fouquans. When they showed their credentials, and the terms that had been agreed on, they had a direct negative from the duke and the lady, who declared they would not abide by them, but would march a powerful army into Hainault to take possession of that country. On receiving this answer, the ambassadors returned to Paris. Those who had been sent to duke John of Brabant were graciously received; and he declared, with the advice of his council, that he was very willing to accept the terms agreed on by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and was well contented therewith.

On these answers being carried to the two dukes in Paris, they were much troubled that the duke of Gloucester would not accept of the terms which they had settled,—more particularly the duke of Burgundy, who plainly told his brother-in-law, the duke of Bedford, that since he found his brother the duke of Gloucester would not listen to any reasonable terms, he should assist his cousin, the duke of Brabant, with all his power, to enable him to preserve his honour and territories against the duke of Gloucester. The duke of Bedford was much angered against his brother at heart, for his obstinacy, and greatly feared that, from this quarrel, all connexions of the English with the duke of Burgundy would be done away, and their power in France destroyed.

The dukes of Bedford and of Burgundy kept each at his hotel in Paris the feast of All-saints with much solemnity; and some days afterward, the duke of Burgundy had the marriage of sir John de la Trimouille lord de Jonvelles*, with the damsel of Rochebaron, sister to the lord d'Amboise (who at that time resided with the queen of France, widow of the late king, in company with the lady of La Ferté), celebrated at his hotel of Artois, and at his own expense. At this marriage were present, the said queen of France, the duke and duchess of Bedford, sister to the duke of Burgundy, attended by the earl and countess of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk, the bishop of Therouenne, the lord d'Estable, and many noble knights, esquires, ladies and damsels of high degree, who were all magnificently entertained by the duke of Burgundy and his officers. There was a grand display of every costly viand and wines, followed by dancings, tiltings, and other amusements.

The dukes of Bedford and Burgundy even tilted themselves with other princes and knights. When this feast was over, the duke of Burgundy returned from Paris to his residence in Burgundy, where he united himself in marriage, by an apostolical dispensation, with the widow of his uncle the count de Nevers, who had been slain at the battle of Azincourt. This lady was much renowned for her pious life: she had two children by the count de Nevers, and was sister-german to the count d'Eu, then a prisoner in England, and sister by the half blood to Charles de Bourbon count de Clermont.

At this time died John of Bavaria, formerly bishop of Liege, uncle to the duke of Burgundy, and to Jacqueline of Bavaria; and because he had not had any children by his lady, he declared the duke of Burgundy his heir and successor, thus putting aside Jacqueline of Bavaria his niece.

* Brother of George, lord of la Trémouille, who married the duchess of Berry and countess of Boulogne and Auvergne, as above mentioned.

CHAPTER XXIV.—THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER LEAVE CALAIS FOR HAINAULT, TO RECEIVE THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS OF THAT COUNTRY.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MAKES PREPARATIONS TO AID HIS COUSIN THE DUKE OF BRABANT.

Toward the end of November the duke and duchess of Gloucester marched their great army from Calais, and taking their route by Hesdin, and passing by Lens in Artois, arrived in Hainault. As they marched through the territories of the duke of Burgundy, no disorders were suffered to be committed, but all provisions were courteously paid for. They were liberally received at Bouchain and Mons, whither they went first, and many lords and gentlemen of the country came thither to pay obedience and homage to the duke and to his lady. Shortly after, all the principal towns in Hainault, dependent on the lady Jacqueline took oaths of allegiance to the duke of Gloucester; for she declared herself his wife, and all the lords and gentlemen did the same, excepting the single town of Halx, which held for the duke of Brabant. In like manner did the count de Conversan, lord of Anghien, support duke John and sir Angilbert d'Anghien, with Jean de Jumont, and all their garrisons and dependants. The remainder, as well towns as nobles, breaking the oaths they had formerly taken to the duke of Brabant, now openly espoused the cause of the duke of Gloucester and the duchess Jacqueline.

Some days after the marriage of the duke of Burgundy, he quitted the duchess and went to Mâcon, where he had a conference with the duke of Savoy, and with ambassadors from the duke of Brittany, the principal of whom was Arthur count de Richemont. While these conferences were holding, Charles de Bourbon count de Clermont, the archbishop of Rheims, the bishop of Puy, and some others, came to Mâcon, by orders of king Charles, who, among different matters, treated for a marriage between the count de Clermont and Agnes, sister-german to the duke of Burgundy. Charles de Bourbon promised the said archbishop, on the word of a prince, that he would espouse her at the time that had been fixed. When this and other great affairs had been discussed and settled, they separated, and each returned to the place he had come from.

Philip duke of Burgundy, hearing of the arrival of Humphrey duke of Gloucester in Hainault, was very indignant thereat, and issued his summonses to the men-at-arms, and others accustomed to serve him in war, throughout his countries of Flanders, Artois, and his other dominions, which were proclaimed in the usual places, ordering all nobles, and others of every degree, able to bear arms, to prepare themselves to support the duke of Brabant against the duke of Gloucester, under the orders of sir John de Luxembourg, the lords de Croy, de l'Isle-Adam, and such other captains as should be commissioned to command and conduct them.

In consequence of these proclamations, very many men-at-arms assembled under the aforesaid lords, who marched them to Philip count de St. Pol, brother to duke John of Brabant, he having been appointed by the duke commander-in-chief in this war against the duke of Gloucester. The principal adviser* of the count de St. Pol was Pierre de Luxembourg count de Conversan, and Braine lord d'Anghien. There were also with him, sir Angilbert d'Anghien, le Damoiseau de Vissemale, de Rosbarre, and other great lords and bannerets of the country of Brabant, a multitude of the commonalty, and an infinity of warlike engines.

A bitter war now commenced, with fire and sword, throughout Hainault, to the ruin of the poor people, for the duke of Gloucester had strongly garrisoned with English all the towns in that country under his obedience; and in like manner had the count de St. Pol done to those on the borders, and what remained in Hainault subject to the duke of Brabant. These garrisons made frequent sallies on their enemy's country, and committed every kind of mischief.

* Namely, the count of Conversan and Brienne, and also lord of Anghien. He was eldest son of John de Luxembourg, count of Ligny, and his wife, the heiress of Anghien, Conversan, and Brienne. He was father of Louis, afterwards count de St. Pol, and constable of France; and his brothers were, Louis, cardinal archbishop of Rouen; and John, count of Ligny, called in this book sir John de Luxembourg.

CHAPTER XXV.—THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER SENDS A LETTER TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. A COPY THEREOF.

When the duke of Gloucester heard that the duke of Burgundy had issued his summons for men-at-arms to assemble against him, in support of the duke of Brabant, he was highly displeased, and wrote to the duke of Burgundy a letter, of which the following is an exact copy :—

"High and potent prince, very dear and well-beloved cousin,—we have heard that in your lands and territories a proclamation has been made for all able men-at-arms to assemble and march under the orders of sir John de Luxembourg and others, to the support of my cousin of Brabant, against me, my friends, allies, and subjects, and stating, as reasons for the above, many charges contrary to the truth, which I have discovered, in a copy of certain letters said to be written by you, in your town of Dijon, the 21st day of last December. These letters, I am convinced, have been written with your knowledge, and by your orders, although you cannot have forgotten all that I have done in times past at your request and solicitation; nor how often I have submitted the whole of my dispute with our cousin of Brabant to the arbitration of my brother the regent and yourself,—what appointments I have made, and what things I offered to relinquish to my prejudice,—and which you know those of the party of the duke of Brabant would not accept, nor enter into any treaty, notwithstanding these letters I allude to have given a contrary colour to the business, as will be apparent if you compare the copy I enclose with the originals.

"I know also, that what I have formerly done has not escaped your good memory. You must also feel, that if proximity of lineage is of any avail, you should be more inclined to serve me than my adversary, seeing that my companion and spouse is your cousin-german by two lines, and that my said cousin of Brabant is not so nearly related to you. You are likewise bounden to assist me by the treaty of peace solemnly sworn to by us,—which the duke of Brabant has never done, but on the contrary, as you know, made alliances inimical to your interests, which should move you to act against him. The treaty between us has never been infringed by me; and it would have grieved me to have even thought of it,—for I should believe, that had I broken it, nothing fortunate would have ever happened to me. I am also persuaded, that during your life, you will not act contrary to it.

"You must likewise have noticed, that ever since I have been on this side of the sea, I have alway endeavoured so to act as would be most agreeable to you; that I have never, in the smallest degree, done, or suffered to be done, any damage to your subjects or your lands, but have acted toward them as if they had been my own proper subjects, as they can truly inform you.

"I have lately written to you, to declare I ask for nothing but what is my own, but am contented to have what belongs to me in right of my said companion, your cousin, and which, with the aid of God, I will guard and preserve so long as she shall live, for that fortune is sufficient for me. Should any circumstances have induced me to act against my said cousin of Brabant, I am not as you know any way to blame, but constrained thereto by his enterprises, in the defence of my own honour, and for the preservation of my country, which will make me exert myself to the utmost of my power.

"Now as you are perfectly well acquainted with all that I have mentioned, I can scarcely persuade myself that these said letters have been written with your knowledge; and I most earnestly entreat, most high and potent prince, my very dear and well-beloved cousin, that you would maturely consider of all that I have done for your service, the different conduct of my adversary toward you, the nearness of the relationship, the treaty of peace between us, which I have never violated, and the enterprises of my opponent. I am firmly convinced that, supposing the measures hitherto followed have had your approbation, when you shall have maturely reconsidered the whole of mine and of my adversary's conduct, you will be of a contrary opinion. Should, however, your intentions remain unaltered, God, to whom nothing is hidden, will defend my just rights, if you be regardless of the oath you have taken for the same purpose. High and potent prince, my very dear and well-beloved cousin,

let me know your intentions by the bearer of this, and if there is anything I can do for your service, I will most heartily employ myself therein, as our lord knows, and to his care I commend you.

"Written at my town of Mons, and signed with my signet, this 12th day of January. High and potent prince, very dear and well-beloved cousin, I send with this letter copies of the letters I have alluded to, signed "De Croy."

The address on this letter was "To the high and potent prince, my very dear and well-beloved cousin, the duke of Burgundy;" and lower down, "Your cousin the duke of Gloucester, count of Hainault, of Holland, of Zealand, and lord of Frizeland."

The duke of Burgundy, on receiving this letter, laid it before the whole of his council, and, after due deliberation, returned the following answer to the duke of Gloucester.

CHAPTER XXVI.—COPY OF THE ANSWER OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO THE LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

"High and mighty prince Humphrey duke of Gloucester, I, Philip duke of Burgundy, earl of Flanders and of Artois, have received your letter addressed to me, and written at Mons in Hainault, under your signet, the 12th day of January last, containing, among other things, that you have heard of proclamations having been issued throughout my dominions, for all well-disposed men-at-arms to assemble, and to march under the command of our very dear and well-beloved cousin sir John de Luxembourg and others, for the service and support of our very dear and well-beloved cousin the duke of Brabant, in opposition to you, your friends, allies, and subjects, and which proclamations contained, according to the tenor of your letter, many charges contrary to truth,—the which, and other things, you have discovered in the copy sent me, of certain letters said to have been written by me, on the 21st day of December, in my town of Dijon.

"With regard to this, high and mighty prince, and the greater part of your letter, I shall forbear repeating, or making any reply thereto; for as there is nothing but what touches my honour that I shall consider, and this I will not suffer any one to treat or to blame unjustly.

"You say, however, that the writings, of which you have enclosed a copy, have been done with my knowledge, and by my command. To this I answer, that I was moved thereto by your refusal to conform to the articles of pacification entered into with great deliberation of council, between your fair brother the regent and myself at Paris, to put an end to the discord between you and our very dear cousin the duke of Brabant.

"On the contrary, the duke of Brabant (to gain the favour of God, and to please your said brother and myself) agreed to abide by these said articles, while you, persisting in your refusal, and without waiting for the final decisions of your suit at the court of Rome, have entered the country of Hainault with a powerful army, with the intent of driving therefrom our said cousin of Brabant, and taking possession of the same. These have been the reasons for my said letter, which contains truths which you cannot any way deny, or be ignorant of. I have not therefore given anything to be understood contrary to truth, or by way of lie, with which you seem most wrongfully to charge me in your letter, which I shall carefully preserve to show in proper time and place.

"I am sufficiently aware of all that you are attempting against our said cousin of Brabant, and very displeasing has it been to me, without your endeavouring to tarnish our own honour and fair fame, which I will not endure from you nor from any one; and I am persuaded that those with whom I am connected by blood, all my loyal friends, subjects and vassals, who have been greatly attached to and have served my predecessors, will not suffer such a slur to be passed over with impunity. I therefore now summon and require of you to recall all that you have said in your letter, touching what you have therein declared to have been asserted by me contrary to the truth. Should you be unwilling to do this, and to support the charges you have made against my honour and fame, I am ready to defend myself personally against you, and to combat you, with the aid of God and our lady, within

a reasonable time, in the presence of that most excellent and most potent prince, the emperor, my very dear lord and cousin.

"But that you and all the world may witness that I am anxious to bring this matter to a speedy conclusion, and instantly to repel all attempts on my honour, I am contented, should it be more agreeable to you, that we choose for the judge of our combat your fair brother the regent duke of Bedford, which you cannot reasonably refuse; for he is such a prince that I know he will do the utmost justice between us, as between the most indifferent persons. And for the honour of God, and to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, and the destruction of the poor people, whose sufferings I in my heart compassionate, you and I, who are youthful knights, ought to accept of this proposal (supposing you be determined to maintain what you have written), as it personally concerns us, rather than engage in public warfare, by which numberless gentlemen and others of each party will have their days miserably shortened; and I must add, that it will be highly disagreeable to me if this last mode shall be resorted to. It ought to be matter of regret to us and all catholic princes, that Christian people should engage in war one against another; for my part I repeat that it will be very unwillingly that I shall engage in a public warfare, unless urgent necessity forces me to it.

"High and mighty prince, have the goodness to send me a speedy answer to the contents of this letter by the bearer, or by any more expeditious mode, without prolonging matters by letters; for I am impatient, that everything touching my honour may be as briefly settled as possible, and I will not that matters concerning it remain as they now are. I should sooner have replied to your letter on this subject, had I not been delayed by several concerns of high import that have retarded me.

"That you may be assured this letter is mine, I have signed it with my own hand, and affixed my signet.

"Written the 3rd day of March, in the year 1424."

This letter was read by the duke of Gloucester with great attention, in the presence of his council; in reply, he sent the following letter.

CHAPTER XXVII.—COPY OF THE SECOND LETTER SENT BY THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

"High and mighty prince Philip duke of Burgundy, earl of Flanders, of Artois, and of Burgundy,—I, Humphrey duke of Gloucester, son, brother, and uncle to the kings of England, count of Hainault, of Holland, of Zealand, lord of Frizeland, and high chamberlain to the king of England, have received your letter in form of a placart, addressed to me, and written on the 3rd day of this month, which letter, that it may appear to be from yourself, you have signed with your own hand and sealed with your signet. The contents of the greater part thereof concern me as little as those of mine did you, addressed and written in my good town of Mons in Hainault, under my signet, the 12th day of January last past, excepting what you say of my refusing to agree to terms of pacification between me and my cousin the duke of Brabant, which is not true; for my very dear and well-beloved brother the regent of France, and the whole of the French council, as well as yourself, know how I have acted therein. Should you wish to be ignorant thereof it is not in your power.

"You say, that I have in my letter wrongfully and falsely offended your honour, by charges therein made, and that you were sufficiently hurt at my attempts against my said cousin the duke of Brabant, without my having attacked your honour and fame. You therefore summon and require of me to recant what I have thus written in my letter, or else you are ready to defend your honour in a personal combat with me. I make known to you that I hold for true the whole of the contents of my said letter, and shall remain in the firm belief thereof, which has indeed been confirmed by what your people have done and perpetrated in my country of Hainault, conformably to the tenor of your summons; nor shall you nor any one force me to recal my words, but with the aid of God, of our lady, and of my lord St. George, I will, by personal combat, oblige you to own their truth before either

of the judges you have named, for they are both of them to me indifferent. I am equally desirous with yourself that the matter should be brought to a short and speedy issue; but solely because my fair brother is nearest at hand am satisfied to perform the combat before him, and accept of him as judge of the field. Since you leave the appointment of the day of combat to me, I shall fix on the feast of St. George next ensuing for that purpose, or any other day more convenient for my brother, when, with God's favour, I shall be ready prepared to meet you without fail.

"Should my said brother decline the office of judge of the field, I am willing that the combat take place before the very high and potent prince the emperor; and should he in like manner decline it, our brother of Oldeberth *, or any other indifferent person may be the judge. But as I am doubtful whether you will abide by the terms under your signet, I summon and require of you, by the bearer of this letter, that you send me other terms sealed with your seal, in like manner as I have done to these presents.

"With regard to the duke of Brabant, if you shall dare to say that his right is superior to mine in this present dispute, I am ready to attack you body to body on the day abovementioned, and prove that I have the better right, with the favour of God, of our lady, and of St. George. That these presents may appear fully authentic, and to show that I am resolved to abide by their contents, I have signed my name to them, and have likewise affixed my seal.

"Written in my town of Soignies, the 16th day of March, in the year 1424."

CHAPTER XXVIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RETURNS TO FLANDERS, WHENCE HE SENDS HIS ANSWER TO THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER'S LETTER.—A COPY THEREOF.

During the time of this correspondence between these two princes, the duke of Burgundy returned to Flanders, and ordered a considerable force to march thence to the aid of the duke of Brabant. He likewise sent an answer to the duke of Gloucester's last letter, accepting the day he had fixed for their combat, the tenor of which was as follows.

"High and mighty prince Humphrey duke of Gloucester, I, Philip, duke of Burgundy, earl of Flanders and of Artois, have this day received your letter, written and signed with your own hand, in answer to mine of the 3rd of this present month, in which I said that you had, after mature deliberation, refused the terms of pacification between you and our cousin of Brabant, that had been agreed on by my brother-in-law the regent and myself. To this you reply, that it is not true. My fair brother the regent and the whole council of France know full well to the contrary: I am not ignorant thereof, and were I inclined to be so it is out of my power. You persist in denying what the ambassadors, sent to you by my brother the regent and myself with a copy of these articles, can most satisfactorily prove; and in the direct face of them you have invaded the country of Hainault, notwithstanding my fair cousin of Brabant had accepted of our terms, and you have called all these things which I had written to you falsehoods. Your conduct toward my cousin of Brabant was to me dishonourable and displeasing enough, without adding insults against my honour.

"For this did I summon you to recant all that you have thus offensively written; otherwise I was ready to defend my honour in personal combat, in the presence of my fair brother the regent, or before the emperor. You in reply maintain the truth of what you had written, and that you shall remain in that belief; for what my troops had done in Hainault was a full confirmation of the truth of what you had advanced, and that you would not for me, nor for any one else, recal your words, but would force me, by personal combat, to acknowledge their truth, before either of the aforesaid judges.

"You add, that as the said regent is nearer at hand, you are content to name him as judge, and fix on St. George's day next ensuing, or any other more agreeable to the regent, for the day of combat, being equally desirous with myself that this matter should be speedily brought to issue. I make for answer, that in regard to the judge and the day I am well satisfied, and, with the aid of God and of our lady, I will defend myself, and maintain the

* Oldeberth,—probably Oldenbourg.

contrary to what you have advanced, with my bodily strength, and prove fairly on which side the lie rests, to the clearance of my loyalty and honour.

"With respect to what my troops may have done in Hainault, should it be for the honour and success of my fair cousin of Brabant, I shall be very much rejoiced. As you express a doubt whether our said brother the regent will accept of the office of judge between us, I shall instantly send him notable ambassadors earnestly to entreat that he would accept of it; but should he refuse, I am willing, as I have said in my former letter, that the emperor take his place. As to what you declare, that should I dare to say our cousin of Brabant has the better right, you will force me by combat to retract it publicly before the judge,—I reply, that the sentence of our holy father the pope (before whom the suit is now pending) will make it clearly known whose is the right, against which I am not inclined to derogate or disobey. It therefore does not belong to either of us to determine who has the right.

"And I have such confidence in our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and in his glorious virgin-mother, that before the end of the combat thus fixed on by you, I shall defend my good cause with such vigour that you will not be soon forward to advance such novelties again. Since you require that I send you a copy of my former letter which was sealed with my signet, under my seal, I have complied with your request. And what I have written I am fully determined to abide by and fulfil."

CHAPTER XXIX.—THE TOWN OF BRAINE IN HAINAULT TAKEN AND DESTROYED BY THE ALLIES OF THE DUKE OF BRABANT.

WHILE these quarrelsome letters were passing between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester, a very large army was raised by Philip count de Ligny and de St. Pol, brother to the duke of Brabant, having in his company the count de Conversan, the lord d'Anghien, the lords de Croy, de l'Isle-Adam, sir Andrew de Malines, the bastard de St. Pol, with other captains, banners, and gentlemen, together with thirty or forty thousand common men, whom he led before the town of Braine-le-Comte in the country of Hainault.

There were not more than about two hundred English of the duke of Gloucester's party, in addition to the commonalty within the place. It was closely besieged on all sides; but after it had been well battered for eight days by their cannon and other engines, the garrison, considering the great force of the enemy, entered into terms of capitulation, that the English might depart with safety to their persons, and with part of their baggage, and that the town should return to the obedience of the duke of Brabant, taking oaths of allegiance to him or to his commissioners, and withal paying a certain sum of money by way of ransoming the town from pillage.

When this treaty had been signed, and the English were ready to march out of it, a body of the common people who had come with the count de St. Pol rushed in by different gates, and slew the greater part of these English, with many of the townsmen. They then plundered the houses and set them on fire, so that the whole town was completely burnt and destroyed. Thus did they break through the treaty which their captains had made, and no prayers or entreaties could prevail on them to desist, which greatly angered their leaders. However, some of the English were saved by the exertions of the gentlemen and nobles, and sent away in safety.

At this siege of Braine, there were with the count de St. Pol, Poton de Saintrailles, Regnaut de Longueval, and others, all firm friends of king Charles. When the town had been thus destroyed, the army of the Brabanters remained where they had been encamped; for news of the intended combat between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester before the regent had been notified to them, so that all warfare was suspended between the Brabanters and the duke of Gloucester, until victory should declare for one of the dukes in their personal combat.

Shortly after, the count de St. Pol marched away from before Braine, on his return with the army to Brabant; but as the duke of Gloucester was with his lady in Soignies, the Brabanters were afraid of being attacked, and therefore all the nobles and gentlemen marched in the same array as if they were about to engage in battle. The commonalty were likewise

well drawn up; and they had not advanced far, when the scouts, whom they had left in their rear to bring them information, gave notice that the English had taken the field. This was true, for some of the duke of Gloucester's captains, having his permission, collected at most eight hundred men to see the Brabanters decamp. They advanced so near as to be visible to all, although there were some ditches between the two parties. The count de St. Pol drew his men in array, on the ascent of a mountain, namely, the gentlemen and archers, and so did the English; and in the mean time some skirmishing took place between the outposts of each, in which several were killed, wounded, and unhorsed, but in no great numbers. The two parties remained thus for a considerable time in battle array, each waiting for the other to depart first. While they were in this position, certain intelligence was brought to the count de St. Pol of the day of combat having been fixed between the dukes of Burgundy and of Gloucester, and that all warfare was to cease until that was over. On this being made public, and because evening was coming on, the English marched away to the duke of Gloucester in Soignies, and the count de St. Pol with his men to Halx and that neighbourhood, where they kept a strict watch.

It is a truth that the greater part of the commonalty of Brabant, who were in the count's army, had been panic-struck, and deserted in great confusion, leaving suits of armour without number, carts, cars, and all their warlike instruments dispersed over the fields, although they were, as I said before, from thirty to forty thousand men,—so that very few remained with their commander and other captains, and it was not their fault that they did not on that day receive much loss and disgrace.

The town and castle of Guise was by treaty to have been surrendered on the first day of March: but sir John de Luxembourg practised so successfully with John de Proisy, the governor, that they were yielded up to him on the 26th of February, without waiting for the appointed day. In like manner he gained possession of the fortress of Irechon. He was, by this means, obeyed throughout the whole county of Guise, to the great displeasure of Réné d'Anjou, duke of Bar, to whom this county belonged as its true lord. Those who had assembled to be present at the surrender on the first of March, as well English as Picards, hearing what had passed, returned to their quarters. Sir John de Luxembourg gave liberty to the hostages, and passports for them to go whither they pleased. He also appointed sir Daviod de Poix governor of Guise.

When the count Philip de St. Pol and the Brabant nobles were returned to Brussels, and the Picards quartered on the borders of Hainault, the duke of Gloucester retreated with his duchess and army from Soignies to Mons, where he met the countess-dowager of Hainault. Having conferred with her and some of the nobility, it was determined that he and his English should return to England, to prepare himself for the combat that was to take place with the duke of Burgundy. When he was on the point of his departure, his mother-in-law, the countess of Hainault, and the nobles and deputies from the principal towns, requested that he would leave the duchess Jacqueline, whom he called his wife, and their lady behind. This he assented to, on condition that they would solemnly swear to him that they would guard and defend her against all who might attempt to injure her; and more especially the burghers and inhabitants of Mons were to take this oath, as she intended to reside within that town.

The duke and duchess of Gloucester now separated with many tears and lamentations; and he departed with from four to five thousand English combatants for St. Gillart, and thence to Yvins near Bohain, where he lay the first night: he then continued his route by Vy, and after some days arrived at Calais; but in all the countries through which he passed he committed no waste, but paid for all his provision very peaceably. He carried with him to England Eleanor de Cobham, whom he had brought with him as companion to the duchess Jacqueline, and was afterwards married to her.

Toward the end of this year king Charles sent ambassadors to the court of Rome, the principal of whom was the bishop of Leon in Brittany, who offered, in the king's name, his submission to pope Martin, the which was very graciously received.

CHAPTER XXX.—POPE MARTIN SENDS HIS BULL TO DUKE JOHN OF BRABANT.—ITS CONTENTS.

In the beginning of this year, copies of a letter, in the manner of a bull, from pope Martin to duke John of Brabant, were published throughout the duke's dominions, the tenor of which was as follows:

"Martin, bishop, and servant to the servants of God, to our dear son John duke of Brabant health and benediction. Whereas there has lately come to our knowledge from persons worthy of belief what is very displeasing to us, namely, that certain papers have been divulged and publicly read, as coming from us, and in our name, by way of bull, in divers parts of Hainault, and in the bishoprics of Utrecht, Liege and Cambray, purporting (as it has been affirmed to us), that we have confirmed the marriage-contract between our dear son Humphrey duke of Gloucester, and our dear daughter in Jesus Christ Jacqueline, a noble lady and duchess of Bavaria; and that we have reprobated your marriage with the said duchess, having judged it invalid. Now although such writings have never been issued by us, and have been published to our great scandal and dishonour, we will that the suit respecting this said marriage shall be determined according to the decision of common law.

"And we notify to you, by these presents, that you bear not any malice nor sorrow in your mind, but firmly hold that the papers thus scandalously published do not come from us, but from wicked men not having the fear of God before their eyes, who delight in novelties, falsehoods and dissentions. We will also, that the movers and promoters of such scandal shall, for the honour of us and of the apostolical chair, be punished in a manner adequate to the heinousness of the crime they have committed. For this reason, we have written to our venerable brethren the bishops of Utrecht, Liege and Cambray, and to each of them, apostolical mandates, directing them to read this our letter publicly from their pulpits to the people, to undeceive them relative to the aforesaid scandalous papers, to excommunicate all who shall henceforth read them in their presence, or promulgate them, and also to confine them in their persons until they shall receive further orders on this subject from us.

"Given at Rome, at the church of the Holy Apostles, on the ides of February, in the 8th year of our papacy."

CHAPTER XXXI.—AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, A WAR TAKES PLACE IN HAINAULT.—THE DUCHESS JACQUELINE WRITES TO THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER FOR ASSISTANCE.—THE CONTENTS OF HER LETTER.

Not long after the duke of Gloucester had left Hainault, the men-at-arms of duke John of Brabant and the Picards began an open and severe warfare against the towns in that country under obedience to the duke of Gloucester, as well as on those belonging to the lords of his party, by which the inhabitants were sorely oppressed and the country ruined. To remedy these evils, the countess dowager of Hainault had many conferences with the duke of Burgundy, her nephew, and with the ambassadors from the duke of Brabant at Douay, Lille and Oudenarde, when it was concluded that Hainault should be restored to the government of the duke of Brabant, who was to promise a general amnesty to the inhabitants. The duchess Jacqueline was also to be put under the wardship of the duke of Burgundy, who was to receive a certain sum of money for her establishment, and she was to remain under his guard until the suit pending at the court of Rome should be determined.

While this treaty was negotiating, many of the principal towns revolted from their lady, and placed themselves under the obedience of the dukes of Burgundy and of Brabant, namely, Valenciennes, Condé, Bouchain and some others, so that there remained to her scarcely more than the bare town of Mons, which was nearly blockaded by her enemies, and very small quantities of provision permitted to be carried into the town. The inhabitants, seeing themselves in great danger, were much exasperated against their lady, and told her plainly, that if she did not make peace, they would deliver her into the

hands of the duke of Brabant: at the same time, they imprisoned many of her attendants, some of whom they judicially put to death, as shall be hereafter told.

The duchess Jacqueline, greatly alarmed at this sudden change, and fearing the worst, from what she had witnessed, and from what she had heard from her lady mother, namely, that she was to be put under the wardship of the duke of Burgundy, and carried to Flanders, sent letters in haste, describing her situation, to the duke of Gloucester; but these letters were intercepted, and carried to the duke of Burgundy. Their contents were as follow.

"My very dear and redoubted lord and father, in the most humble of manners in this world, I recommend myself to your kind favour. May it please you to know, my very redoubted lord and father, that I address myself to your glorious power, as the most doleful, most ruined, and most treacherously-deceived woman living; for, my very dear lord, on Sunday the 13th of this present month of June, the deputies of your town of Mons returned, and brought with them a treaty that had been agreed on between our fair cousin of Burgundy and our fair cousin of Brabant, which treaty had been made in the absence and without the knowledge of my mother, as she herself signifies to me, and confirmed by her chaplain master Gerard le Grand. My mother, most redoubted lord, has written to me letters, certifying the above treaty having been made; but that, in regard to it, she knew not how to advise me, for that she was herself doubtful how to act. She desired me, however, to call an assembly of the principal burghers of Mons, and learn from them what aid and advice they were willing to give me.

"Upon this, my sweet lord and father, I went on the morrow to the town-house, and remonstrated with them, that it had been at their request and earnest entreaties that you had left me under their safeguard, and on their oaths that they would be true and loyal subjects, and take especial care of me, so that they should be enabled to give you good accounts on your return,—and these oaths had been taken on the holy sacrament at the altar, and on the sacred evangelists.

"To this my harangue, my dear and honoured lord, they simply replied, that they were not sufficiently strong within the town to defend and guard me; and instantaneously they rose in tumult, saying that my people wanted to murder them; and, my sweet lord, they carried matters so far that, in despite of me, they arrested one of your sergeants, called Maquart, whom they immediately beheaded, and hanged very many who were of your party, and strongly attached to your interest, such as Bardoul de la Porte, his brother Colart, Gilet de la Porte, Jean du Bois, Guillaume de Leur, Sanson your sergeant, Pierre, Baron, Sandart, Daudre and others, to the number of two hundred and fifty of your adherents. They also wished to seize sir Baldwin the treasurer, sir Louis de Montfort, Haulnere, Jean Fresne and Estienne d'Estre; but though they did not succeed, I know not what they intend doing,—for, my very dear lord, they plainly told me, that unless I make peace, they will deliver me into the hands of the duke of Brabant, and that I shall only remain eight days longer in their town, when I shall be forced to go into Flanders, which will be to me the most painful of events; for I very much fear that unless you shall hasten to free me from the hands I am now in, I shall never see you more.

"Alas! my most dear and redoubted father, my whole hope is in your power, seeing, my sweet lord and only delight, that all my sufferings arise from my love to you. I therefore entreat, in the most humble manner possible, and for the love of God, that you would be pleased to have compassion on me and on my affairs; for you must hasten to succour your most doleful creature, if you do not wish to lose her for ever. I have hopes that you will do as I beg, for, dear father, I have never behaved ill to you in my whole life, and so long as I shall live I will never do anything to displease you, but I am ready to die for love of you and your noble person.

"Your government pleases me much, and by my faith, my very redoubted lord and prince, my sole consolation and hope, I beg you will consider, by the love of God and of my lord St. George, the melancholy situation of myself and my affairs more maturely than you have hitherto done, for you seem entirely to have forgotten me. Nothing more do I know at present than that I ought sooner have sent sir Louis de Montfort to you; for he cannot

longer remain here, although he attended me when all the rest deserted me; and he will tell you more particularly all that has happened than I can do in a letter. I entreat, therefore, that you will be a kind lord to him, and send me your good pleasure and commands, which I will most heartily obey. This is known to the blessed Son of God, whom I pray to grant you a long and happy life, and that I may have the great joy of seeing you soon.

"Written in the false and traitorous town of Mons, with a doleful heart, the 6th day of June." The signature below was, "Your sorrowful and well-beloved daughter, suffering great grief by your commands,—your daughter de Quienebourg."

With the above was found another of the following tenor:

"Very dear and well-beloved cousin, I commend myself to you. May it please you to know, that at this present moment, I am grieved at heart from having been wickedly and falsely betrayed, and am so overwhelmed that I cannot write particulars; but if you will have the goodness to make enquiries from our very dear and redoubted lord, he will tell you more than you may wish to hear. I have nothing more to say, but that you retain in hand what you are possessed of, in case my dear lord should come. With regard to what you advise for me to cross the sea, it is now too late. Hasten as fast as you can, with the greatest force you can raise, to deliver me from the hands of the Flemings, for within eight days I shall be given up into their power.

"Very dear and beloved cousin, I pray God to give you a long and happy life. Written in this false and traitorous town of Mons, the 6th day of June. Jacqueline de Quienebourg."

It appears by the above letters, that the duchess was much afraid of going to Flanders.

When the deputies of Mons were returned from their conference with the dukes of Burgundy and of Brabant, it was known that many things had been agreed on contrary to the interest of the countess-dowager of Hainault, and of the duchess Jacqueline her daughter. And on the 13th day of June, Jacqueline, having no means of resistance, departed from the town of Mons, accompanied by the prince of Orange, and other lords commissioned for this purpose by the duke of Burgundy, who conducted her to the town of Ghent, where she was lodged in the ducal palace, and had an establishment suitable to her rank. Duke John of Brabant, according to the treaty, took on him the government of Hainault, whence he ordered all the men-at-arms, and published a general amnesty for all that had passed.

Thus did the inhabitants of Mons deliver their lady and legal princess into the hands of the duke of Burgundy against her will, although they had, a short time before, promised and sworn to the duke of Gloucester that they would guard and defend her against all who should attempt any way to hurt her.

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE DUKES OF BEDFORD AND OF BURGUNDY MEET IN THE TOWN OF DOURLENS.—OTHER MATTERS.

On the vigil of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the duke of Bedford, the regent, accompanied by his duchess, arrived in the town of Corbie, escorted by about eight hundred horsemen. There were with him the bishop of Therouenne, chancellor of France for king Henry, the president of the parliament, and many other noblemen members of the council.

Two days after, the duke of Burgundy came thither to see the regent and his sister, when they gave each other a hearty welcome, particularly on the part of the duke of Burgundy. Soon after, this duke went to Luchen, where his cousin-german the count de St. Pol resided; and on the morrow, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he returned to Dourlens with the count de St. Pol*. He thence conducted the regent and his sister to his castle of Hesdin, where he lodged them and their attendants, and entertained them magnificently. They all remained there for six days, passing the time joyously in feasting, drinking, dancing, hunting, and in divers other amusements. At the end of six days the duke and

* John Hennequin, lord of Haltbourdin, son of Waleran, count de St. Pol, by Agnes de Brie, one of his mistresses. He married Jaqueline de la Tremouille.

duchess of Bedford departed with their attendants, and went from Hesdin to Abbeville, where they staid some time. They thence went to Crotoy, where the duke d'Alençon was prisoner, whom the regent sent for into his presence, and reasoned long to prevail on him to take

Portrait of the Duke of Bedford.—From an illumination in Gough's Bedford Missal.

the oath of allegiance to king Henry of Lancaster, as then he would be released from his confinement, and all his lands and lordships restored to him, adding, that should he refuse to comply, he would run much personal danger. The duke d'Alençon replied, that he was firmly resolved never, during his life, to take any oath contrary to his loyalty to king Charles of France, his true and legal lord. On hearing this answer, the regent ordered him from his presence into confinement, and then passing through the country of Caux, returned to Paris.

During the time the regent was at Hesdin, the bastard de St. Pol and Andrew de Humieres * appeared there with silver rings on their right arms, whereon was painted a sun with its rays. They had put them on as a challenge to the English and their allies, maintaining that duke John of Brabant had a more just right to the government and possession of Hainault and the other territories of Jacqueline of Bavaria, his lady, than the duke of Gloucester. The regent was at first desirous that these rings should be taken from them by some of his men, for he had been given to understand that their wearing them was owing to another quarrel, for which they wanted to fight with the English ; but, in the end, he was well satisfied with them,—and nothing farther was done in the matter.

When the duke of Gloucester was returned to London, he was sharply reprimanded by the council, in presence of the young king Henry, on his expedition into Hainault, and on

* Dreux de Humieres, son of Philip, and brother of Matthew lord de Humieres.

the manner in which he had conducted himself in regard to the duke of Burgundy, the most potent prince of the blood-royal of France: he was much blamed, because they said from such conduct a coolness might arise between the king and the duke, the alliances between them broken, and all their conquests in France lost. The duke of Gloucester was plainly told, that he would not, in this business, have any aid of men or money from the king, which very much dissatisfied him, but, at the moment, he could not remedy it.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE SULTAN OF EGYPT AND SARACENS DETERMINE TO CONQUER THE WHOLE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS.

When the Saracens, whom we have before mentioned, left Cyprus, they waited on the sultan, and, as a sign of their victory, carried with them the head and spurs of the knight whom they had slain with a lance. They proclaimed throughout the town of Cairo that it was the head of the brother to the king of Cyprus, Henry prince of Galilee,—but in this they lied. Nevertheless, the sultan and his courtiers were so much puffed up with this victory, that they resolved to raise so large an army as should destroy the whole kingdom of Cyprus. There was at this time in the town of Damascus a great, powerful, and rich Saracen, who was considered throughout Syria as a saint: he was much reverenced by the sultan, although a cordial friend to the king of Cyprus.

When this holy man heard of the destruction which the six Saracen galleys had done in Cyprus, he went to Cairo, and reproved and blamed the sultan for having thus commenced a war, insomuch that the sultan repented of what he had done, and consented that a peace should be made. To accomplish this purpose the holy Saracen determined to send his son to Cyprus to treat thereof; but, on his arrival in the island, the king would not admit him to his presence, but sent his ministers to inquire into his business. He would not explain the cause of his coming to them, but said, if he could have a personal interview with the king, he would engage that an honourable peace should be made with the sultan. The ministers of the king of Cyprus remonstrated with him on the folly of the sultan in beginning the war, because he would have all Christendom against him. The Saracen replied, that the sultan was perfectly well informed of the state of Christendom; that the king of France, his most mortal enemy, had now so much on his hands that he no way feared him.

After this conversation, he returned to his father in Damascus, and related to him the reception he had met with in Cyprus, and that the king would not even see or hear him. The holy man was so much exasperated against the king of Cyprus, that he became ever after his most mortal enemy, and was continually urging the sultan to make war on Cyprus, declaring there could be no doubt but that he would be victorious over his enemies.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MAKES GREAT PREPARATIONS TO COMBAT THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.—OTHER MATTERS.

The duke of Burgundy lost no time in making his preparations, as well in armour as in housings for his horses, to be ready for the day of combat with the duke of Gloucester. The greater part of his armour he had forged within his castle of Hesdin. He also exercised himself with all diligence, and was very abstemious, the better to strengthen his breath; for in truth he was very impatient for the arrival of the day, that he might combat his enemy, as he well knew that his brother-in-law the regent and his council were endeavouring by all means to procure a reconciliation, and that measures for the same effect were pursuing with the duke of Gloucester in England. In the mean time, the regent ordered the earl of Salisbury to besiege the castle of Rambouillet, in the possession of king Charles's partisans, who at times made excursions even to the gates of Paris, and heavily oppressed the people. The castle held out some time, and then surrendered to the earl, on condition that the garrison should carry away their effects.

About the feast of St. John Baptist, the people of Tournay again rebelled, and gained the

government of the town to rule it as it had formerly been done by one named Passecarte, with another called Blarie and others of low degree, who for their misconduct had been banished the town. The populace, however, with displayed banners, and in arms, brought them back in triumph, and replaced them in their situations contrary to the will of the higher ranks of burghers and the magistrates, some of whom were imprisoned, and in great danger of their lives; but all was after some time appeased.

In this year, the sultan of Egypt required the aid of the king of Tunis to carry on his war against Cyprus, which was granted him. He then collected the largest possible force of armed vessels from all his dependencies, which he victualled and filled with men, and sent them, under the command of one of his admirals, to make a descent on Cyprus near to Famagousta, where, having effected a landing, they overran the country, and committed innumerable mischiefs. At this period the king of Cyprus lay dangerously ill; for which reason he appointed his brother, the prince of Galilee, captain and commander-in-chief of his army. The prince collected the whole force of Cyprus, and advanced to where the Saracens were to offer them combat; but they, having intelligence of his motions, retreated to their vessels.

The prince pursued them; but when near to them he found that the greater part of his vessels had deserted, which forced him to return to Nicosia; and the Saracens relanded, behaving worse than they had done before, so that the country was destroyed wherever they came. After they had gorged themselves with plunder and rapine, they returned to Syria with numbers of Christian prisoners. They carried off with them a gentleman of high renown, called Ragonnet de Picul, who had been taken in the large tower of Lymissa, and presented him to the sultan, for he had defended himself like a man of valour.

The sultan attempted strongly to persuade him to renounce the religion of Jesus Christ, promising to make him a great lord if he would do so; but he would never listen to such proposals, and even in the presence of the sultan contemned the doctrines of Mohammed, which so much exasperated the sultan, that he caused his body to be sawn in twain. It was afterward assured for truth, by many persons worthy of belief, that on the spot where he had been buried they saw a crown of fire descend from heaven to earth, and repose on the aforesaid grave.

When the earl of Salisbury had conquered the castle of Rambouillet, he went to lay siege to the town of Mans St. Julien. Having surrounded it, he was some time combating the garrison with his engines of war; but the inhabitants, despairing of succour, offered to capitulate.

The bishop and other churchmen waited on the earl, and with all humility besought him to take pity on them, to avoid further effusion of Christian blood. The earl inclined to their prayers, and concluded a treaty, that if within eight days they were not relieved by king Charles's party, they were to surrender the town, with all its artillery, arms and stores, and to swear allegiance to king Henry. In return, they were to enjoy all their effects unmolested. Upon this they gave sufficient hostages for their due performance of the above; and as they were not succoured by any one, they delivered the town up to the earl of Salisbury, who, after placing a new garrison within it, returned to the duke of Bedford at Rouen.

CHAPTER XXXV. — THE DUCHESS JACQUELINE OF BAVARIA ESCAPES IN DISGUISE FROM GHENT, AND GOES TO HOLLAND.

The duchess Jacqueline, finding her confinement in Ghent very irksome, began about the beginning of September to look for means of escape. One evening, when her guards were at supper, she dressed herself in man's clothes, as did one of her women, and quitting her apartments unobserved, they mounted horses which were waiting for them, and, escorted by two men, rode off full gallop from Ghent to Antwerp, where she reassumed her female dress, and thence proceeded on a car to Breda, and to la Garide*, where she was honourably received, and obeyed as their princess.

* La Garide. Q. if not meant for Gertruydenberg?

She there ordered the lord de Montfort, her principal adviser, to meet her, and many of the noble barons of Holland, to take council with them on the state of her affairs. Knowledge of this event was soon carried to the duke of Burgundy, who was much troubled thereat, and sent in haste for men-at-arms from all quarters; he collected numerous vessels to pursue the duchess into Holland, whither he also went in person. On his arrival in Holland, many of the principal towns opened their gates to him, such as Haerlem, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and some others. Then began a serious war between the duke of Burgundy and the duchess Jacqueline of Bavaria, his cousin-german.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD PREVENTS THE COMBAT BETWEEN THE DUKES OF BURGUNDY AND GLOUCESTER.—OTHER EVENTS.

In the month of September, the duke of Bedford, who styled himself regent of France, assembled in the city of Paris many of the nobles of France, some learned men from the three estates, and the ambassadors from England, to consider on the combat that had been declared between the dukes of Burgundy and of Gloucester. Having for several days discussed the origin of this quarrel, and all matters appertaining thereto in council, it was concluded, after mature deliberation, that there was no cause for a combat; and, although a day had been fixed for it to take place, it was annulled; and it was declared that neither party was bound to make any satisfaction to the other. There were present at this meeting, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, the bishop of Tournay; from the duke of Gloucester the bishop of London; each of them attended by some of their lord's council.

On the 17th of this same month, the marriage between Charles de Bourbon count de Clermont, son and heir to the duke of Bourbon, a prisoner in England, and Agnes, sister to the duke of Burgundy, was solemnly celebrated in the city of Autun. The duchess-dowager of Burgundy, sister to the duke de Bourbon, was present at the ceremony and feasts; and, when they were finished, she returned to Dijon, where she suddenly departed this life, and was buried in the church of the Carthusians, without the walls of Dijon, being followed to the grave by the universal sorrow and lamentations of the Burgundians, who loved her much; for she was a good and pious lady toward God and man.

In this year, an embassy was sent to the holy father in Rome from the two kingdoms of France and England, consisting of the abbot of Orcamp and two knights from France, and of the abbot of Beaulieu and two knights from England, to summon the pope (in like manner as had been done previously to the last general council held at Constance) to convoke a council to perfect and accomplish those things that had been left unfinished at the last council, notifying to him, at the same time, that he had too long delayed this, which was hurtful to the universal church.

In this year, a great quarrel took place in England between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester*. The cause of this discord arose from the duke wishing to have the government of his nephew the young king, who had been by his father king Henry given in wardship to the cardinal. The cardinal, overpowered by force, was constrained to take refuge from the duke of Gloucester, in the tower of London, where he remained six days, without daring to venture abroad, for eight or ten of his people had been slain. At length peace was made between them; and the parliament was assembled to take cognizance of their dispute. During its sitting, the young king Henry was frequently brought thither, and seated on the royal throne; the earl-marshal† was then created a duke. This parliament lasted a considerable time, in which many weighty matters were discussed, relative to affairs in France as well as in England.

In the month of December the duke and duchess of Bedford, attended by about five hundred combatants, left Paris for Amiens, where they stayed some days. While the duke was at Amiens, there were in that neighbourhood about a thousand pillagers, well mounted,

* Henry, second son of John duke of Lancaster, and brother of John earl of Somerset and Thomas duke of Exeter, called Cardinal Beaufort.

† Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk

under the command of one Sauvage de Fermanville, who was not in favour with the regent. Sauvage was quartered at Esclusiers, near Peronne, and hearing that the duke was to leave Amiens for Dourlens, lightly accompanied, was in hopes of taking him by surprise, and to this effect he marched his men from Esclusiers, and hastily advanced to Beauquesne, where he halted; but the duke had passed by, and was lodged in Dourlens, and thence went to Calais, by St. Pol and Therouenne. He embarked from Calais to England, whither he went to reprimand and check his brother Humphrey of Gloucester, for his conduct toward the duke of Burgundy. When the duke of Bedford learned the intentions of Sauvage de Fermanville he was very indignant, and so managed that some time afterward he was severely punished, as you shall hear, for this and others of his evil deeds.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—THE LORD FITZWALTER ARRIVES IN HOLLAND TO THE AID OF THE DUCHESS JACQUELINE.

While the duke of Burgundy was carrying on a deadly warfare in Holland against his cousin the duchess Jacqueline, about five hundred English, all picked men, arrived at Zuricksee in Zealand, under the command of the lord Fitzwalter *, calling himself lieutenant for the duke of Gloucester in the countries of Holland and Zealand. This body of men advanced toward the duchess to aid her to support the war.

The duke of Burgundy was at Leyden when he heard of the landing of this reinforcement; he departed thence with about four thousand combatants, whom he had assembled from his different territories, and marched to Rotterdam, where he embarked with the intent to meet the English and offer them battle. In the mean time, a party of Burgundians, falling in with them, were defeated, slain, or made prisoners by the English. The duke having had intelligence that his enemies, Dutch, Zealanders, and English, amounted to from two to three thousand combatants, and were at the port of *Branvers*† *en une aduene*, he marched thither, and made so successful an attack on them that they were soon discomfited. From seven to eight hundred of his enemies lay dead on the field; the rest fled in great confusion toward the sea-shore, and great part saved themselves on board their vessels. Among those who escaped were the lord Fitzwalter and the lord de Hentredée. On the part of the duke of Burgundy, the only man of note that was killed, was sir Andrew de Valines; Robert de Brimeu was carried away so badly wounded that he died thereof. After this victory, the duke collected his men around him, and most humbly returned thanks to his Creator for the fortunate issue of the day. Having strengthened the garrisons of those towns under his obedience, he returned to Flanders to collect reinforcements to carry on his war in Holland against the duchess with greater vigour.

On the duke of Burgundy's leaving Holland, the duchess Jacqueline assembled a large force, and led it before Haerlem, which she closely blockaded. The captains for the duke within the town were the damoiseau Ysambergue and sir Roland de Hultquerre knight, with a sufficient garrison. During the siege, sir John de Hultquerre, son to sir Roland, assembled in haste a body of men, from seven to eight hundred of nobles and common people, from Flanders, whom he conducted into Holland by forced marches to succour his father; but his intentions were known to the duchess, who detached a force to meet him; and he was found near the sea with his men in great disorder, so that when attacked, he was speedily routed; the greater part were made prisoners, and the others escaped with sir John de Hultquerre. The duchess was delighted with her victory, but cruelly caused the prisoners to be put to death; and after this, from fear of the arrival of the duke of Burgundy, who was raising an immense army in Flanders and Artois, she raised the siege of Haerlem.

In this year the earl of Salisbury besieged the castle of Moyennes in Champagne, which was beyond measure strong and well garrisoned with men-at-arms. During the siege there

* Walter Fitzwalter, fifth in descent from the great baron Fitzwalter of king John's days. He was made prisoner at the battle of Baugé.

† Branvers. Q. Brouvershaven?

were many severe skirmishes on each side. In one of them Valerien de Bournouville, brother to sir Lyonnel de Bournouville, was slain by a lance passing through his body. However, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the garrison, from the length of the siege, they were forced to capitulate, with liberty to depart with their baggage and effects. The castle was afterward razed to the ground.

When the duke of Burgundy was in Flanders, he had many conferences with his cousin the duke of Brabant and his council, respecting the affairs of Holland. Many great lords there joined him, and a noble chivalry from Burgundy under the command of the prince of Orange. With these, and a large body of Picards and Flemings, the duke returned to Holland about mid-Lent, and renewed his war more earnestly than before against the duchess Jacqueline and her adherents. Although several of the principal towns soon surrendered to him, the duchess collected about four thousand combatants, and led them to the town of Horn, on the borders of Frizeland, to conquer it by surprise. Within the place was the lord de l'Isle-Adam, the bastard de St. Pol, and about five hundred combatants, who with great gallantry sallied out against the enemy, and fought them with such determined courage that they conquered and put them to flight.

Four hundred were left dead on the field, and the numbers of the wounded were very great indeed. On the part of the duke of Burgundy were slain the bastard de la Viefville and about ten archers; and in consequence of this defeat, the greater part of Holland submitted to him. There were very many severe rencounters between the two parties in Holland, but it would be too tedious to relate them in detail: suffice it to say, that in general the success of them was against the duchess Jacqueline,—for the duke's men had been long experienced in arms, and were expert in war: add to this, he had plenty of archers, to whose mode of fighting the Hollanders had not been accustomed.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RETURNS TO HOLLAND, AND BESIEGES THE TOWN OF ZENEUBERCHE*, WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM.—OTHER MATTERS.

[A. D. 1426.]

At the beginning of this year, the duke of Burgundy assembled a great body of men-at-arms from his countries of Flanders, Artois and Burgundy, whom, after he had finished his preparations, he led into Holland, to the attack of a strong town called Zeneuberche, which, with its lord, had supported the party of the duchess Jacqueline of Bavaria, and, in consequence, had carried on a severe warfare by sea and land against the friends of the duke of Burgundy. The town was surrounded on all sides, and vigorously attacked; but the lord of it had a numerous garrison, with whom he for a considerable time made a gallant defence,—but at length the lord de Zeneuberche was forced to capitulate, and on the hard terms that he should surrender the town, its inhabitants and dependancies, to the duke, and also that he and all the gentlemen with him should yield themselves up to the will of the duke, on having their lives spared, and promise to remain prisoners on their parole, in any place whithersoever he might please to order them.

The whole of the stores in the town and castle were given up to the duke, as well as the shipping: the foreign soldiers were allowed to march away, on taking an oath that they would never make war on any of the territories of the duke of Burgundy. All the prisoners of the duke's party were set at liberty, among whom were, the lord de Moyencourt, the damoiseau d'Ercle, and others. The burghers and inhabitants of the town took the oaths of allegiance to the duke, or to his commissioners,—and on paying a certain sum of money they remained in peace. Thus was the lord de Zeneuberche deprived of his town and fortune, and, in addition, carried to Lille. The duke, having regarrisoned the place with his own men, marched his army back to Flanders and Artois; but the lord de Humbercourt, sir Manfroy de St. Leger, and some others, died of an epidemical disorder in their march home.

* Zeneuberche. Q. Nieuverkerk?

The duke of Bedford, after a residence of eight months in England with his duchess, returned to Calais, escorted by three thousand combatants, and thence to Paris, where he remained some time, to regulate the affairs of France. He thence went to Lille, where he and his duchess were joyfully received by the duke of Burgundy. They had many conferences together on the subject of the dissentions between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester; but as the regent could not any way succeed in bringing about a pacification, he returned to Paris.

In these days, the duke of Gloucester, on the departure of his brother, the duke of Bedford, for France, issued his summonses for the raising a large force to succour the duchess Jacqueline in Holland, whom he called his wife. The earl of Salisbury and many other great lords had connected themselves with him, in opposition to the duke of Burgundy; but the duke of Bedford, hearing of these movements, sent in haste ambassadors to his brother of Gloucester, who prevailed on him to give up his intentions, on the conclusion of a truce for a certain period, in the hope that, in the course of time, peace might be made between them. The abbot of Orcamp and master John le Duc were the ambassadors on this occasion.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—THE SARACENS RETURN TO CYPRUS.—A BATTLE BETWEEN THEM AND THE CYPRIOTS, IN WHICH THE KING IS MADE PRISONER, AND CARRIED TO THE SULTAN

About this period, many knights and esquires arrived at Cyprus, in consequence of the king of Cyprus's solicitations to oppose the Saracens, who were daily expected to return thither. The king collected all the forces within the island, whom he provided with lodging, food, and money, as well as he could, according to their different ranks. While they were thus expecting the Saracens, his army, which was collected from various nations, mutinied, so that the king had much difficulty to keep peace among them, and knew not whom to appoint as commander-in-chief, who would be agreeable to them. During these dissentions, the Saracens came before Cyprus in prodigious numbers, and landed at Lymeson: they besieged the great tower, and, notwithstanding it had been much strengthened, and was full of men-at-arms, they took it by storm, and killed the governor, Estienne de Buyserse, and all his men.

The king, hearing of this, assembled his council, and demanded what measures he should pursue. The greater part proposed that he should remain in the town of Nicosia, saying that a country wasted was better than a country lost; but all the foreigners were of a contrary opinion, and advised him to march his army into the plain, and combat boldly an enemy who was destroying his kingdom, and putting to death his subjects. The king, on this, determined to march his army to meet the Saracens; and on the second day after, when he was mounted, his horse, at the first step, fell on its knees to the ground. The prince of Galilee also, his brother, let his sword fall out of the scabbard on the earth: many persons thought these such omens of ill success, that they had but little hopes of victory.

This day the king advanced three leagues, and fixed his quarters at a very beautiful spot called Beaulieu. On the Saturday following, for on the Thursday he had taken the field, he marched in handsome array to a town called Citolye*. On the ensuing Sunday, the 6th day of July, after the king had attended mass, and was seated at table, and while he and his army were at dinner, a great smoke was seen in different parts not far distant, and intelligence was brought that the Saracens were advancing against him. The commander of Cyprus, with some of the knights of Rhodes, the lord de Varemboulais, and several gentlemen from France, hearing this, requested the king's permission to go and reconnoitre the enemy. It was very unwillingly granted. They advanced so far that they fell in with the Saracens, with whom they skirmished, and killed a few; but numbers were so much against them that they could not longer resist, and, leaving nearly thirty dead behind them, retreated

* Citolye. Q Chiti.

as well as they could to their army, which they met, with the king, advancing at a quick pace.

The king of Cyprus marched his army without much order for some time, and at last came in sight of the Saracens near to a town called Domy. He had near him his brother the prince of Galilee, the constable of Jerusalem, two German counts, and the flower of his own chivalry. The king charged the Saracens very gallantly and rapidly, insomuch that at the onset they suffered much; but fortune seemed unwilling to continue her favours, for the king's horse fell under him to the ground and burst the girths of the saddle; so that when the king was remounted, and engaged in the combat, the saddle turned, and he fell to the ground: the horse galloped off, and necessity forced him to mount a small horse of one of his esquires, named Anthony Kaire, for the boys had fled for fear with all the war-horses. By reason of this accident, most of the Cypriots believed their king was killed, and were panic-struck. The Saracens were beginning to retreat toward the coast, but, observing some disorder in the enemy's army, recovered their courage, and with their main body charged the Christians with such vigour that the king was obliged to retire to Citolye, whence he had departed; but when almost close to it, he was surrounded by the Saracens, and his entrance cut off.

The Christians were now discomfited, and began to fly on all sides as fast as they could. The king retired to an eminence, alway attended by his brother the prince of Galilee, who said to him, "My lord, you see clearly that your men are flying, and that all resistance against the enemy is vain: deign, therefore, to save yourself, and take compassion on your kingdom, for should you be made prisoner we shall all be ruined. Take with you therefore some of your most faithful servants, and retire to a place of safety. In the mean time, I will remain here with the banners until I shall be sure that you have escaped, and will then save myself in the manner God shall be pleased to point out to me." The king, on hearing these words, looked with much tenderness on his brother, and replied, "Fair brother, God forbid that I should separate myself from you: go, and comfort and rally my people, and urge them to the assistance of their natural lord and sovereign in his distress."

The prince of Galilee departed, but was met by a large body of Saracens, by whom, after displaying acts of valour worthy of a prince, he was slain and left dead on the field. On the other hand, the king was so hardly pressed that, finding himself abandoned by his men, he descended the eminence and made for a small valley; but he was pursued, wounded in four places, and at length struck off his horse. The Saracens, ignorant that it was the king, rushed on him from all quarters to put him to death, when a knight from Catalonia, called sir Galeran Savary, throwing himself over the king's body, cried out, in the Syrian language, "It is the king! it is the king!" upon which a Saracen captain made a sign with his hand, when all around dropped their swords to the ground, and the captain thrust his own into the scabbard. He then advanced to the king, took him by the hand, and, addressing him in Greek, said, that it had pleased God to deliver him into the hands and power of the sultan. "You will come before him; but take comfort, for I have the greatest hopes that he will be a good friend to you." The Catalonian knight was made prisoner with the king; for his life was spared on account of the great courage he had displayed.

Thus was the king of Cyprus made captive by the Saracens, who fastened a chain round his neck; and shortly after, a body of Saracen infantry came up, who wanted, by all means, to put the king to death; but God, from his kind mercy, saved him, for he was a man of great charity, and of a pious life toward his God.

The army of Cyprus, after its defeat, saved itself as well as it could, and the greater part fled to the mountains: there remained dead on the field from sixteen to seventeen hundred. The Saracens carried the king to the coast, where their shipping lay, and put him under a strong guard. There were in this battle two counts from Germany, namely, the count de Humberche, and the count de Noorch, protector of Cologne, with a certain number of their vassals. There were also from Savoy, the lord de Varembon, and sir John de Champaigns lord de Gruffy,—and all these gentlemen escaped death and imprisonment.

When the news of this defeat and capture of the king was known throughout Cyprus, sir

Gilles de Lusignan, brother to the king and archbishop of Nicosia, sir James de Caffran, marshal of Cyprus, who had remained as guard to the royal children, were much troubled at these melancholy events; and about midnight of this same Sunday they left the city of Nicosia, carrying with them the king's sister and his children to the castle of Cerines, on the sea-coast, about five leagues distant from Nicosia, where they remained until the king's return. On the morrow, Monday, the commonalty of the town hastened to the palace to learn some news of the king; but finding no one to speak with, they returned home, and taking their wives, children, and effects, quitted the town, leaving the whole abandoned to old beggars and blind men. Some of them fled to Famagousta, others to Cerines, to divers towns, or to the mountains, so that it was a piteous spectacle.

On the second day after the battle, the chief of the Saracens marched his army to Nicosia, which he found abandoned. He was lodged in the royal palace, and caused a proclamation to be instantly issued for all the inhabitants to return to their houses and occupations, on promise of not being disturbed, or any way molested. In consequence of this proclamation, from ten to twelve thousand persons returned to the city.

The king of Cyprus and the grand master of Rhodes had at this time a considerable fleet at sea, on board of which were, the bastard of Burgundy, brother to duke Philip, the lord de Roubaix, and many other great lords from divers countries, very impatient to combat the Saracens; but they never could have a favourable wind to carry them near the infidels. The bastard of Burgundy had arrived at Baffa, in hopes of being present at the battle in which the king was captured; but hearing of the unfortunate issue of that day, he and his men returned, and embarked again on board of the fleet. At length the Christians had a favourable wind, which brought them in a short time within sight of the enemy's fleet. The commander of the Saracens was then on board, and, seeing the Christians so numerous, sent messengers in haste to the governor of Nicosia, ordering him, on pain of being reputed a traitor, to return with his men to his ship without delay. This order he obeyed, but not until he had plundered the city of all that he could, and reduced the inhabitants to poverty. He also set fire to the royal palace, and to several other parts of the town; and then marched for Salina, where the Saracen fleet lay. On their march, they forcibly took many children from the breasts of their mothers, and flung them on thorns among the hedges, and then stoned them to death.

On the other hand, the Saracens, who had the guard of the king of Cyprus, made him write letters to the admiral of the Christian fleet, containing in substance that he must be careful not to do any damage to the Saracen ships, if he valued the life of the king. Sir Galeran Savary was the bearer of these letters, in a small galliot. The admiral obeyed these orders, which, according to the opinions of many, he ought not to have done; but there was a good deal of fighting between the vessels before these orders arrived, particularly by the bowmen, in which there were very many killed and wounded.

At this affair, Guy, bastard of Burgundy, brother to duke Philip, Simon de Lan, Robert lord de Rebecque, and others from different countries, were made knights, although no vessel was taken on either side, but one having pilgrims on board, as shall be now mentioned. While the fleets were drawing up against each other, a ship, filled with pilgrims eager to acquire honour, concluding for certain that, as the Christian fleet was in sight of the Saracens, a combat must ensue, advanced so near that of the infidels that they could not put back; and notwithstanding succour was instantly sent them, and that they were in sight of the king of Cyprus, they were all hacked to pieces, as butchers would chop meat in a market, excepting a very few who were detained prisoners. Some days after, the Saracen fleet, having the king o. Cyprus on board, sailed for Egypt.

On the arrival of the Saracens in Egypt, they conducted the king of Cyprus to Cairo, to the sultan of Babylon *, and the other Christian prisoners chained two-and-two like beasts. They dragged after them the banner of the holy Virgin reversed on the ground, and then followed the king mounted on a small mule without saddle, and bound with chains. In this manner were they led into the presence of the sultan of Babylon, and constrained to bow

* Cairo was by the crusaders termed Babylon, but some confusion of ideas appears here, and Monstrelet seems to have confounded the title Babylon with some other city, since he mentions Cairo in the same sentence.—Ed.

their heads nine times to the very ground, kissing it each time. When they arrived in front of the sultan, who was seated in great pomp in a high gallery, he kept them a full hour in his presence, and then had them conducted to a tower for their prison so long as he should stay in Cairo, where the sultan was served royally and abundantly with all sorts of provision, excepting wine; but this was secretly supplied to him by Christian merchants. The other Cypriot prisoners were confined in divers places.

While the king of Cyprus thus remained prisoner to the sultan of Babylon in Cairo, the archbishop of Nicosia, brother to the king, sent for sir Peter de Lusignan, constable of Jerusalem, and resigned to him the government of the island of Cyprus. He was no sooner in the possession thereof, than he executed rigorous justice by punishing all who, in these times of tribulation, had attempted to revolt. Shortly after, the archbishop returned to Nicosia, which by degrees was repeopled.

In the course of time, a Genoese merchant, named Benedict Percussin, moved by compassion, required of the regency at Cyprus that he might be sent to Cairo, for that he had great hopes of obtaining the king's liberty. He was accordingly sent thither, and was so successful with the sultan that he ransomed the king of Cyprus for two hundred thousand ducats, and on condition that he would also pay an annual tribute to the sultans of Babylon of five thousand ducats. Thus was peace made between the sultan and the king of Cyprus; and on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, the latter was delivered from chains. After this, the sultan frequently sought opportunities of conversing with him, and put different questions by way of tempting him to abandon the Christian faith; but the king made such sagacious and prudent answers, that the sultan, not knowing how to reply, ordered him refreshments of all sorts, and then dismissed him; for, on the ransom being agreed on, the sultan had him taken from his prison, and lodged in the town.

The king was often permitted to make excursions into the country for his amusement, well mounted, but always attended by some of the Saracens. When part of his ransom was paid, and security accepted for the remainder, on Palm Sunday he had his full liberty, and embarked on board a galley in the port of Alexandria. In company with the admiral of Rhodes, he disembarked at Cerines, where he was met by his sister, his children, and all the nobles and gentlemen of the island, who most reverently and humbly gave thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ for his safe return.

Some days afterward he left Cerines, and went to Nicosia, where he was joyfully received by his subjects, and was lodged at the mansion of the constable of Jerusalem, wherein he ever after remained, because his own palace had been burnt and destroyed by the Saracens. After the death of his queen, Charlotte, he never remarried; nor, as his attendants firmly believed, had he connexion with any other woman: he lived after this for a considerable length of time.

CHAPTER XL.—THE CASTLE OF MOYENNES, IN CHAMPAGNE, SURPRISED BY THE FRENCH.—THE POPE GIVES SENTENCE IN FAVOUR OF THE DUKE OF BRABANT.—THE FORTRESS OF ORIPECTE, IN PROVENCE, WON BY TREACHERY.

In these days, the castle of Moyennes, in Champagne, was surprised by a party from king Charles, through the treachery of an Englishman of the garrison. It was, however, instantly besieged by the earl of Salisbury, who remained so long before it that it was forced to surrender. The French within it were allowed to depart in safety; but those who had been attached to the English and Burgundian party were punished with death; and among them was a gentleman called Gilles de Clary. Sir John de Luxembourg was present at the surrender; and when the walls had been completely demolished, he returned to his castle of Beaurevoir.

The pope this year published his definitive sentence in the suit of the duke of Brabant, by which he declared that the marriage between the duke of Gloucester and Jacqueline duchess of Bavaria was null and void; and that if the duke of Brabant should die, the said duke of Gloucester and the duchess Jacqueline could not be legally married to each other.

The duke of Gloucester, on being informed of this sentence of the pope, took to wife a

woman of low degree compared with his rank, named Eleanor Cobham*, of whom mention has been before made. The duke had for some time lived with her as his mistress; and her character was not spotless in regard to her connexions with others beside the duke. This created much wonder in France and in England, considering that the duke did not act conformably to the blood he sprung from.

At this period sir John Blondel, accompanied by John Blondel, his cousin-german, and eight others his companions in arms, by means of the chaplain, gained the fortress of Oripecte in Provence, of which John Cadart was governor, and made him prisoner, expecting to receive a large sum for his ransom. News of this was soon spread over the country, and the place was so expeditiously and strongly besieged, that those who had won it were glad to be allowed to depart in safety, and without carrying away anything. Notwithstanding this treaty, on their marching out, John Blondel was slain by the peasants, and the chaplain who had done the treason was beheaded.

CHAPTER XLI.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD LAYS SIEGE TO MONTARGIS.—THE SIEGE IS RAISED BY THE FRENCH.—OTHER EVENTS BRIEFLY TOUCHED ON.

This year, the duke of Bedford, who styled himself regent of France for king Henry, had the town and castle of Montargis besieged by the earls of Warwick and Suffolk. With them were the lord de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, sir Henry Bisset, and other captains, having under them three thousand combatants.

The town was so situated that it required three different sieges, which could with difficulty afford assistance to each other: however, the English formed lodgments all around it and fortified them. The earl of Warwick was quartered in a nunnery on one side of the town. They soon threw bridges over different parts of the river to serve for communications between their quarters. Having done this, they made vigorous approaches toward the town, which they damaged very much by their cannon and engines of war. The besieged made so good a defence, that the business was continued for more than two months, during which time they sent notice to king Charles that, unless speedy succours were afforded them, they must surrender to his enemies. The king, hearing this, assembled his council, when it was resolved to raise the siege, or at least to throw reinforcements of men and provision into the place. This was attempted, but without effect. An assembly of men-at-arms was then ordered by king Charles at Orleans, and the command of them given by the king to the count de Dunois, bastard of Orleans. He had with him sir William d'Albreth† lord d'Orval, the lords de Graville, de Villag, de Gaucourt, Estienne Vignolles, surnamed La Hire, sir Gilles de St. Simon, Gaultier Boussart, and many other captains, amounting to sixteen hundred combatants, all men of tried courage. They commenced their march with a large train of forage-carts, intending only to revictual the town, and not to raise the siege.

When they were arrived within half a league of the enemy's camp, they held a council as secretly as they could, and determined to attack the nearest quarters of the English. They had some of the garrison of Montargis with them as guides,—and in the number was one called le Petit Breton. La Hire was appointed leader of one of the parties, and fell on the English quarters with great courage, shouting, "Montjoye St. Denis!" The English were quite unprepared,—and their camp was soon on fire in various parts,—and much slaughter was committed near to where the lord de la Pole was lodged: indeed the whole of that part was defeated, and the lord de la Pole escaped with eight others in a small boat. The garrison of the town had dammed up the river so high that the bridges the English had made were overflowed, and most of them who attempted to escape over them fell into the water and were drowned.

The bastard of Orleans, while this was going forward, made a vigorous attack on the quarters of sir Henry Bisset: he had dismounted, and began to be hard pressed, when those who had destroyed the lord de la Pole's quarters opportunely came to his support, for the

* She was third daughter to Reginald lord Cobham, who died 24 Hen. VI.

† William, second son of the constable d'Albreth, lord of Orval.

lord de Graville had been wounded. The English, finding that fortune was against them, began to retreat toward the quarters of the earl of Warwick; but crossing a bridge in haste, and too many at once, it broke down with their weight, and great numbers lost their lives. Add to this, that the garrison made a well-timed sally to assist their friends, and killed great numbers and made many prisoners.

In the mean time, the earl of Warwick assembled his men around him as speedily as he could; but when he perceived the greatness of his loss, for from one thousand to fifteen hundred had been slain, drowned, or taken, he formed his men in order of battle, and thus retreated to a small eminence, covered with vineyards, above his quarters. The French, who had fought hard and were fatigued, entered Montargis. When night came on, the English collected their men together, the greater part of whom were now on foot, and retreated to castle Landonin Nemours, and to other places under their dominion. The French remained in Montargis, making good and hearty cheer, being rejoiced that with the aid of God they had accomplished the purpose they had been sent on. They afterward returned to king Charles of France, who received them most graciously.

In this year, duke John of Brabant, after a very severe illness, departed this life in his castle of Leneure*, repeating most devoutly, "Miserere mei, Deus," &c. He was buried in the chapel of this castle, near to the body of his father. On his decease, his brother Philip count de Ligny and de St. Pol took possession of all his territories. Thus was the duchess Jacqueline deprived of her two husbands,—for, as I have before said, the duke of Gloucester had married another woman, and the duke of Brabant was dead. During the life of the duke of Brabant, a person named John Chevalier had engaged, at the request as it was said of the countess-dowager of Hainault, to put an iron collar round the duke's neck, for which this chevalier was arrested at Brussels and beheaded.

At the same time, the fortress of Escandeur, near to Cambray, was put into the hands of sir John de Luxembourg, with the consent of the duke of Burgundy, and was the cause why sir Louis, bastard brother to the duchess Jacqueline, to whom it had belonged, carried war and tribulation through that country in fighting the battles of his sister, but he lost his inheritance for so doing.

In these days a terrible combat took place near to Mont St. Michel, between the English who had possession of Mont de Hellem† on the one side, and the French and Bretons on the other; but in the end the French were victorious, having killed or put to flight the English and consequently gained the castle.

CHAPTER XLII.—THE CASTLE OF MALMAISON, BELONGING TO THE BISHOP OF CAMBRAY, IS TAKEN BY SIR JOHN BLONDEL.—OTHER EVENTS.

[A. D. 1427.]

In the beginning of this year, the fortress of Malmaison, situated two leagues from the castle of Cambresis, belonging to Jean de Lens, lord of Liéequerque and bishop of Cambray, in right of his bishopric, was surprised by sir John Blondel of king Charles's party, accompanied by a few men. The governor for the bishop was a fair esquire, called Walter de Baillon, whom they caught in bed. Sir John Blondel, having traversed the ditches, though full of water, scaled the walls by means of ladders, and entering the lower court, seized the guard, and his troops posted themselves in ambuscade near the bridge of the dungeon. In the morning, when the porter lowered the drawbridge, they rushed upon him with drawn swords, and put him to death; after which, they entered without further opposition, although it was the strongest of all the forts in that country.

The adjacent parts were greatly alarmed at this conquest, even those within the castle of Cambresis; and the bishop of Cambray, being then there, was much surprised how and by

* Leneure. The annotations at the beginning of the volume, French edition, suppose it to be Geneppe or Gueneppe, a summer residence of the dukes of Brabant, whither Louis XI. when dauphin, fled to, and resided at during his stay in Brabant. [Buchon, in his recent edition, substitutes Genappe for Leneure, but without any comment.—Ed.]

† Mont de Hellem must be Tombelaine (probably a corruption of *Tombe d'Heléne*), a small rock near to Mont St. Michel.

whom it could have been taken, for at that time the whole country was at peace. The bishop, however, sent some of his people and the inhabitants of Cambresis to Malmaison, to learn who had done this, and by what means. On their arrival, they had a parley with those who had taken it; but they, through mischief, replied by shouting the war-cries of Burgundy and Luxembourg, and those who had come thither returned to Château Cambresis. Sir John Blondel, having soon provided himself with provision, stores, and men in abundance, began to make inroads on the country of Cambresis, and the parts adjoining, committing irreparable injuries, and in some of these he was joined by parties attached to the duke of Burgundy and sir John de Luxembourg. In the mean time, the bishop sent to the duke of Burgundy, to know if it had been with his consent that his castle had been taken. The duke replied, that so far from having consented, he would send him such assistance that his castle should be restored to him.

Some time after the decease of duke John of Brabant, a grand assembly of the nobility was held at Valenciennes, at which were present the duke of Burgundy, the counts de Namur, de Penthievre, and de Conversan, the prince of Orange, sir John de Luxembourg, the bishops of Tournay and of Arras, with many other churchmen, to consider who was to have the government of Hainault. After long and mature deliberation, it was resolved it should remain in the hands of the duke of Burgundy, who in consequence nominated various officers for the due government thereof.

In this year, the earl of Warwick and other Englishmen besieged the town of Pontorson, and forced the garrison to surrender on capitulation, provided they were not relieved by a certain day, and that the French and Bretons should not be sufficiently strong to conquer the English. As they were not relieved, the place was surrendered according to the terms of the capitulation.

CHAPTER XLIII.—SIR JOHN BLONDEL SURRENDERS THE CASTLE OF MALMAISON, WHICH HE HAD TAKEN FROM THE BISHOP OF CAMBRAY.

When the meeting broke up at Valenciennes, the duke of Burgundy went to Mons in Hainault, attended by a great part of his council, and while there constituted (as I have said) different officers, natives of Hainault, for the well governing that country. During his stay at Mons, sir John Blondel came thither on a passport from the duke, and was by him more than once summoned and required to restore the castle of Malmaison to the bishop of Cambray. Sir John would not consent to this, but gave evasive answers. The duke then resolved to afford the bishop such aid as should recover for him the castle; and the bishop sent summonses to all his friends to come to his assistance.

The duke of Burgundy made sir William de Lalain, bailiff of Hainault, the bégue de Launoy, knight, governor of Lille, with some other nobles, commanders of the aid which he sent to the bishop; but Sir John Blondel, hearing of these preparations, and knowing that the duke was displeased at his conduct, condescended to treat, and offered to surrender the castle on condition that his peace was made with the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, that all his lands and castles, which had been confiscated to king Henry of Lancaster, were restored to him, that he and his men were to carry away all their effects, and that he was to be paid four thousand crowns for his expenses. High as these terms were, they were in the end agreed to, and securities given for their due performance. Thus was Malmaison delivered into the hands of Balthazar, bastard of Quesnoy, who had been appointed by the duke of Burgundy to take possession and the charge of it for a certain time. To pay the ransom-money, and other expenses, a heavy tax was laid on all ranks throughout the country of Cambresis, as well on churchmen as others, the payment of which was most rigorously exacted.

When these matters had been settled, the castle of Malmaison was razed to the ground, with the consent of the bishop and others of that country. It was a great pity, for it was a nonpareil, and the best built and strongest place in all those parts. Sir John Blondel, by means of his misconduct, succeeded in his intentions, for all his castles, lands, and manors, were restored to him.

CHAPTER XLIV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RETURNS TO HOLLAND, AND ATTACKS THE TOWN OF HERMONTFORT*.—OTHER EVENTS.

THE duke of Burgundy, having finished his business in Hainault, returned to Holland with a great force of men-at-arms to punish those who, after having sworn allegiance to him, had revolted. On his march, he attacked a town fortified with thick hedges and deep ditches, called Hermontfort, which attack lasted a long time, and was very severe. The duke crossed the ditches, and valiantly fought in person with his enemies, who defended themselves with the utmost courage, regardless of their lives. In this attack the lord de Voydanquin, a valiant and powerful knight, who had with him some very expert warriors, was slain. The good lord de Saveuses was also wounded, and so badly, that he was obliged to be carried from the field, with many more in the same condition. The duke, seeing the loss he was suffering, took council, and ordered the retreat to be sounded, which was done, and they lodged themselves near to the town, where they were badly off that night for all sorts of necessaries. On the morrow, the duke marched away in another direction.

The town of Utrecht had now joined the party of the duchess Jacqueline, and the dukes of Gueldres and of Cleves that of Burgundy, by which means war and misery were daily increased throughout that country. At this time, about five hundred combatants, as well men-at-arms as archers, were assembled on the confines of Picardy, and, by orders from the duke of Burgundy (at the request of a knight called sir Phillebert Andrinet), were conducted by sir Charles de Moyencourt, Matthieu d'Hermieres†, John de Longueval, and other gentlemen, to the aid of Amé duke of Savoy, uncle to the duke of Burgundy, then at war with the duke of Milan. This body of men-at-arms, after many days' marches, arrived in Savoy, and were joyfully received by the duke. They were thence ordered to the borders of Lombardy, where they committed numberless mischiefs, insomuch that, through fear of them, and from compassion to the poor natives, these two princes concluded a peace. When this was done, duke Amé of Savoy gave orders for the Picards to return home, thanking them greatly for their effective services, and presenting to some of the principal captains pieces of damask and other precious ornaments. The Picards were now marched home again. The origin of this war was owing to the duke of Milan having forcibly taken Novara and the city of Vercelli from the duke of Savoy, which were restored to him.

After the duke of Burgundy had visited many parts of Holland, and placed garrisons on the frontiers of Gouda, where the duchess Jacqueline resided, leaving some of his most expert captains for the defence of the country, such as the lord de l'Isle-Adam, sir Lyonnel de Bournouville, and others, he returned to Flanders.

In this year there were great earthquakes in Spain, Catalonia, and Languedoc, which overthrew many towns and handsome edifices; and the people remained for a long time in the utmost trouble and dismay.

CHAPTER XLV.—THE SULTAN OF BABYLON WRITES LETTERS TO THE PRINCES IN CHRISTENDOM.—THE TENOR OF THESE LETTERS.

IN these days, the sultan of Babylon sent letters to all the kings and princes in Christendom, of the following tenor:

"Baldadoch, son of Aire, constable of Jericho, provost of the terrestrial paradise, nephew of the gods, king of kings, prince of princes, sultan of Babylon, of Persia, of Jerusalem, of Chaldea, of Barbary, prince of Africa, and admiral of Arcadia, lord de Siche, des Ainces, des Payens, and des Maritans,—master Archipotel, protector of Amazone, guardian of the islands, dean of the abbeys, commander of the temples, crusher of helmets, splitter of shields, piercer of hauberks, breaker of armour, lancer of spears, overturner of war-horses, destroyer of castles, flower of chivalry, a wild boar for courage, an eagle for liberality, the fear of his enemies, the hope of his friends, the raiser up of the discomfited, standard of Mohammed, lord of all the world.

* Hermontfort. Q. if not Herenthuls?

† Q. Humieres.

" To the kings of Germany, of France, and of England, and to all other kings, dukes and counts, and generally to all on whom our courtesy may condescend, greeting, and love in our grace. Whereas it is very commendable for all who please to relinquish error, through wisdom,—we send to you that you may not delay coming to us to receive your fiefs and inheritances from our hands, by denying your God and the Christian faith, and laying aside your errors, in which you and your predecessors have been too long involved. Should you not instantly obey these our commands, our indignation will be raised, and our powerful sword turned against you, with which we will have your heads as a recompense, without sparing yourselves or your countries. These letters were given on the vigil des Ambassadiens, the 10th year from our coronation, and the 2d from our noble victory and destruction of the unfortunate country of Cyprus."

CHAPTER XLVI.—THE ENGLISH INVADE BRITTANY, WHERE THEY DO GREAT DAMAGES.—OTHER MATTERS.

This year, the earl of Suffolk and sir Thomas Rampstone, on account of the duke of Brittany having joined king Charles, made an inroad on his duchy with about twelve hundred combatants, and advanced even to Rennes, where the duke resided. They committed great waste, and made a very considerable booty in prisoners and effects, with which they returned to a large village in that country, called Tintenarch*. On the morrow, they marched back to lower Normandy with all they had gained, without any opposition. Soon afterward, sir Thomas fixed his quarters in a small town, called St. James de Beuvron, which had been destroyed; but he had it repaired and re-fortified to serve him as a post to carry on the war against the Bretons, for it was but half a league from their country. Sir Thomas was deputy to the earl of Suffolk, the governor of lower Normandy, and thence he led the English on different excursions through Brittany, carrying on a severe warfare.

The duke, to oppose them, assembled a large force of his nobles, whom he gave in charge to his brother the count de Richemont, lately made constable of France. The count led them straight to St. James de Beuvron, which he instantly besieged, and commenced his operations with a grand skirmish. Having surrounded it on all sides, he established his quarters, and had his engines pointed against the walls, which greatly damaged them. He attacked the place by storm, which lasted for a considerable time very sharply.

A party of Bretons from the lower parts of the duchy had been posted below the town, near to a pond; and to get near the walls, it was necessary to cross the head of this pond, which was very narrow. There was beside it a small bulwark under the command of an English knight, sir Nicholas Bourdet†, having with him from sixty to eighty combatants, and near to it was one of the town-gates well guarded by the English. When these Bretons were descending the ditch in great numbers to attack the walls, they heard on each side of them the English shouting, " Salisbury! Suffolk!" which threw the Bretons into great confusion. Sir Nicholas, seizing the opportunity of their dismay, vigorously fell on them, and, meeting scarcely any defence, put to death or drowned in the pond from seven to eight hundred, and made about fifty prisoners. The English won eighteen standards, and one banner. News of this defeat was speedily carried to the count, who was storming the town on the opposite side. He was much hurt at the intelligence, and ordered the retreat to be sounded, for the siege had been raised on the other side of the place.

When the count had collected his men together, he held a council on what should now be done, and it was resolved, that considering the great loss they had sustained, it would be prudent to march away, which was carried into effect; but he waited until midnight, when he returned to the town of Fougeres in a disorderly manner, leaving behind great quantities of provision, stores, bombards, and other artillery. Sir Thomas, with his six hundred men, for he had no more, and the greater part of them were wounded, remained in the town very much rejoiced at his good fortune; and he caused all the things the enemy had left behind them to be brought thither.

* Tintenarch,—probably Tinteniac, a village near St. Malo. † Q. Burdett.

Two days after this affair, the earl of Suffolk joined sir Thomas with fifteen hundred combatants, whom the latter conducted with some of his own men to a strong monastery that soon surrendered. The earl thence advanced farther into the country, toward the city of Dol, with the intent to reside there. In the mean time, the duke of Brittany sent a poursuivant with letters to the earl, to request that he would consent to a suspension of arms, according to the enclosed terms, which being agreed to, he remanded sir Thomas and his men, who returned to St. James de Beuvron with a very rich booty. A negotiation now took place, when a truce was signed to last for three months; and the earl of Suffolk had four thousand five hundred francs for consenting to it. The truce was well kept until the end of June, which terminated it, as the two parties could not agree on a final peace, so that the war recommenced, and the English daily committed great waste on the country by fire and sword.

To obviate these evils, the duke, and his brother the constable, had the town of Pontorson, which divides Normandy from Brittany, and is two leagues from Mont St. Michel, well repaired and fortified, to serve as a barrier town against the English.

A few days after this, the earl of Suffolk was dismissed from his government, and the earl of Warwick appointed in his stead, who assembled a considerable body of men and laid siege to Pontorson. During this siege, the English were in constant danger of having their convoys of provision cut off by the garrisons of Mont St. Michel and other places. To prevent which, lord Scales* was detached with five hundred combatants to lower Normandy to escort the convoys. On his return, the Bretons, who had been made acquainted therewith, placed themselves, to the amount of fifteen hundred men, in ambuscade, near to Mont St. Michel, and, watching their opportunity, sallied out on the English, as they were marching by. They found them, however, in handsome array; and they made so valorous a resistance that the Bretons were completely routed. Eight hundred were slain; and in the number were the lord Château-Geron, the lord de Couesquen, the lord de Chambourg, the baron de Chamboches, the lord de la Hunaudes, sir Pierre le Porc, the commander of the Scotsmen, and many others of the nobility. The lord de Rohan† and several great lords were made prisoners.

This event was known in Pontorson by the English having caused the dead bodies of the baron de Soulenges and sir Pierre le Porc, and of others, to be brought to the walls, and delivered to the garrison for burial, and hastened their determination of surrendering to the earl of Warwick, on having their lives spared, as they had no longer hopes of succour. They were marched out of the town with white staves in their hands, leaving all their baggage and effects behind them. Lord Scales was made governor of the town.

Toward the end of this year, sir John de Luxembourg assembled in Picardy, and the parts adjacent, about a thousand combatants, men-at-arms and archers, with the intent to besiege and reduce to his obedience the town of Beaumont in Argonne, held by William de Flavy, of the party of king Charles,—which Flavy, and those under his command, did many injuries and oppressive acts to all the surrounding country.

In these days, duke Philip of Burgundy again collected a large body of troops from Flanders and Artois, to march into Holland and besiege the duchess Jacqueline in the town of Gouda. On this occasion he wrote to inform his nobles that he was resolved this campaign to finish the war with Holland, and not return until it was ended. They had indeed often been assembled for this purpose, and were almost tired with the war. The duke led this armament to Sluys, and there embarked for Holland. During these tribulations the English continued a severe warfare on the borders and in Brittany. A very sharp combat took place between them and the Bretons, under the command of the constable de Richemont, in which numbers were slain on both sides; but, in the end, the earl of Warwick and his English gained the day.

* Thomas lord Scales, seneschal of Normandy in 26 Hen. VI. d. 38 Hen. VI. His daughter and heir married Anthony Widvile, earl of Rivers.

† Alain VIII, viscount Rohan, died in 1429, leaving one son, Alain IX, who was lieutenant-general of Brittany during the duke's imprisonment by the Penthievres.

CHAPTER XLVII.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG BESIEGES BEAUMONT IN ARGONNE.

[A. D. 1428.]

Sir John de Luxembourg in the beginning of this year had besieged Beaumont in Argonne. He was attended by many of the nobles from Picardy, and frequent skirmishes took place between the besieged and besiegers. In one of them, a vigorous and subtle man-at-arms, named Enguerrand de Brigonval, was made prisoner, which much troubled sir John de Luxembourg, who feared he was wounded or killed,—for William de Flavy had wickedly caused a coffin to be buried with great ceremony, meaning to have it understood that Enguerrand was dead. He had also a solemn funeral service performed, intending at the same time to send Enguerrand secretly out of the town to some safer place, knowing him to be a rich man, and able to pay a heavy ransom. Notwithstanding the obstinate defence of the besieged, they were soon so closely blockaded that no one could go out of the town without danger of his life. William de Flavy, therefore, losing all hope of succour, and foreseeing that he must in the end yield, entered into a treaty with sir John de Luxembourg, to surrender the place toward the latter end of May, on condition that he and his men should march away in safety with their baggage and effects.

By this means sir John gained possession of Beaumont, in which he placed his own garrison, and appointed as governor Valeran de Bournouville. Enguerrand de Brigonval was likewise given up to him, safe and well. While this siege was carrying on, a truce was agreed to between sir John de Luxembourg and the townsmen of Mouzon, until the feast of St. Remy ensuing; and in the interval the burghers were to go to king Charles to learn if they might depend on succours from him, or whether they were to surrender to sir John.

When these matters had been concluded, sir John dismissed his troops, and returned to his castle of Beaurevoir. William de Flavy, in like manner, disbanded those who had served under him, and went with a few attendants, under passports, to the mansion of his lord and father; for during the time he was besieged in Beaumont, the duke of Bar had caused one of his fortresses, called Neufville sur Meuse, to be destroyed, which was held by a garrison of his, and wherein he had placed all his treasures.

CHAPTER XLVIII. — A TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THE DUCHESS JACQUELINE, WHICH ENDS THE WAR IN HOLLAND.—THE CONTENTS OF THIS TREATY.

On the return of the duke of Burgundy, with such vast preparations of stores and men-at-arms, into Holland, to besiege the duchess Jacqueline in the town of Gouda, whither she had retired with her adherents, the country was greatly alarmed. The duchess, in consequence, held a council of her most faithful friends, when, having considered the great power of the duke, that the majority of the nobles and commonalty were already turned to his party, and that it was very doubtful if she could further resist, it was determined that she should offer terms of peace to her adversary the duke; and a treaty of the following import was concluded by the commissioners from each party.

The duchess Jacqueline shall acknowledge and avow that the duke of Burgundy is the true and legal heir to all her territories, and that henceforth she shall appoint him governor and guardian of them, promising to give him possession of all the towns and castles she now holds, in which the duke shall place such captains as he may please. The duchess promises also never to marry but with the consent of the said duke; and the town and castle of Zeneuberche is to be given up to the duke of Burgundy. When this treaty had been signed, a day was appointed for the meeting of the parties in the town of Delft—when, after mutual salutations and gratulations, they received, by themselves or by their commissaries, the oaths of many of the principal towns. Thus was Holland, after having long suffered the miseries of war, restored to peace; and the duke of Burgundy, having disbanded his Picards, returned to his countries of Flanders and Artois.

CHAPTER XLIX.—THE EARL OF SALISBURY ARRIVES IN FRANCE WITH GREAT REINFORCEMENTS TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ESCORTS THE DUCHESS JACQUELINE INTO HAINAULT.

In the month of May ensuing, the earl of Salisbury, a knight very expert, and of great renown in arms, by orders from king Henry and his ministers, assembled a force of six thousand combatants, men tried in war, great part of whom he was to carry to France to the aid of the duke of Bedford, who styled himself regent of that kingdom. The earl sent off a detachment of three thousand to Calais, whence they marched to Paris, to carry on the war against king Charles. About Midsummer-day, the earl followed with the remainder of his men, and, crossing to Calais, marched by St. Pol, Dourlens, and Amiens, to Paris, where he was joyfully received by the duke of Bedford, and the council of France attached to the interests of king Henry.

Instantly on his arrival many councils were held respecting the war; and it was resolved that the earl, after having subdued some trifling towns held by the enemy, should lay siege to Orleans, which they said had done them great injury. On the council breaking up, orders were issued for the Normans, and others of the English party, to assemble immediately; and such diligence was used, that within a very short time the earl of Salisbury had upward of ten thousand combatants. The principal captains were, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Scales, the lord de Calaboche, the lord Lisle, Classedach, and many valiant and expert men-in-arms. When they had been well feasted and honoured in Paris, they departed, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, to besiege the town of Nogent le Roi, which was soon conquered, and great part of the garrison put to death: the rest escaped by paying large ransoms. The earl marched thence to Gergeau.

While this was passing, the duke of Burgundy had returned to Holland with his most faithful adherents, to make further arrangements with his cousin the duchess Jacqueline, and to receive the oaths of fidelity from divers others of the nobles and towns of that country. After these matters were finished, the duke, and duchess Jacqueline, went into Hainault; and in all the towns through which they passed they received similar oaths to what had been given in Holland and Zealand, from the nobles, clergy, and commonalty. In some places, they were received with honour and respect, although very many were much dissatisfied with these arrangements, but at present they saw no means to remedy them.

CHAPTER L.—THE TOWNSMEN OF TOURNAY AGAIN REBEL.

In the month of July of this year, the inhabitants of Tournay again mutinied against their magistrates, and rose more than once in arms, as they had frequently done before. The cause of the present tumults was the magistrates having laid a tax on beer, to aid them to pay the demands of the duke of Burgundy. However, by the exertions of some prudent persons in the town, peace was restored; and shortly after, one of their leaders called John Isaac, a goldsmith, was arrested,—and for various crimes by him committed, and for having been the cause of Arnoul le Musi and Loctart de Villeries being beheaded, Isaac was publicly hanged on the gibbet at Tournay.

At this time, Réné duke of Bar laid siege to the castle of Passavant, in which was a person named Varnencourt, who had for a long space sorely harassed and cruelly treated the inhabitants of the country round that place.

CHAPTER LI.—THE EARL OF SALISBURY CONQUERS GERGEAU AND OTHER PLACES NEAR ORLEANS.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD WANTS TO LAY HANDS ON THE REVENUES OF THE CHURCH.

The earl of Salisbury, on his arrival before Gergeau, caused it to be surrounded on all sides, and very hotly attacked by his artillery, insomuch that the garrison who held it for king Charles, fearing the consequences, entered into a treaty with the earl to surrender it, on being permitted to depart in safety. The earl, having regarrisoned it, advanced to Genville, which he besieged on all sides; but the French, being in force within it, defended themselves valiantly. After a few days, however, they held a parley with the earl, but they could not agree as to the terms of delivering it up. On the French retiring, a skirmish took place between the besiegers and the besieged, which occasioned the whole of the English to arm themselves suddenly, and without command from the earl to storm the place so vigorously that it was won, and numbers of the French taken or killed, and other great disorders committed which it would be tedious to relate.

During these transactions, the regent duke of Bedford and king Henry's ministers at Paris were earnestly attempting to acquire, for the king's use, all the rents and revenues that had been given to the church for the last forty years. To succeed in this, several great councils were held in Paris between the duke and his ministers and the members of the university, in which the matter was fully and long debated; it was, however, in the end negatived, and the church remained at peace in regard to this demand.

In this year, the king of Portugal raised a large army*, in conjunction with the duke of Cambray†, who commanded the van division, and the whole amounted to ten thousand combatants. They led his army to an island against the infidels, where were the king of Albastre‡ with twenty thousand Saracens, Turks, Tartars, Barbaresques, of which the greater number were left dead on the field, and the said king of Albastre made prisoner. The king of Portugal suffered but little loss, and after the victory he returned with his army back to his own country.

CHAPTER LII.—THE EARL OF SALISBURY LAYS SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF ORLEANS.—HE IS THERE SLAIN.

When the earl of Salisbury had subjected the towns of Gergeau, Genville, Mehun, and several castles and forts in those parts, to the obedience of king Henry of Lancaster, he made diligent preparations to lay siege to the city of Orleans. His army came before it in the month of October; but as the garrison and inhabitants had long expected his arrival, they had provided themselves with all sorts of warlike stores and provision, having determined to defend the place to the last extremity.

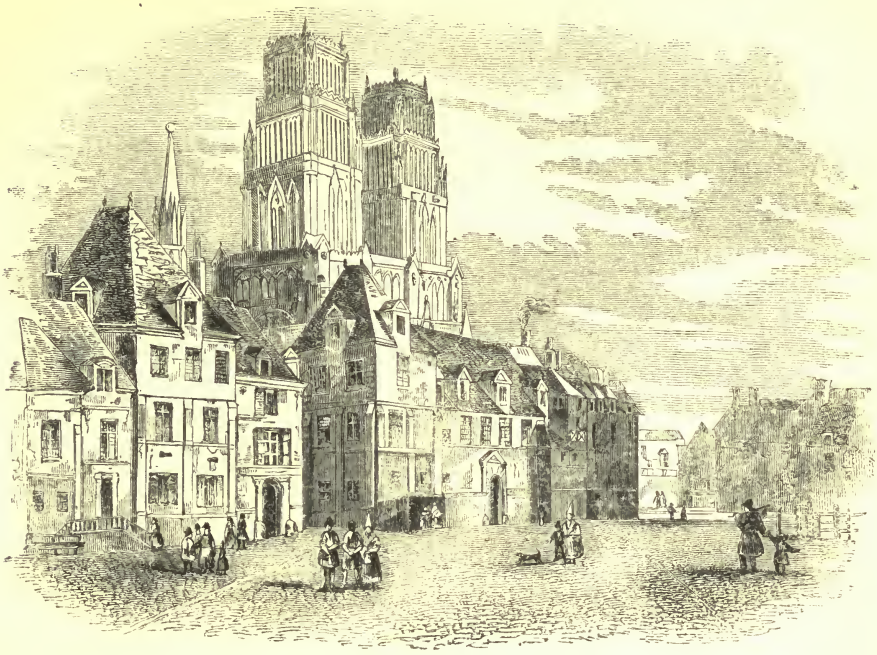
To prevent the earl from fixing his quarters in the suburbs and fortifying them, the French had demolished the whole, including many excellent houses, and upward of twelve churches, belonging to the four orders of mendicant friars, with several fine houses of recreation for the burghers of Orleans. By thus doing they could discharge the cannon from the ramparts freely all around.

Lord Salisbury, notwithstanding this, and a violent opposition from the garrison, who made many sallies, and fired on him from culverins, and other instruments of death, to the wounding and killing many of his men, quartered himself and his army near to the walls. The English repulsed these attacks with the utmost courage, to the wonder of the besieged; and while these skirmishings were going on, the earl ordered the tower at the end of the bridge over the Loire to be stormed, which was won, as well as a small bulwark hard by, in spite of the defence of the French. The earl commanded a party to enter and guard this

* All this seems to be a romance founded on the exploits of Peter, duke of Coimbra, the famous traveller, and Henry, duke of Viseo, his brother, much more celebrated for the discoveries made under his auspices in Africa and India.

† Cambray. Q. Coimbra. ‡ Albastre. Q.

tower, that the garrison might not unobserved make any sallies from the town. He then, with his captains, made a lodgment in some of the ruins that remained in the suburbs near the walls; and his men, in their usual manner, raised huts of earth to shelter themselves from the effects of the arrows which were showered at them from the battlements.



Orleans.—From an original Drawing.

The earl, on the third day after his arrival before Orleans, entered the tower on the bridge, and ascended to the second story, whence from a window that overlooked the town he was observing what was passing within, and was considering on the best mode of reducing it to obedience. While thus occupied, a stone from a veuglaire struck the window, whence the earl, hearing the report, had withdrawn, but too late, for the shot carried away part of his face, and killed a gentleman behind him dead on the spot*. The army were greatly grieved at this unfortunate accident, for he was much feared and beloved by them, and considered as the most subtle, expert, and fortunate in arms of all the English captains. The earl, though so severely wounded, lived eight days; and having summoned all his captains, he admonished them, in the name of the king of England, to reduce the town of Orleans to his obedience without fail. Having done this, he was carried to Mehun, and there died, as I have said, at the end of eight days.

The earl of Suffolk was now the commander of the English army before Orleans, having under him the lords Scales, Talbot, sir Lancelot de Lisle, Classedach, and others. The English, notwithstanding the loss they had suffered in the death of the earl of Salisbury, recovered their vigour, and exerted themselves in every way to carry the town. They also erected block-houses in various parts, in which large detachments were posted to prevent any surprise from the enemy.

King Charles, knowing that his ancient and inveterate enemies, the English, were desirous to gain the city of Orleans, had resolved in council, before they came before it, to defend the place to the last, believing that, should it be conquered, it would be the finishing

* Sir Thomas Gargrave.

stroke to himself and his kingdom. For this reason he had sent thither his most expert and faithful officers, namely, Boussac, the lord d'Eu, the bastard of Orleans, the lords de Gaucourt, de Graville, de Vilain, Poton de Saintrailles, la Hire, sir Theolde de Valperghe, sir Louis de Vaucourt, with others renowned in arms, and of great authority. They had under their daily command from twelve to fourteen hundred combatants, well tried and enterprising; but sometimes more and sometimes less,—for the town was not so completely surrounded but that the besieged could replenish themselves with provision or stores whenever they pleased.

Very many sallies and skirmishes took place during the siege, but it would be tiresome to relate the various successes that attended them; but from what I have heard from well-informed persons, I do not find that the besieged did any great damage to the enemy, except with their cannon and other like instruments from their walls. By one of these was slain sir Lancelot de Lisle, a very valiant English knight, and renowned in arms.

CHAPTER LIII.—A PREACHER, CALLED FRIAR THOMAS, CONVERTS MANY PERSONS, AND INVEIGHS AGAINST THE EXTRAVAGANT DRESSES OF THE WOMEN, IN DIFFERENT PLACES.

In this year, a friar called Thomas Conecte, a native of Brittany, and of the Carmelite order, was much celebrated through parts of Flanders, the Tournesis, Artois, Cambresis, Ternois, in the countries of Amiens and Ponthieu, for his preachings. In those towns where it was known he intended to preach, the chief burghers and inhabitants had erected for him in the handsomest square, a large scaffold, ornamented with the richest cloths and tapestries, on which was placed an altar, whereon he said mass, attended by some monks of his order, and his disciples. The greater part of these last followed him on foot wherever he went, he himself riding on a small mule.

Having said mass on this platform, he then preached long sermons, blaming the vices and sins of each individual, more especially those of the clergy, who publicly kept mistresses, to the breach of their vows of chastity. In like manner, he blamed greatly the noble ladies, and all others who dressed their heads in so ridiculous a manner, and who expended such large sums on the luxuries of apparel. He was so vehement against them, that no woman thus dressed dared to appear in his presence; for he was accustomed, when he saw any of them with such dresses, to excite the little boys to torment and plague them, giving them certain days of pardon for so doing, and which he said he had the power of granting. He ordered the boys to shout after them, *Au hennin, au hennin!* * even when the ladies were departed from him and from hearing his invectives; and the boys pursuing them, endeavoured to pull down these monstrous head-dresses, so that the ladies were forced to seek shelter in places of safety. These cries caused many tumults between those who raised them and the servants of the ladies.

Friar Thomas, nevertheless, continued his abuse and invectives so loudly, that no women with high head-dresses any longer attended his sermons, but dressed in caps somewhat like those worn by peasants and people of low degree. The ladies of rank, on their return from these sermons, were so much ashamed, by the abusive expressions of the preacher, that the greater part laid aside their head-dresses, and wore such as those of nuns. But this reform lasted not long, for like as snails, when any one passes by them, draw in their horns, and when all danger seems over put them forth again,—so these ladies, shortly after the preacher had quitted their country, forgetful of his doctrine and abuse, began to resume their former colossal head-dresses, and wore them even higher than before.

Friar Thomas, however, acquired very great renown in the towns wherein he preached, from all ranks of people, for the boldness and justness of his remonstrances, more especially for those addressed to the clergy. He was received wherever he went with as much respect

* *Au hennin.* This was the name given by the preacher to those ridiculous colossal head-dresses worn by the ladies in the 15th century. For further particulars, see the French Encyclopédie, vol. viii.

and reverence by the nobles, clergy, and common people, as if he had been an apostle of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, sent from heaven to earth. He was followed by multitudes of people, and his mule was led by knights, or those of high rank, on foot to the house wherein he was to lodge, which was commonly that of the richest burgher in the town; and his disciples

AU HENNIN.—FEMALE HEAD-DRESSES OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—Selected from various contemporary MSS.

of whom he had many, were distributed among the best houses; for it was esteemed a great favour when one of them lodged in the house of any individual.

When Friar Thomas arrived at his lodgings, he retired to a private chamber, and would not be visited by any but those of the family, except for a few moments. At the conclusion of his sermons, he earnestly admonished the audience, on the damnation of their souls and on pain of excommunication, to bring to him whatever backgammon-boards, chess-boards, ninepins, or other instruments for games of amusement, they might possess. In like manner did he order the women to bring their hennins,—and having caused a great fire to be lighted in front of his scaffold, he threw all those things into it.

Friar Thomas remained in these parts for the space of six months, and visited many great cities, such as Cambray, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, and Therouenne, wherein he made many celebrated sermons, to the delight of the lower ranks, who sometimes assembled to hear him to the number of from sixteen to twenty thousand persons. At his sermons he divided the women from the men by a cord; for he said he had observed some sly doings between them while he was preaching. He would not receive any money himself, nor permit any of the preachers who attended him to do so, but was satisfied if presents were made to him of rich church ornaments, if his disciples were clothed, and his own expenses paid. The people were very happy in thus gratifying him.

Many persons of note, in the conviction that to serve him would be a pious act, believing him to be a prudent and holy man, followed him everywhere, deserting their parents, wives, children and homes. In this number was the lord d'Antoing, and some others of the nobility. When he had remained any time, without the clergy attempting to confute his reasonings, he departed with the love of the people, but with the indignation of some churchmen. He embarked at the port of St. Valery, to return to Brittany, where he had been born.

CHAPTER LIV.—A GRAND TOURNAMENT IN THE CITY OF BRUSSELS.

At this period the duke of Burgundy set out, grandly accompanied by the nobles of his country, for Brussels, to be present at a tournament that was to be given there during the carnival. The son of the demoisel de Gazebeque was the founder of the prize. The duke of Burgundy was magnificently feasted by his cousin duke Philip of Brabant, the great barons of the country, and by the city of Brussels. On the day of the tournament, the two dukes were matched against each other, as well as their nobles, by the advice of prudent counsellors and heralds at arms, to avoid any accidents that might happen.

There were this day from seven to eight score helmets in the market-place at Brussels who made a fine show; for they were all richly dressed, and adorned with their emblazoned surcoats. When the officers-at-arms had made the usual proclamations, the tournament commenced, and many hardy strokes were given; but the prize was adjudged to a gentleman of Brabant, called Jean Linquart. On the morrow, and the ensuing day, were great joustings: on the first, the duke of Brabant gained the prize, and on the second, the lord de Mamines won it. With regard to the dancings and banquets, there were abundance of both, and crowds of ladies and damsels richly dressed according to the fashions of the country. There were likewise very many masquerades of the ladies and gentlemen.

During the feast, the sword was given to the lord de Croy, knight to the duke of Burgundy, who, having considered a while, had another tournament proclaimed to be holden on an appointed day in the town of Mons, in Hainault; but which, from certain causes that interfered at that time, did not take place.

The duke of Burgundy, having tarried in the city of Brussels from four to five days, set out on his return home to Flanders, notwithstanding the weather was then very severe, with frost and snow. The other lords returned to the places whence they came.

CHAPTER LV.—THE COUNT DE NAMUR DIES, AND MAKES THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HIS HEIR.

The count de Namur, who was very old, died in the course of this year. He had, some time before his death, sold to the duke of Burgundy his county of Namur, with its dependencies; and on his decease the duke advanced thither, when peaceable possession was given to him of the whole; and he appointed commissioners and captains to govern and defend it at his pleasure. The Liegeois, who bordered on Namur, were not well pleased at this accession of power to the duke of Burgundy, whom they feared before, and very much disliked, because duke John, his father, and duke William, his uncle, had formerly conquered them, as has been related in the earlier part of this work. The Liegeois held, at this time, the strong town of Mont-Orgueil, situated near to Bouvines *, which was said to belong to Namur, and, as such, the duke of Burgundy wished to have it; but the Liegeois refused to yield it up, and hence began a quarrel on each side. The duke, finding that he could not gain it amicably, returned to Flanders, and secretly raised a body of men-at-arms, whom he despatched, under the command of sir John Blondel, and Gerard, bastard of Brimeu, to the country of Liege, with orders to win the tower of Mont-Orgueil by force. When they had approached the walls, and were preparing their scaling-ladders, they were seen by the garrison, who made a sally, and defeated them. They then returned back, and the Liegeois kept up a stricter watch than before; and their hatred to the duke of Burgundy was increased.

The English continued their siege of Orleans, and king Charles was in very great distress; for the major part of his princes and nobles, perceiving that his affairs were miserably bad, and everything going wrong, had quite abandoned him. Nevertheless, he had great hope and confidence in God; and laboured earnestly to procure a peace with the duke of Burgundy, and had sent him many embassies to solicit it; but hitherto no terms could be agreed on between them.

* Bouvines,—in the county of Namur, situated on the Meuse.

CHAPTER LVI.—THE ENGLISH, MARCHING TO REINFORCE THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS, ARE MET AND ATTACKED BY THE FRENCH.

The regent duke of Bedford, while at Paris, had collected about five hundred carts and cars from the borders of Normandy and from the Isle de France, which different merchants were ordered to load with provision, stores and other things, and to have conveyed to the English army before Orleans. When all was ready, the command of this convoy was given to sir John Fascot* grand-master of the duke's household, and with him were, the provost of Paris, named Simon Morbier, the bastard de Thiam knight, bailiff of Senlis, the provost of Melun, and several other officers from the Isle de France and that neighbourhood, accompanied by sixteen hundred combatants and a thousand common men. This armament left Paris on Ash-Wednesday, under the command of sir John Fastolfe, who conducted the convoy and his forces in good order by short marches, until he came near the village of Rouvroy in Beauce, situated between Genville and Orleans.

Many French captains, having long before heard of his coming, were there assembled to wait his arrival, namely, Charles duke of Bourbon, the two marshals of France, the constable of Scotland and his son, the lords de la Tour†, de Chauvigny, de Graville, sir William d'Albreth, the viscount de Thouars, the bastard d'Orleans, sir James de Chabannes‡, the lord de la Fayette, Poton de Saintrailles, Estienne de Vignolles, surnamed La Hire, sir Theolde de Valperghe, and others of the nobility, having with them from three to four thousand men. The English had been informed of this force being assembled from different garrisons which they had in those parts, and lost no time in forming a square with their carts and carriages, leaving but two openings,—in which square they enclosed themselves, posting their archers as guards to these entrances, and the men at arms hard by to support them. On the strongest side of this enclosure were the merchants, pages, carters, and those incapable of defending themselves, with all their horses.

The English thus situated, waited two hours for the coming of the enemy, who at length arrived with much noise, and drew up out of bowshot in front of the enclosure. It seemed to them, that considering their superior numbers, the state of the convoy, and that there were not more than six hundred real Englishmen, the rest being composed of all nations, they could not escape falling into their hands, and must be speedily conquered. Others, however, had their fears of the contrary happening, for the French captains did not well agree together as to their mode of fighting, for the Scots would combat on foot, and the others on horseback. The lord Charles de Bourbon was there knighted by the lord de la Fayette, with some others. In the mean time, the constable of Scotland, his son and all their men, dismounted and advanced to attack their adversaries, by whom they were received with great courage.

The English archers, under shelter of the carriages, shot so well and stiffly that all on horseback within their reach were glad to retreat with their men-at-arms. The constable of Scotland and his men attacked one of the entrances of the enclosure, but they were soon slain on the spot. Among the killed were, sir John Stuart, his son, sir William d'Albreth lord d'Orval, the lord de Châteaubrun, the lord de Mont Pipel§, sir John Larigot, the lord de Verduisant, the lord de Divray, the lord de la Greve‖, sir Anthony de Puilly and others, to the amount of six score gentlemen and five hundred common men, the greater part of whom were Scotsmen. The other French captains retreated with their men to the places whence they had come.

The English, on their departure, refreshed themselves, and then marched away in haste

* Q. If not sir John Fastolfe.

† Bertrand III. lord of la Tour, who, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Geoffry de Boulogne, lord of Montgascon, and heiress of Jane duchess of Berry and countess of Boulogne and Auvergne, brought these two earldoms into his family. His son Bertrand IV. assumed the title of count of Auvergne and Boulogne.

‡ James de Chabannes, lord de la Palice, Chalus, &c. seneschal of Toulouse, and grand-maître of France. He was killed at Castillon in 1453. His brother was Anthony de Chabannes, afterwards count of Dammartin. His father was killed at Azincourt.

§ Peter de Beauvan, lord of Mont Pipel and Roche-sur-Yon, seneschal of Anjou and Provence.

‖ Thibaut de Chabot, fourth lord of la Greve, Moncontour, &c.

for their town of Rouvroy, where they halted for the night. On the morrow they departed in handsome array, with their convoy and artillery, armed with every accoutrement becoming warriors, and in a few days arrived before Orleans, very much rejoiced at their good fortune in the late attack from the French, and at having so successfully brought provision to their countrymen.

This battle was ever afterward called the Battle of Herrings, because great part of the convoy consisted of herrings and other articles of food suitable to Lent. King Charles, on hearing the event, was sick at heart, seeing that the state of his affairs was becoming worse and worse. This battle of Rouvroy was fought on the night of the first Sunday in Lent, about three hours after midnight. The English lost only one man of note, called Bresanteau, nephew to sir Simon Morbier, provost of Paris.

On the part of the English were that day made knights, Galloy d'Aunoy, lord d'Orville, the great Raoulin, and Louis de Luxu, a Savoyard. The army of the English might have consisted of about seventeen hundred combatants of tried courage, without including common men ; and the French, as I have said, were from three to four thousand at least. The lord de Chateaubrun and some others were knighted at the same time with Charles de Bourbon. Only one prisoner was made that day, and he was a Scotsman.

CHAPTER LVII.—A MAIDEN NAMED JOAN WAITS ON KING CHARLES AT CHINON, WHERE HE RESIDED.—THE KING RETAINS HER IN HIS SERVICE.

In the course of this year, a young girl called Joan, about twenty years old, and dressed like a man, came to Charles king of France at Chinon. She was born in the town of Droimy, on the borders of Burgundy and Lorraine, not far from Vaucouleurs, and had been for some time hostler and chambermaid to an inn, and had shown much courage in riding horses to water, and in other feats unusual for young girls to do. She was instructed how to act, and sent to the king by sir Robert de Baudricourt*, knight, governor of Vaucouleurs, who supplied her with horses and from four to six men as an escort. She called herself a maiden inspired by the divine grace, and said that she was sent to restore king Charles to his kingdom, whence he had been unjustly driven, and was now reduced to so deplorable a state.

She remained about two months in the king's household, frequently admonishing him to give her men and support, and that she would repulse his enemies, and exalt his name. The king and council in the mean time knew not how to act ; for they put no great faith in what she said, considering her as one out of her senses ; for to such noble persons the expressions she used are dangerous to be believed, as well for fear of the anger of the Lord, as for the blasphemous discourses which they may occasion in the world. After some time, however, she was promised men-at-arms and support : a standard was also given her, on which she caused to be painted a representation of our Creator. All her conversation was of God, on which account great numbers of those who heard her had great faith in what she said, and believed her inspired, as she declared herself to be.

She was many times examined by learned clerks, and other prudent persons of rank, to find out her real intentions ; but she kept to her purpose, and always replied, that if the king would believe her, she would restore to him his kingdom. In the mean time, she did several acts which shall be hereafter related, that gained her great renown. When she came first to the king, the duke d'Alençon, the king's marshal, and other captains were with him, for he had held a grand council relative to the siege of Orleans : from Chinon the king went to Poitiers, accompanied by the Maid.

Shortly after, the marshal was ordered to convey provisions and stores, under a strong escort, to the army within Orleans. Joan requested to accompany him, and that armour should be given her, which was done. She then displayed her standard and went to Blois

* Robert lord of Baudricourt and Blaise, bailiff of Chaumont, and captain of Vaucouleurs. His son John became a mareschal of France.

where the escort was to assemble, and thence to Orleans, always dressed in complete armour. On this expedition many warriors served under her; and when she arrived at Orleans great feasts were made for her, and the garrison and townsmen were delighted at her coming among them.

Maid of Orleans introduced to Charles VII. at Chinon.—From an Illumination in the MS. Monstrelet in the British Museum.

CHAPTER LVIII.—AMBASSADORS ARE SENT BY KING CHARLES, AND THE BURGHERS OF ORLEANS, TO PARIS, TO NEGOTIATE A TREATY WITH THE REGENT, THAT THE TOWN OF ORLEANS MAY REMAIN IN PEACE.

[A. D. 1429.]

At the beginning of this year, the duke of Burgundy arrived at Paris with about six hundred horse, and was most joyfully received by the duke of Bedford and the duchess his sister. Soon after came thither Poton de Saintrailles, Pierre d'Orgin, and other noble ambassadors from king Charles, with envoys from the town of Orleans, to negotiate with the duke-regent and king Henry's council for that town to remain in peace, and that it should be placed in the hands of the duke of Burgundy, for him to govern it at his pleasure, and to maintain its neutrality. It was also pleaded, that the duke of Orleans and his brother the count d'Angoulême, who had for a long time past been the right owners of the town, were now prisoners in England, and had been no way concerned in this war.

The duke of Bedford assembled his council many times on this matter, but they could not agree respecting it. Several urged the great expenses king Henry had been put to for this siege, and the great losses he had sustained of his principal captains,—adding, that the town could not hold out much longer, for it was hard pressed for provision, and that it was a place more advantageous for them to possess than any other, supporting what they said by several weighty reasons. Others were not pleased that it should be put into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, saying that it was unreasonable, when king Henry and his vassals had supported all the risks and danger, that the duke of Burgundy should reap the

profit and honour, without striking a blow. One among them, called master Raoul le Saige, said, that he would never be present when they should chew, for the duke of Burgundy to swallow. In short, after much debating of the business, it was finally concluded that the request of the ambassadors should not be granted, and that the town should no otherwise be received in favour than by its surrender to the English. The ambassadors, hearing this, made a reply, which they had not, however, been charged with, that they knew well the townsmen of Orleans would suffer the utmost extremities rather than submit to such conditions. The ambassadors then returned to Orleans, to report the answer they had received.

The duke of Burgundy was very well pleased with their conduct in this matter, and would not have disliked, had it been agreeable to the regent and council, to have had the government of Orleans, as much from his affection to his cousin of Orleans as to prevent it suffering the perils likely to befall it; but the English, at that time, in full tide of prosperity, never considered that the wheel of fortune might turn against them. The duke of Burgundy, while at Paris, had made many requests to his brother-in-law the regent, for himself and his adherents, which, however, were but little attended to. Having staid at Paris about three weeks, he returned to Flanders, where he was attacked by a severe illness, but by the attentions of able physicians he recovered his health.

CHAPTER LIX.—THE MAID WITH MANY NOBLE FRENCH CAPTAINS OF GREAT RENOWN REINFORCE AND REVICTUAL THE TOWN OF ORLEANS, AND AFTERWARDS RAISE THE SIEGE.

The English captains had continued their siege of Orleans about seven months, and had much straitened it by their batteries and towers, of which they had erected not less than sixty. The besieged, sensible of the peril they were in of being conquered, resolved to defend themselves to the last, and sent to king Charles for reinforcements of men, and a supply of stores and provision. From four to five hundred combatants were first sent; but they were followed by seven thousand more, who escorted a convoy of provision up the river Loire. With these last came Joan, the Maid, who had already done some acts that had increased her reputation. The English attempted to cut off this convoy; but it was well defended by the Maid and those with her, and brought with safety to Orleans, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who made good cheer, and were rejoiced at its safe arrival and the coming of the Maid.

On the morrow, which was a Thursday, Joan rose early, and addressing herself to some of the principal captains, prevailed on them to arm, and follow her,—for she wished, as she said, to attack the enemy, being fully assured they would be vanquished. These captains and other warriors, surprised at her words, were induced to arm and make an assault on the tower of St. Loup, which was very strong, and garrisoned with from three to four hundred English. They were, notwithstanding the strength of the blockhouse, soon defeated, and all killed or made prisoners, and the fortification was set on fire and demolished. The Maid, having accomplished her purpose, returned with the nobles and knights who had followed her to the town of Orleans, where she was greatly feasted and honoured by all ranks. The ensuing day she again made a sally, with a certain number of combatants, to attack another of the English forts, which was as well garrisoned as the former one, but which was in like manner destroyed by fire, and those within put to the sword. On her return to the town after this second exploit, she was more honoured and respected than ever.

On the next day, Saturday, she ordered the tower at the end of the bridge to be attacked. This was strongly fortified, and had within it the flower of the English chivalry and men-at-arms, who defended themselves for a long time with the utmost courage; but it availed them nothing, for by dint of prowess they were overcome, and the greater part put to the sword. On this occasion were slain, a valiant English captain named Classendach, the lord Molins, the bailiff of Evreux, and many more warriors of great and noble estate.

The Maid, after this victory, returned to Orleans with the nobles who had accompanied her, and with but little loss of men. Notwithstanding that at these three attacks Joan was, according to common fame, supposed to have been the leader, she had with her all the most expert and gallant captains who for the most part had daily served at this siege of Orleans, mention of whom has been before made. Each of these three captains exerted himself manfully at these attacks, so that from six to eight thousand combatants were killed or taken, while the French did not lose more than one hundred men of all ranks.

The ensuing Sunday, the English captains, namely, the earl of Suffolk, lord Talbot, lord Scales and others, seeing the destruction of their forts, and the defeat of their men, resolved, after some deliberation, to form the remains of their army into one body, march out of their camp, and wait prepared for any engagement, should the enemy be willing to offer them battle, otherwise they would march away in good order for such towns as were under their obedience. This resolution they instantly executed on Sunday morning, when they abandoned their forts, setting fire to several, and drew up in battle-array, expecting the French would come to fight with them; but they had no such intentions, having been exhorted to the contrary by Joan the Maid. The English, having waited a considerable time for them, in vain, marched away, lest their forces might be further diminished, without prospect of success.

The townsmen of Orleans were greatly rejoiced on seeing themselves, by their dishonourable retreat, delivered from such false and traitorous enemies, who had for so long a time kept them in the utmost danger. Many men at arms were despatched to examine the remaining forts, in which they found some provision, and great quantities of other things, all of which were carried safely to the town, and made good cheer of, for they had cost them nothing. The whole of these castles were soon burnt, and razed to the ground, so that no men at arms, from whatever country they might come, should ever lodge in them again.

CHAPTER LX.—THE KING OF FRANCE, AT THE REQUESTS OF THE MAID JOAN AND THE NOBLE CAPTAINS IN ORLEANS, SENDS THEM A LARGE REINFORCEMENT OF MEN-AT-ARMS TO PURSUE HIS ENEMIES.

The French within Orleans, and the captains who accompanied the Maid, with one common accord, sent messengers to the king of France, to inform him of their vigorous exploits, and that the English had retreated to their own garrisons,—requesting him, at the same time, to send them as many men-at-arms as he could procure, with some of the great lords, that they might be enabled to pursue his enemies, now quite dismayed at their reverse of fortune, and praying that he himself would advance towards the country where they were. This intelligence was very agreeable to the king and his council, and the advice readily, as may be supposed, attended to. He instantly summoned to his presence the constable, the duke d'Alençon, Charles lord d'Albreth, and many other lords of renown, the greater part of whom were sent to the town of Orleans. After some time, the king advanced, with a considerable force, to Gien, where many councils were held with the captains from Orleans and the nobles lately arrived, whether or not they should pursue the English. To these councils the first person summoned was the Maid, for she was now in high reputation. At length, on the 4th day of May, the siege of Orleans having been raised, the French took the field with about five or six thousand combatants, and marched straight for Gergeau, where the earl of Suffolk and his brothers were quartered. The earl had sent frequent messages to the regent at Paris, to acquaint him with the misfortunes that had happened at Orleans, and to request speedy succours, or he would be in danger of losing several towns and castles which he held in Beauce and on the river Loire. The duke of Bedford was much angered and cast down at this intelligence; but seeing the necessity of immediately attending to what was most urgent, sent in haste for four or five thousand men from all the parts under his dominion, whom he ordered toward the country of Orleans, under the command of sir Thomas Rampstone, the bastard de Thian and others, promising very soon to join them with the large reinforcements which he was daily expecting from England.

CHAPTER LXI.—THE MAID JOAN, WITH THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, THE DUKE D'ALENÇON, AND THEIR MEN, CONQUER THE TOWN OF GERGEAU.—THE BATTLE OF PATAYE, WHEN THE FRENCH DEFEAT THE ENGLISH.

THE constable of France, the duke d'Alençon, Joan the Maid, and other captains, having, as I said, taken the field, advanced with their army to Gergeau, wherein was the earl of Suffolk, and from three to four hundred of his men, who, with the inhabitants, made all diligence to put themselves in a posture of defence. The place was very soon surrounded by the enemy, who commenced an instant assault on the walls. This lasted a considerable space, and was very bloody; but the French pushed on so boldly that the town was stormed in spite of the courage of the besieged, and about three hundred of the English slain, among whom was a brother to the earl of Suffolk. The earl and another of his brothers, the lord de la Pole, were made prisoners, with sixty or more of their men.

Thus was the town and castle of Gergeau won by the French, who after their victory refreshed themselves at their ease. On departing thence, they went to Mehun, which soon surrendered; and the English who were in la Ferté-Imbaut fled in a body to Beaugency, whither they were pursued by the French, always having the Maid with her standard in front, and they quartered themselves near to Beaugency. The whole report of the country now resounded with praises of the Maid, and no other warrior was noticed.

The principal English captains in Beaugency, observing that the fame of this Maid had turned their good fortune, that many of their towns and castles were now under the subjection of the enemy, some through force of arms, others by composition,—and that their men were panic-struck by their misfortunes, were very desirous of retiring into Normandy. They were, however, uncertain how to act, or whether they should soon receive succour; and thus situated, they treated with the French for the delivery of the town, on condition that they might depart in safety with their property. On the conclusion of this treaty, the English marched away through Beauce toward Paris; and the French joyfully entered Beaugency, whence they resolved, by the advice of the Maid, to advance to meet a party of the English, who they heard were marching to offer them combat. They again took the field, and were daily reinforced by new-comers.

The constable ordered the marshal de Boussac,* La Hire, Poton, and some other captains, to form the vanguard; and the main body, under the command of the duke d'Alençon, the bastard of Orleans, and the marshal de Raix,† amounting to eight or nine thousand combatants, to follow it close. The Maid was asked by some of the princes, what she would advise to be done, or if she had any orders to give. She said, "that she knew full well their ancient enemies the English were on their march to fight with them,—but in God's name advance boldly against them, and assuredly they shall be conquered." Some present having asked, "where they should meet them?" she replied, "Ride boldly forward, and you will be conducted to them."

The army was then drawn up in battle array, and advanced slowly, for they had despatched sixty or eighty of their most expert men-at-arms, mounted on the fleetest horses, to reconnoitre the country and gain intelligence of the enemy. They thus marched for some time, until they came within half a league of a large village called Pataye. The men-at-arms who had been sent to reconnoitre put up a stag, which ran straight for the army of the English, who were assembling their men together, namely those who had come from Paris, as has been mentioned, and those who had marched from Beaugency,—and the English seeing the stag dash through them, set up a loud shout, not knowing the enemy was so near; but this shout satisfied the scouts where the English were, and a moment afterward they saw them quite plain. They sent back some of their companions with intelligence of what they had seen, and they desired that the army might advance in order of battle, for the hour of business was at hand. They immediately made every preparation with great courage, and were soon in sight of the enemy.

* John de Péosse, lord of St. Sève and Boussac, marshal of France in 1424.

† Marshal de Raix is Giles de Laval, marshal de *Retz*, afterwards burned for sorcery, and other infamous crimes.

The English, observing the French advance, made also their preparations with diligence for the combat. Some of the captains proposed that they should dismount where they then were, and take advantage of the hedge rows to prevent being surprised on their rear ; but others were of a contrary opinion, and said they should be better off on the plain. In consequence they retreated about half a quarter of a league from their former position, which was full of hedges and bushes. The French were very eager to come up with them ; and the greater part dismounted, turning their horses loose.

The vanguard of the French were impatient for the attack, having lately found the English very slack in their defence, and made so sudden and violent a charge that they were unable to form themselves in proper order. Sir John Fastolfe and the bastard de Thian had not dismounted, and, to save their lives they, with many other knights, set off full gallop. In the mean time those who had dismounted were surrounded by the French before they had time to fortify themselves, as usual, with sharp-pointed stakes in their front ; and without doing any great mischief to the French, they were soon completely defeated. About eighteen hundred English were left dead on the field, and from one hundred to six score made prisoners, the principal of whom were the lords Scales, Talbot, Hungerford, sir Thomas Rampstone and several more. Some of the great lords were killed, and the rest were people of low degree, of the same sort as those whom they were accustomed to bring from their own country to die in France.

When the business was over, which was about two o'clock in the afternoon, all the French captains assembled together, and devoutly and humbly returned thanks to their Creator for the victory. They were very gay on their good fortune, and lodged that night in the village of Pataye, which is two leagues distant from Anville in Beauce ; and this battle will bear the name of that town forever.

On the morrow, the French returned to Orleans and the adjacent parts with their prisoners. They were everywhere received with the utmost joy ; but the Maid especially seemed to have acquired so great renown, it was believed that the king's enemies could not resist her, and that by her means he would soon be acknowledged throughout his kingdom. She accompanied the other captains to the king, who was much rejoiced at their success, and gave them a gracious reception. Several councils were held in the presence of the king ; and it was resolved to collect as many men-at-arms as possible from all parts under his dominion to pursue his enemies.

On the day of the battle of Pataye, before the English knew that their enemies were so near, Sir John Fastolfe one of the chief captains, and who fled without striking a blow, assembled a council, when he remonstrated on the losses they had suffered before Orleans, at Gergeau and other places, which had greatly lowered the courage of their men, and on the contrary raised that of the French, and which made him now advise that they should retire to some of their strong towns in the neighbourhood, and not think of combating the enemy until their men were more reconciled to their late defeats, and until the reinforcements should be sent them which the regent was expecting from England. This language was not very agreeable to some of the captains, more especially to lord Talbot, who declared that if the enemy came he would fight them.

Sir John Fastolfe was bitterly reproached by the duke of Bedford for having thus fled from the battle,—and he was deprived of the order of the Garter : however, in time, the remonstrances he had made in council, previously to the battle, were considered as reasonable ; and this, with other circumstances and excuses he made, regained him the order of the Garter. Nevertheless, great quarrels arose between him and lord Talbot on this business, when the latter was returned from his captivity. Prior to the battle of Pataye, Jacques de Milly, Gilles de St. Simon, Louis de Marconnay, Jean de la Haye, and other valiant men, were made knights by the French.

CHAPTER LXII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AT THE REQUEST OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD COMES TO PARIS, WHEN THEY RENEW THEIR ALLIANCES.

When news of this unfortunate defeat was known to the duke of Bedford and the council at Paris, he was very much disturbed,—and several, on hearing of it, wept in the council. They were also informed, that king Charles was assembling his forces to march and conquer all the country before him. In consequence of this, the duke of Bedford and the Parisians appointed a solemn embassy to duke Philip of Burgundy, to make him acquainted with the strange events that had happened, and to request that he would hasten to Paris, to advise with the regent and his ministers how to act in these extraordinary circumstances. The ambassadors on this occasion were, the bishop of Noyon, two celebrated doctors in theology from the university, and some of the principal burghers of Paris. They found the duke at Hêdin, related to him the cause of their coming, and earnestly required of him, on the part of his brother-in-law the regent and the Parisians, that he would be pleased to come to Paris with all diligence, to concert measures with them for the more effectually opposing their adversaries.

The duke complied with their request, and promised to be at Paris within a few days. He instantly assembled from seven to eight hundred combatants from his territories in Artois, by whom he was escorted to Paris. His arrival gave great joy to all ranks, and for many days he and the regent held constant councils on the present state of affairs, at the end of which they entered into the following mutual engagement, namely, that each would exert his whole powers to resist their adversary Charles de Valois, and then solemnly renewed the alliances that existed between them. When these things were done, the duke of Burgundy returned to Artois, and carried his sister the duchess of Bedford with him, whom he established with her household at Lens in Artois. The duke of Bedford despatched messengers to England, with orders to send him, without delay, as large a body of the most expert men-at-arms as could be raised. In like manner he called to him the different garrisons in Normandy, and from other parts under his government, with all nobles and others accustomed to bear arms.

Some little time before, about four thousand combatants had been sent from England to the regent, under the command of the cardinal of Winchester, who crossed the sea with them to Calais, and thence marched to Amiens. The cardinal went from Amiens to Corbie, to meet the duke of Burgundy and his sister-in-law the duchess of Bedford, who were on their return from Paris. After they had conferred together some time, the cardinal went back to Amiens, and conducted his men to the regent, who was much rejoiced at their arrival. In these days, John, bastard of St. Pol, was sent to the duke of Bedford with a certain number of men from Picardy, by orders of the duke of Burgundy. The regent appointed him governor of the town and castle of Meaux in Brie, and gave him the sovereign command of all the adjacent country, to defend it against the power of king Charles, who was daily expected in these parts.

CHAPTER LXIII.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE TAKES THE FIELD WITH A NUMEROUS BODY OF CHIVALRY AND MEN-AT-ARMS.—MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES SUBMIT TO HIM ON HIS MARCH.

While these things were passing, Charles king of France assembled at Bourges in Berry a very great force of men-at-arms and archers, among whom were the duke d'Alençon, Charles de Bourbon count of Clermont, Arthur count of Richemont constable of France, Charles of Anjou, brother-in-law to the king, and son to René king of Sicily, the bastard of Orleans, the cadet of Armagnac*, Charles lord d'Albreth, and many other nobles and powerful barons from the countries of Aquitaine, Gascony, Poitou, Berry and different parts, whom he marched to Gien on the Loire. He was always accompanied by the Maid and a preaching friar of the

* Bertrand count of Pardiac, second son to the constable. He married Eleanor de Bourbon, heiress of la Marche, and became in her right count of la Marche, and afterwards duke of Nemours.

order of St. Augustin, called Richard, who had lately been driven out of Paris, and from other places under subjection to the English, for having in his sermons shown himself too favourable to the French party. From Gien the king marched toward Auxerre; but the constable went with a large detachment to Normandy and Evreux, to prevent the garrisons in that country joining the duke of Bedford. On the other hand, the cadet d'Armagnac was despatched into the Bourdelois to guard Aquitaine and those parts.

The king on his march reduced two towns to his obedience, Gergeau and St. Florentin, the inhabitants of which promised henceforward to be faithful to him, and to conduct themselves as loyal subjects should do to their lord: and they obtained the king's promise that he would rule them justly, and according to their ancient customs. He thence marched to Auxerre, and sent to summon the inhabitants to surrender to their natural and legal lord. At first, the townsmen were not inclined to listen to any terms, but commissioners being appointed on each side, a treaty was concluded, in which they engaged to render similar obedience to what the towns of Troyes, Châlons, and Rheims, should assent to. They supplied the king's army with provision for money, and remained peaceable, for the king held them excused this time.

The king marched next to Troyes, and encamped his men around it. He was three days there before the inhabitants would admit him as their lord: however, in consideration of certain promises made them, they opened the gates and permitted him and his army to enter their town, where he heard mass. When the usual oaths had been received and given on each side, the king returned to his camp, and caused it to be proclaimed several times throughout the camp and town, that no one, under pain of death, should molest the inhabitants of Troyes, or those of the other towns which had submitted to his obedience. On this expedition, the two marshals, namely, Boussac and the lord de Raix, commanded the van division, and with them were, la Hire, Poton de Saintrailles, and other captains. Very many great towns and castles submitted to king Charles on his march, the particulars of which I shall pass over for the sake of brevity.

CHAPTER LXIV.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE, WITH A NOBLE CHIVALRY AND A NUMEROUS BODY OF MEN-AT-ARMS, ARRIVES AT RHEIMS, WHERE HE IS CROWNED BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS.

During the time king Charles remained at Troyes in Champagne, deputies arrived from Châlons, who brought him the keys of their town, with promises of perfect obedience to his will. The king, upon this, went to Châlons, where he was kindly and with great humility received. In like manner, the keys of the city of Rheims were presented to him, with promises to admit him as their king, and to pay him due obedience. The lord de Saveuses had been lately made governor of Rheims, having a certain number of men-at-arms under him, to keep the town steady to the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy. On the arrival of the lord de Saveuses, the townsmen promised him that they would obey king Henry and the duke of Burgundy until death. Nevertheless, from fear of the Maid, of whose prowess they were told wonders, they resolved to surrender themselves to king Charles, although the lord de Chastillon and the lord de Saveuses wanted to persuade them to the contrary. These lords, noticing their obstinacy, quitted the town of Rheims; for in answer to their entreaties not to change sides, they had used very rough and strange expressions. The two lords then went to Château-Thierry.

The men of Rheims carried their resolution of submitting to king Charles into effect, as you have heard, through the instigation of the archbishop*, who was chancellor to king Charles, and some others. The king made his public entry into Rheims on Friday, the 6th day of July, attended by a noble chivalry; and on the following Sunday he was crowned by the archbishop in the cathedral of Rheims, in presence of all his princes, barons, and

* Renaud de Chartres, archbishop of Rheims, made chancellor in 1424, and again in 1428—cardinal in 1439—died October 4, 1445.

knights, then with him. In the number were, the duke d'Alençon, the count de Clermont, the lord de la Trimouille, his principal minister, the lord de Beaumanoir, a Breton, the lord de Mailly, in Touraine, who were dressed in coronation-robes, to represent the noble peers of France absent at this ceremony. They had been, however, called over at the great altar by France king-at-arms, in the usual manner.

When the coronation was over, the king went to the archiepiscopal palace to dinner, attended by his princes and nobles. The archbishop was seated at the king's table, and the king was served by the duke d'Alençon, the count de Clermont, and other great lords. The king, on his coronation, created, while in the church, three knights, of whom the youth of Commercis was one. On his leaving Rheims, he appointed sir Anthony de Hollande, nephew to the archbishop, governor; and on the morrow of his departure, he went on a pilgrimage to Corbeni, to pay adoration to St. Marcou. Thither came deputies from Laon, to submit themselves to his obedience in the manner other towns had done.

From Corbeni, the king went to Provins and Soissons, which places, without hesitation, opened their gates to him. He made La Hire bailiff of the Vermandois, in the room of sir Colart de Mailly, who had been appointed to that office by king Henry. The king and his army next came before Château-Thierry, in which were the lord de Châtillon, John de Croy, John de Brimeu, and other great lords of the Burgundian party, with about four hundred combatants. These gentlemen, perceiving the townsmen inclined to submit to the king, and not expecting any speedy succour, and being withal poorly provided for defence, yielded up the town and castle to king Charles, and marched away with their effects and baggage undisturbed. They went to the duke of Bedford at Paris, who was then collecting a sufficient body of men-at-arms to combat the French.

CHAPTER LXV.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY TO COMBAT KING CHARLES.—HE SENDS A LETTER TO THE KING.

At this period, the regent duke of Bedford, having collected about ten thousand combatants from England, Normandy, and other parts, marched them from Rouen toward Paris, with the intent to meet king Charles and offer him battle. He advanced, through the country of Brie, to Montereau-faut-Yonne, whence he sent ambassadors to the said king, with a sealed letter of the following tenor.

"We John of Lancaster, regent of France and duke of Bedford, make known to you Charles de Valois, who were wont to style yourself Dauphin of Vienne, but at present without cause call yourself king, for wrongfully do you make attempts against the crown and dominion of the very high, most excellent and renowned prince Henry, by the grace of God true and natural lord of the kingdoms of France and England,—deceiving the simple people by your telling them you come to give peace and security, which is not the fact, nor can it be done by the means you have pursued and are now following to seduce and abuse ignorant people, with the aid of superstitious and damnable persons, such as a woman of a disorderly and infamous life, and dissolute manners, dressed in the clothes of a man, together with an apostate and seditious mendicant friar, as we have been informed, both of whom are, according to holy Scripture, abominable in the sight of God. You have also gained possession, by force of arms, of the country of Champagne, and of several towns and castles appertaining to my said lord the king, the inhabitants of which you have induced to perjure themselves by breaking the peace which had been most solemnly sworn to by the then kings of France and England, the great barons, peers, prelates, and three estates of the realm.

"We, to defend and guard the right of our said lord the king, and to repulse you from his territories, by the aid of the All-Powerful, have taken the field in person, and with the means God has given us, as you may have heard, shall pursue you from place to place in the hope of meeting you, which we have never yet done. As we most earnestly and heartily desire a final end to the war, we summon and require of you, if you be a prince desirous of gaining honour, to take compassion on the poor people, who have, on your account, been so long and so grievously harassed, that an end may be put to their afflictions, by terminating

this war. Choose, therefore, in this country of Brie, where we both are, and not very distant from each other, any competent place for us to meet, and having fixed on a day, appear there with the abandoned woman, the apostate monk, and all your perjured allies, and such force as you may please to bring, when we will, with God's pleasure, personally meet you in the name and as the representative of my lord the king.

"Should it then please you to make any proposals respecting peace, we will do every thing that may be expected from a catholic prince, for we are always inclined to conclude a solid peace, not such a false and treacherous one as that of Montereau-faut-Yonne, when, through your connivance, that most horrid and disgraceful murder was committed contrary to every law of chivalry and honour, on the person of our late very dear and well-beloved father duke John of Burgundy, whose soul may God receive! By means of this peace so wickedly violated by you, upwards of one hundred nobles have deserted your realm, as may be clearly shown by the letters patent under your hand and seal, by which you have absolutely and unreservedly acquitted them of every oath of loyalty, fealty and subjection. However, if from the iniquity and malice of mankind peace cannot be obtained, we may each of us then with our swords defend the cause of our quarrel before God, as our judge, and to whom and none other will my said lord refer it. We therefore most humbly supplicate the Almighty, as knowing the right of my lord in this matter, that he would dispose the hearts of this people so that they may remain in peace without further oppressions; and such ought to be the object of all Christian kings and princes in regard to their subjects.

"We, therefore, without using more arguments or longer delay, make known our proposals to you, which should you refuse, and should further murders and mischiefs be, through your fault, committed by a continuation of the war, we call God to witness, and protest before him and the world, that we are no way the cause, and that we have done and do our duty. We therefore profess our willingness to consent to a solid and reasonable peace, and, should that be rejected, then to resort to open combat becoming princes, when no other means can accommodate their differences. In testimony whereof, we have had these presents sealed with our seal.

"Given at Montereau-faut-Yonne the 7th day of August, in the year of Grace 1429." Signed by my lord the regent of France and duke of Bedford.

CHAPTER LXVI.—THE ARMIES OF CHARLES KING OF FRANCE AND OF THE REGENT DUKE OF BEDFORD MEET NEAR TO MONT EPILOY.

The duke of Bedford, finding that he could not meet the army of king Charles to his advantage, and that many towns were surrendering to the king without making any resistance, withdrew his forces toward the Isle of France, to prevent the principal towns in that district following their examples.

King Charles, in the meanwhile, advanced to Crespy, where he had been received as king, and, passing through Brie, was making for Senlis, when the two armies of the king and the duke came within sight of each other at Mont Epiloy, near to the town of Baron.

Both were diligent in seizing the most advantageous positions for the combat. The duke of Bedford chose a strong post, well strengthened, on the rear and wings, with thick hedgerows. In the front, he drew up his archers in good array on foot, having each a sharp-pointed stake planted before them. The regent himself was with his lords in one battalion close to the archers, where, among the banners of the different lords, were displayed two having the arms of France and of England: the banner of St. George was likewise there, and borne that day by Jean de Villiers, knight, lord of Isle-Adam. The regent had with him from six to eight hundred combatants from the duke of Burgundy, the chief leaders of whom were, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, Jean de Croy, Jean de Crequi, Anthony de Bethune*, Jean de Fosseux, the lord de Saveuses, sir Hugh de Launoy, Jean de Brimeu, Jean de

* Anthony de Bethune, lord of Mareuil and Hostel, killed in 1430 by the commune of Laon. He was eldest son of John lord of Mareuil, killed at Azincourt; and had three brothers, Robert, Guy, and Jacotin, of whom the former became lord of Mareuil after his death.

Launoy, sir Simon de Lalain, Jean bastard de St. Pol, and other warriors, some of whom were then knighted. The bastard de St. Pol received that honour from the hand of the duke of Bedford, and Jean de Crequi, Jean de Croy, Anthony de Bethune, Jean de Fosseux, and le Liegeois de Humieres*, by the hands of other knights.

When these matters were ordered, the English were drawn up together on the left wing, and the Picards, with those of the French in king Henry's interest, opposite to them. They thus remained in battle-array for a considerable time, and were so advantageously posted that the enemy could not attack them without very great risk to themselves; add to which, they were plentifully supplied with provision from the good town of Senlis, near to which they were.

King Charles had drawn up his men with his most expert captains in the van division, the others remained with him in the main battalion, excepting a few posted, by way of rear-guard, toward Paris. The king had a force of men-at-arms with him much superior in numbers to the English. The Maid was also there, but perpetually changing her resolutions; sometimes she was eager for the combat, at other times not. The two parties, however, remained in this state, ever prepared to engage, for the space of two days and two nights, during which were many skirmishes and attacks. To detail them all would take too much time; but there was one very long and bloody, that took place on the wing where the Picards were posted, and which lasted for an hour and a half. The royal army fought with the utmost courage, and their archers did much mischief with their arrows, insomuch that many persons thought, seeing the numbers engaged, that it would not cease until one or other of the parties were vanquished. They, however, separated, but not without many killed and wounded on each side. The duke of Bedford was very well pleased with the Picards for the gallantry and courage they had displayed; and when they had retreated, he rode down their ranks, addressing them kindly, and saying, "My friends, you are excellent people, and have valiantly sustained for us a severe shock, for which we humbly thank you; and we entreat, that should any more attacks be made on your post, you will persevere in the same valour and courage."

Both parties were violently enraged against each other, so that no man, whatever his rank, was that day ransomed, but every one put to death without mercy. I was told, that about three hundred men were killed in these different skirmishes; but I know not which side lost the most. At the end of two days, the armies separated without coming to a general engagement.

CHAPTER LXVII.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AT ARRAS.

About this time, ambassadors were sent to the duke of Burgundy, at Arras, by king Charles of France, to treat of a peace between them. The principal persons of this embassy were, the archbishop of Rheims, Christopher de Harcourt, the lords de Dammartin, de Gaucourt, and de Fontaines, knights, with some councillors of state. Having demanded an audience, some few days after their arrival, they remonstrated through the mouth of the archbishop with the duke of Burgundy most discreetly and wisely on the cause of their coming, and, among other topics, enlarged on the perfect affection the king bore him, and on his earnest desire to be at peace with him,—for which purpose he was willing to make condescensions and reparations even more than were becoming royal majesty. They excused him of the murder committed on the person of the late duke of Burgundy, on the score of his youth, alleging that he was then governed by persons regardless of the welfare of the kingdom, but whose measures at that time he dared not oppose.

These and other remonstrances from the archbishop were kindly listened to by the duke and his council; and when he had finished speaking, one of the duke's ministers replied, "My lord and his council have heard with attention what you have said; he will consider

* Qy. Dreux, lord of Humieres, son of Philip and brother of Matthew, second lord of Humieres, and John of Humieres, who defended Corbie in 1431.

on it, and you shall have his answer within a few days." The archbishop and his companions now returned to their hotel, much respected by all ranks, for the majority of the states were very desirous of a peace between the king and the duke of Burgundy. Even those of the middle ranks, although there was neither truce nor peace, came to the chancellor of France at Arras, to solicit letters of grace and remission, as if the king had been in the full possession of his power,—which grants, however, they obtained from the archbishop as chancellor.

The duke of Burgundy held many consultations with those of his privy council, which much hastened the conclusion of this business.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE LORD DE LONGUEVAL CONQUERS THE CASTLE OF AUMALE FROM THE ENGLISH.

The lord de Longueval, having been deprived of his estates, had turned to king Charles, and, by the means of a priest resident in Aumale, had gained the castle of the town, the chief place of that country, and held by the English. Four or five Englishmen were found within it, who were put to death; but the inhabitants were spared, on their making oath to behave in future like good Frenchmen, and paying a heavy ransom for their deliverance. This castle was shortly after repaired, re-victualled, and reinforced with men-at-arms, who carried on a continual warfare against the English and their allies in these parts. The duke of Bedford was much vexed at this; but he could not, by reason of more important matters, at the time go thither, nor provide any remedy. At this time also the castle of Estrepagny was taken by storm from the lord de Rambures and his men; but on the other hand, the fortress of Château-Gaillard was reduced to the obedience of king Charles, which is excellently situated and is very strong. In this castle had been confined for a long time that valiant knight the lord de Barbasan, who had been made prisoner, as has been said, by king Henry's army at Melun. By means of this lord de Barbasan was Château-Gaillard won, and himself freed from prison. He gave the command of it to some of his people, and soon after joined king Charles, by whom he was most joyfully received and honoured.

The castle of Torcy was also put into the hands of the French by some of the country people, who had connexions with the English, and who betrayed it to the enemy. Thus in a short time were four of the strongest castles of the enemy recovered; and in consequence of their capture, those parts were very much harassed, both by the French and English.

CHAPTER LXIX.—THE TOWN OF COMPIEGNE SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.—THE RETURN OF THE FRENCH EMBASSY WHICH HAD BEEN SENT TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

When king Charles was marching from near Senlis, where he and the duke of Bedford had been within sight of each other, he was detained at Crespy in Valois, and there he received intelligence that the town of Compiègne was willing to submit to his obedience. He lost no time in going thither, and was received by the inhabitants with great joy, and lodged in the royal palace. His chancellor and the other ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, there met him, and informed him, that although they had held many conferences with the ministers of the duke of Burgundy, nothing had been finally concluded, except that the duke had agreed to send ambassadors to king Charles to confer further on the subject. They had learnt that the majority of the duke's council were very desirous that peace should be established between the king and him, but that master John de Tourcy, bishop of Tournay, and sir Hugh de Launoy, had been charged by the duke of Bedford to remind the duke of Burgundy of his oaths to king Henry, and were against a peace with the king of France. This had delayed the matter,—and further time had been required by the duke to send his ambassadors. He had, however, nominated sir John de Luxembourg, the bishop of Arras, sir David de Brimeu, with other discreet and noble persons, for the purpose.

About this time, sir Lyonnel de Bournouville, who had lost his town and castle of Creil, requested some men-at-arms from the duke of Bedford to re-conquer one of his castles called Breteictre, which the French had won. His request was granted, and he took the fort by storm, putting to death all within it,—but he was so severely wounded himself that he died soon after.

CHAPTER LXX.—THE KING OF FRANCE MAKES AN ATTACK ON THE CITY OF PARIS.

During king Charles's stay at Compiègne, news was brought him that the regent-duke of Bedford had marched with his whole army to Normandy, to combat the constable near to Evreux, where he was despoiling the country. The king did not leave Compiègne for ten or twelve days, when he marched for Senlis, appointing sir William de Flavy the governor. Senlis surrendered on capitulation to the king, who fixed his quarters in the town, and distributed his army in the country about it. Many towns and villages now submitted to the king's obedience; namely, Creil, Beauvais, Choisy, le Pont de St. Maixence, Gournay sur l'Aronde, Remy la Neuville en Hez, Moignay, Chantilly, Saintry, and others.

The lords de Montmorency* and de Moy took the oaths of allegiance to him; and, in truth, had he marched his army to St. Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, Abbeville, and to other strong towns and castles, the majority of the inhabitants were ready to acknowledge him for their lord, and desired nothing more earnestly than to do him homage, and open their gates. He was, however, advised not to advance so far on the territories of the duke of Burgundy, as well from there being a considerable force of men-at-arms, as because he was in the expectation that an amicable treaty would be concluded between them. After king Charles had halted some days in Senlis, he dislodged and marched to St. Denis, which he found almost abandoned, for the richer inhabitants had gone to Paris. He quartered his men at Aubervilliers, Montmartre, and in the villages round Paris. The Maid Joan was with him, and in high reputation, and daily pressed the king and princes to make an attack on Paris.

It was at length determined that on Monday, the 12th day of the month, the city should be stormed, and, in consequence, every preparation was made for it. On that day, the king drew up his army in battle-array between Montmartre and Paris; his princes, lords, and the Maid, were with him; the van division was very strong; and thus, with displayed banner, he marched to the gate of St. Honoré, carrying thither scaling-ladders, fascines, and all things necessary for the assault. He ordered his infantry to descend into the ditches; and the attack commenced at ten o'clock, which was very severe and murderous, and lasted four or five hours. The Parisians had with them Louis de Luxembourg, the bishop of Therouenne, king Henry's chancellor, and other notable knights, whom the duke of Burgundy had sent thither, such as the lord de Crequi, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, sir Simon de Lalain, Valeran de Bournouville, and other able men, with four hundred combatants. They made a vigorous defence, having posted a sufficient force at the weakest parts before the attack began. Many of the French were driven back into the ditches, and numbers were killed and wounded by the cannon and culverines from the ramparts. Among the last was the Maid, who was very dangerously hurt; she remained the whole of the day behind a small hillock until vespers, when Guichard de Thiembronne came to seek her. A great many of the besieged suffered also. At length the French captains, seeing the danger of their men, and that it was impossible to gain the town by force against so obstinate a defence, and that the inhabitants seemed determined to continue it, without any disagreement among themselves, sounded the retreat. They carried off the dead and wounded, and returned to their former quarters. On the morrow, king Charles, very melancholy at the loss of his men, went to Senlis, to have the wounded attended to and cured.

The Parisians were more unanimous than ever, and mutually promised each other to

* John II. lord of Montmorency, Escouen, and Damville, grand chamberlain before 1425.—So faithful to the royal cause, that he disinherited his two sons for being Burgundians.

oppose, until death, king Charles, who wanted to destroy them all. Perhaps, knowing how much they had misbehaved by forcing him to quit Paris, and by putting to death some of his most faithful servants, they were afraid of meeting with their deserts.

CHAPTER LXXI.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AMBASSADORS TO AMIENS, TO KEEP UP HIS INTEREST WITH THE INHABITANTS.

In these days, the duke sent as ambassadors, to Amiens, the bishops of Noyon, of Arras, the vidame of Amiens, and others, to remind the mayor and townsmen of the good affection which he and his predecessors had ever shown them; and to say, that if there was any thing he or his friends could do for them, they were at their commands; requesting them, in return, to persevere in their attachment to his interests, like good friends and neighbours. The townsmen of Amiens, seeing themselves thus honoured and courted by such ambassadors from so mighty a prince, were in the highest spirits, and said among themselves, that it would be well to put their town under his protection, on his abolishing all taxes. They replied to the ambassadors, that they would shortly send commissioners to the duke to declare their intentions. They did send commissioners in conjunction with deputies from Abbeville, Montrieul, St. Riquier, Dourlens, and others, who were instructed to demand an abolition of taxes. This was not granted by the duke; but he promised them his support and assistance to obtain their demand from king Henry.

At this time the duke of Burgundy summoned from Picardy and the adjacent parts, all those who had been accustomed to bear arms, to be ready prepared to join and march with him where he might please to lead them. They were soon assembled in great bodies, and passed muster at Beauquêne, where they took the oaths before sir James de Brimeu, constituted marshal for this purpose. They advanced toward Abbeville and St. Riquier, where they remained a considerable time waiting for the duke of Burgundy, which was a heavy oppression to those parts.

CHAPTER LXXII.—CHARLES KING OF FRANCE RETURNS TO TOURAINE AND BERRY.

King Charles, finding the city of Paris unwilling to submit to his obedience, resolved with those of his council to appoint governors to all the towns and castles which had surrendered to him, and to return himself to Touraine and Berry. Having determined on this, he made Charles de Bourbon, count of Clermont, governor in chief of the Isle de France and of Beauvoisis: his chancellor had the command in the town of Beauvais, the count de Vendôme at Senlis, William de Flavy, at Compiègne, sir James de Chabannes at Creil. The king, atended by the other great lords who had come with him, went from Senlis to Crespy, and thence, by Sens and Burgundy, to Touraine; for the truce between the Burgundians and French did not expire until Easter. The passage of the Pont de St. Maixence, of which the French now had possession, was again intrusted to the hands of Regnault de Longueval,—so that all that part of France was at this time sorely distressed by the French and English garrisons making daily inroads on each other; in consequence of which the villages were deserted, by the inhabitants retiring to the strong towns.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY CONDUCTS HIS SISTER BACK TO PARIS, IN GREAT POMP, TO HER LORD THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

On the 20th of September in this year, the duke of Burgundy left Hêdin, with his sister the duchess of Bedford, grandly accompanied, and lay that night at Dourlens. They proceeded the next day to Corbie, where they remained some days to wait the arrival of men-at-arms who were coming to them from all quarters. From Corbie they went to Mondidier, and thence to Chastenay, quartering the men-at-arms, who amounted to from three to four thousand, in the country round. They crossed the river Oise at Pont St. Maixence, and, passing by Senlis, were lodged at Louvres-en-Parisis.

The duke marched his men in handsome order, sir John de Luxembourg commanding the van, and the duke the main body. Near to him was his sister, mounted on a good trotting horse, attended by eight or ten ladies on hackneys. The lord de Saveuses and other knights, with a certain number of men-at-arms, followed by way of rear-guard. The duke was much looked at by the French, who had come out of Senlis in great numbers on foot and on horseback, armed or not as they pleased, on account of the existing truce. He was completely armed except the head, and mounted on a beautiful horse, and handsomely dressed and equipped, followed by seven or eight pages on excellent coursers.

The archbishop of Rheims, chancellor of France, came first to meet and do him reverence in the plains without Senlis, and shortly after came the count de Clermont, with about sixty knights. When they had drawn near to the duke they both pulled off their hoods, bowed their heads, and addressed each other in obliging terms, but did not embrace through love and joy, as those nearly allied by blood are accustomed to do. After these first salutations, the count de Clermont went to embrace his sister-in-law the duchess of Bedford, who was on the right hand of his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy,—and having made a short acquaintance with her he returned to the duke ; but observing that he did not seem willing to enter into any conversation, or have much to say to him, they took leave of each other and separated on the spot where they had met. Charles de Bourbon and the chancellor went back to Senlis, and the duke pursued his march to Louvres, where, as I have said, he intended to pass the night.

On the morrow, he directed his march toward Paris, whither the duke of Bedford was returned from Normandy. On their meeting, joyous was the reception on both sides, and great and numerous were the embracings. The men-at-arms of the duke of Burgundy were drawn up in array near to Paris, where they waited a considerable time before the harbingers had settled their quarters within the town. This done, the princes and the duchess made their public entry with their men-at-arms. The Parisians were highly delighted at the arrival of the duke of Burgundy, and sung carols in all the streets through which he passed. They conducted the regent and his duchess to the palace of the Tournelles, and then the duke to his hôtel of Artois.

Great councils were held on the following day respecting the present state of public affairs ; and, among other things the duke of Burgundy was required by the Parisians to be pleased to take on him the command of Paris, whose inhabitants had so strong an affection for him, and were ready and willing to support his and his late father's quarrels. They added, that it was absolutely necessary that he should comply with their wishes, considering the very many weighty matters the regent had on his hands in Normandy and elsewhere. The duke of Burgundy granted their request until the ensuing Easter, but it was very much against his inclinations. The two dukes then determined to bring forward all their forces about Easter, in the spring of the year, to reconquer those towns in the Isle of France and on the Oise which had turned against them. Having arranged these matters, the duke of Bedford, with his duchess and the English, departed from Paris. The duke of Burgundy appointed the lord de l'Isle-Adam governor of Paris, with a small number at men-at-arms at St. Denis, the Bois de Vincennes, at the bridge of Charenton, and at other necessary posts. Having settted this business, and tarried in Paris the space of three weeks, he took leave of the queen of France, mother to king Charles, and returned, by the same route by which he had come, to Artois, and thence to Flanders. With him departed several of the burghers of Paris and some merchants.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—THE FRENCH AND BURGUNDIANS ATTACK EACH OTHER, NOTWITHSTANDING THE TRUCE.

Although a truce had been concluded between king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, it was very little respected on either side, for they frequently attacked each other. To cover their proceedings, some of the Burgundians joined the English, with whom no truce had been made, and thus carried on open war against the French. The French acted in the same way, by making war on the Burgundians, under pretence of mistaking them for

English, so that the truce afforded no manner of security. Among others, a gallant act was done by a valiant man-at-arms from England, called Foulkes, with whom some of the Burgundians had united themselves: and they were quartered in a handsome castle at Neuville le Roi, which they had repaired.

They formed a plan to surprise the town of Creil and plunder it, and placed an ambuscade near that place, that if the enemy should pursue them, they might fall into it. What they had supposed did happen; for sir James de Chabannes, the governor, hearing a disturbance, instantly armed, and, mounting his horse, galloped into the plain, to attack the English. At the first onset, Georges de Croix was made prisoner, and several unhorsed. A grand skirmish ensued; but, in the end, by the valour and perseverance of the said Foulkes, sir James and two other knights were made prisoners, together with some of their ablest men. In this action, however, Foulkes was struck on the uncovered part of his neck with the sharp point of a spear, so that he instantly died, though the wound was very small. All those of his party who knew him greatly lamented his death, and were sorry at heart, for they looked on him as one of the most valiant and expert men-at-arms in England.

The remaining English now collected together, under their leaders, Bohart de Boyentin and Robinet Eguetin, and returned with the prisoners to their castle. Within a few days they concluded a treaty with sir James de Chabannes, giving him his liberty on his paying a certain sum of money, and delivering up Georges de Croix. The duke of Bedford, perceiving that Château Galliard, from its situation and strength, greatly annoyed the adjacent countries in Normandy, resolved to have it besieged before the enemy could revictual it, or reinforce it. The siege lasted from six to seven months, and it was then surrendered from want of provisions,—and the garrison were allowed to march away with their baggage and effects.

CHAPTER LXXV.—THE LORD DE SAVEUSES AND THE BASTARD DE ST. POL ARE MADE PRISONERS BY THE FRENCH, NEAR TO PARIS.—A PARTY OF FRENCH GAIN THE TOWN OF ST. DENIS BY SCALADO.

About this time, the duke of Burgundy sent the lord de Saveuses and John de Brimeu, with five hundred combatants, to assist the Parisians against the French, who were daily making excursions on all sides of the town, to the great loss of the inhabitants. They quartered themselves in St. Denis, and gained several advantages over the enemy in their many skirmishes; but one day, the French, having formed a junction with some of the garrisons on the side of Montlehery, advanced to Paris, leaving a detachment in ambuscade at a small village. At that time the lord de Saveuses and the bastard de St Pol were in Paris, and, hearing the disturbance, hastily mounted their horses, and set out instantly in pursuit of the enemy, with few attendants, and without waiting for their men-at-arms. The French, in their flight, made for the ambuscade, where these two knights, finding resistance vain, were taken prisoners by them, and carried away, with a few of their attendants, to one of their castles. The bastard de St. Pol was badly wounded in the neck by a lance before he was taken, and was some time in danger of his life. The two knights, however, on paying a heavy ransom, soon returned to Paris, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

On the other hand, the French, under the command of Allain Geron, Gaucher de Bruissart, and other captains, advanced, at the break of day, to St. Denis; in which town, John de Brimeu was lately arrived with some men-at-arms, whom he had brought from Artois, and he had also some of the men of the lord de Saveuses. A party of the French gained admittance by means of ladders, and opening one of the gates, their whole body rushed in, shouting, 'Town won!' and battering down the doors and windows of all the houses wherein they thought there were any Burgundians, who, on hearing the noise, were much alarmed. Some retreated to the strong parts of the town, and John de Brimeu with many to the abbey; the bastard de Saveuses to the gate leading to Paris, and others saved themselves under different gates; while great part, sallying out of their quarters to join their captains, were made prisoners or slain. Among the prisoners were Anthony de Wistre, Thierry de Manlingehem,

and from twelve to sixteen others, mostly gentlemen. Thevenin de Thenequestes, Jean de Hautecloque, and a few more, were killed.

While the affray was going on, John de Brimeu and his companions recovered their courage, and began to assemble in different parts where they heard their war-cries; and having introduced a valiant man-at-arms, called Guillaume de Beauval, he collected a body of men and attacked the enemy, who were more intent on pillaging than on keeping good order, and drove them out of the town, with the loss of eight or ten of their men. The lord de Saveuses, then in Paris, hearing of this attack, assembled in haste as many men as he could, and galloped off to succour his friends at St. Denis: but before his arrival the French were gone, and had retreated toward Senlis and others of their garrisons, carrying with them many horses from those in St. Denis.

At this same time, the English besieged the lord de Rambays in his castle of Estrepaigny, the inheritance of the count de Tancarville,—and remained so long battering it with their engines that the lord de Rambays, hopeless of succour, treated with the English for its surrender, on condition that he and his men should depart in safety with their baggage.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE ENGLISH MAKE MANY CONQUESTS.

In this year the duke of Bedford had the castle of Torcy besieged, which was the best built and strongest in all that part of the country. The command of the besieging army was given to the bastard of Clarence, who by his cannon and other engines, which he kept continually playing against it, greatly damaged the walls. At the end of six months, the besieged seeing no hope of relief, and finding that their provision began to fail, entered into a treaty with the bastard of Clarence for their surrender, on condition that some of the principal inhabitants might depart whither they pleased with their effects; and that from ten to twelve others, who had formerly been of the English party, but who had even aided the French to win the castle, should remain at their pleasure. These were very cruelly put to death, and the castle was then demolished and razed to the ground.

In the month of January of this year, sir Thomas Kiriel, an Englishman, with four hundred combatants, most part of whom were his countrymen, marched from Gournay in Normandy, where they had been in garrison, passing by Beauvais toward Beauvoisis and the county of Clermont. He committed much mischief in those parts, seized many cattle, especially horses, and made several prisoners. He advanced even to the suburbs of Clermont, and then set out on his return to his garrison. The count de Clermont was then at Beauvais, and hearing of this enterprise of sir Thomas, quickly collected from all the neighbouring garrisons attached to king Charles eight hundred or more combatants. To these were added a multitude of peasants, as well from Beauvais as from the adjacent parts,—and all of them hastened to meet and fight the English. Sir Thomas had heard from his scouts of their coming, and had drawn up his men in battle-array, about a league off Beauvais, to wait for them. They were on foot, having a wood on their rear, and sharp stakes in front to prevent the horse from charging without great danger to themselves. The French, nevertheless, began the attack, and very severe it was on both sides, but, as they were on horseback, were soon repulsed by the arrows of the archers, and thrown into confusion: the English then, seizing their opportunity, rushed on them with such courage that the enemy were defeated, very many being slain, and upwards of a hundred of these peasants made prisoners. They gained the field of battle,—for the horsemen had retreated, very melancholy at their loss, to Beauvais. Sir Thomas, rejoiced at his victory, carried his prisoners and plunder safe to his garrison of Gournay.

The earl of Suffolk, about this time, laid siege to the castle of Aumale, of which the lord de Rambures was governor, having under him six-score combatants. The castle was surrounded on all sides; and at the end of twenty-four days it was constrained to surrender, on condition that the lord de Rambures and his men should have their lives spared, with the exception of about thirty who were hanged, because they had formerly taken oaths of

fidelity to the English, and had been of their party. Soon afterward the lord de Rambures was carried to England, where he remained prisoner five or six years before he could obtain his liberty. The castle was revictualled and regarrisoned. Thus did the English regain, this year, many strong places which the French had won, with scarcely any loss of men.

CHAPTER LXXVII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARRIES, FOR THE THIRD TIME, THE LADY ISABELLA, DAUGHTER TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

On the 9th day of January, in this year, was solemnised in the city of Bruges, in a house that had been expressly prepared for that purpose, the marriage of Philip duke of Burgundy with the lady Isabella, daughter to the king of Portugal. The feast was very grand and magnificent; all the principal streets of the town were hung with rich cloths and the finest tapestry; and there were present at it his two sisters, the duchess of Bedford and duchess of Cleves, the countess of Namur, the countess of Lielse, the countess of Conversan, sir John de Luxembourg, the lady of Beaurevoir, the bishop of Liege, and many other great lords and ladies. These personages displayed the richest dresses; themselves, their attendants, and horses, being each day clothed in different liveries, more especially the bishop of Liege, John bastard de St. Pol, sir John d'Hornes, and others. When the duchess landed (for she had been brought by sea by one of her brothers, together with the ambassadors from the duke of Burgundy, the principal of whom were, the lord de Roubais and master Gilles d'Escornay provost of Harlebecque,) near to Bruges, the burghers in great pomp went out to meet her. They had with them one hundred and sixty-four trumpets, which sounded very melodiously.

With regard to the various entertainments, which were continued for about eight days, it would take too much time to detail them. Suffice it to say, that there was the greatest profusion of meats and wines, and representations of unicorns and other beasts, from which flowed rose-water, wines, and different liquors, for the entertainment of the guests at this feast. The duke had never made such a display of magnificence at any of his former marriages,—and this was the third. There were tiltings, and various amusements, for many days, between knights and esquires of name and renown; and this feast must have cost the duke immense sums of money.

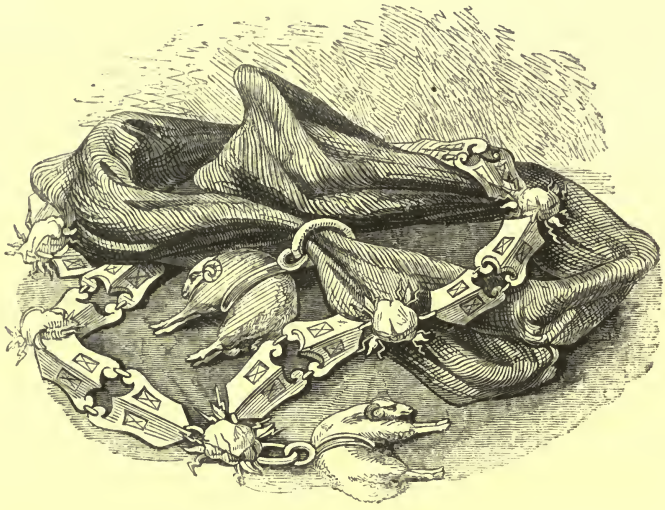
CHAPTER LXXVIII.—ESTIENNE DE VIGNOLLES, SURNAMED LA HIRE, SURPRISES AND TAKES THE TOWN OF LOUVIERS, IN NORMANDY.

In these days Estienne de Vignolles, surnamed La Hire, took the town of Louviers, in Normandy, by surprise, having entered it with scaling-ladders. He had with him from five to six hundred men, who found therein such plenty that they were greatly enriched. On their entrance about thirty townsmen, English, and others, were killed. After the capture the majority of the inhabitants took the oaths of allegiance, to whom La Hire restored their houses and the greater part of their effects; the rest saved themselves as well as they could, leaving their wealth behind them. La Hire and his companions soon made a severe warfare on the dirtricts around, and at times even advanced as far as Rouen. The poor people were much harassed by them, to the great vexation of the English, for at the time they could not assist them by reason of the more weighty matters they had on hand.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY INSTITUTES, THIS YEAR, THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE.

In this year the duke of Burgundy established, in honour of God and St. Andrew, whose cross he bore in his arms, an order or fraternity of twenty-four knights without reproach, and gentlemen from four generations, to each of whom he gave a collar of gold handsomely

wrought with his device, namely, "Du Fusil,"—to each of which, collars were suspended in front, like as great ladies wear crosses, clasps, or diamonds,—and in the centre thereof was a golden fleece, similar to what Jason conquered in old times, as is written in the history of Troy, and which no Christian prince had ever before made use of. The duke, therefore, called this order, "The Order of the Golden Fleece."



Insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

He, in conjunction with his council, selected twenty-four knights to be of this order: the names of some of them follow—First, the duke, the founder, then William de Vienne lord de St. George, sir Regnier Pot lord de la Roche, the lord de Roubaise, the lord de Montagu, sir Roland de Huquerque, sir Anthony du Vergy count de Dammartin, sir David de Brimeu lord de Ligny, sir Hugh de Launoy lord de Santes, sir John lord de Commines, sir Anthony de Toulongeon marshal of Burgundy, sir Petro de Luxembourg count de Conversan, sir John de la Trimouille lord de Jonvelles, sir John de Luxembourg lord de Beaurevoir, sir Gillebert de Launoy lord de Villerval, sir John de Villiers lord de l'Isle-Adam, sir Anthony lord de Croy and de Renty, sir Florimont de Brimeu lord de Massincourt, sir Robert lord de Mamines, sir James de Brimeu lord de Grigny, sir Baudouin de Launoy lord de Moulembais, sir Peter de Bauffremont lord de Chargny, sir Philip lord de Ternant, sir John de Crequi, sir John de Croy lord de Tours sur Marne.

These knights and their successors were, on receiving the order, to enter into and sign solemn statutes and engagements for its preservation, and the maintaining it in due splendour, which shall be hereafter more fully detailed when the order shall have had its full number of knights,—for, after the first institution of it, many others were added to those above named. The heirs of any knight were bounden, on his decease, to deliver up the collar of the order to the duke of Burgundy, for him to give it to another knight.

CHAPTER LXXX.—THE LORD DE CREVECOEUR AND SIR ROBERT DE SAVEUSES ARE ATTACKED BY THE FRENCH ON THEIR MARCH TO CLERMONT IN THE BEAUVOISIS.

In the month of February of this year, the lord de Crevecoeur, governor of Clermont in Beauvoisis, set out from Amiens to go thither, accompanied by sir Robert de Saveuses and about eight score combatants, as an escort to carts and cars laden with provision for Lent, and other matters. Having passed St. Just, near to St. Remy en l'Aire, they were watched

by the French, who knew of their coming, and instantly attacked. The leaders of the French were sir Theolde Valperghue, sir Regnault de Fontaines, sir Louis de Vaucourt, and others, having a much superior force to the enemy. Notwithstanding this, the lords de Crevecoeur and Saveuses dismounted with their men, the greater part of whom were archers, and defended themselves valiantly for the space of four hours or more, during which many men and horses were killed and severely wounded on both sides. At length, the French, seeing their loss, and that they could not conquer the enemy, returned to their garrisons, and the lord de Crevecoeur and sir Robert de Saveuses continued their march to Clermont, where they remained until the ensuing year, waiting for the coming of the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER LXXXI.—FIVE FRENCHMEN COMBAT FIVE BURGUNDIANS AT ARRAS,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

On the 20th of February, in this same year, a combat took place in the great market-place at Arras, in the presence of the duke of Burgundy, as judge of the field, between five Frenchmen, of the party of king Charles, and five Burgundians, who had challenged each other to break a certain number of lances. The French knights were sir Theolde de Valperghue, Poton de Saintrailles, sir Philip d'Abrecy, sir William de Bes, and l'Estandart de Nully: the Burgundians were sir Simon de Lalain, the lord de Chargny, sir John de Vaulde, sir Nicolle de Menton, and Philibert de Menton.

This tournament lasted five days; and a large spot was enclosed for the purpose, covered with sand, and the lists constructed with wood, with a division so that the horses of the two knights could not run against each other. The first day, sir Simon de Lalain and sir Theolde de Valperghue performed gallantly against each other; but toward the end sir Theolde and his horse were struck to the ground. In like manner were the ensuing days employed, and very many lances were broken. The lord de Chargny, however, at the thirteenth course against sir Philibert d'Abrecy, struck off the vizor of his helmet, and drove the lance into his face, so that he was instantly carried to his lodgings in the utmost danger. On the last day, sir l'Estandart de Nully was hit exactly in the same manner, by the same Philibert de Menton, and, like the other, was conducted to his lodgings in such great pain, that he could with difficulty sit his horse: he had behaved with much gallantry, and had broken several lances against his adversary.

The French were served with lances by an expert and active man-at-arms called Alardin de Mousay, and most of the Burgundians by sir John de Luxembourg. Each day the duke came to the seat prepared for him, grandly attended by his chivalry, and nobly dressed. When this tournament was over, and the French had been well entertained, and presented with handsome gifts by the duke, they departed from the town of Arras for Compiègne, very disconsolate that they had been so unsuccessful. They left the two wounded knights behind, to be attended by the duke's surgeons, who in the end cured them.

In these days the French on the borders of Beauvoisis, on the river Oise, made daily excursions against those of the Burgundy party, who returned the compliment, although a truce had been sworn to last until the ensuing Easter; and these continual excursions caused the villages and country to be nearly deserted. Duke Philip of Burgundy summoned a large body of men-at-arms to meet him at Peronne, where he and his duchess solemnised the feast of Easter. This done, he marched them to Mondidier, where he remained some days.

During these tribulations, the town and castle of Melun surrendered to king Charles. It had been given in charge to the lord de Humieres, who had appointed some of his brothers to defend it, with a certain number of men-at-arms; but the inhabitants rose against them, and drove them out of the town. King Charles and his party were much rejoiced at this event, because they could, by means of its bridge, cross the Seine when they pleased; and it was, beside, the strongest place in all that part of the country.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY QUARTERS HIS ARMY AT GOURNAY-SUR-ARONDE.

[A. D. 1430.]

At the commencement of this year, the duke of Burgundy marched his army from Mondidier, and fixed his quarters at Gournay-sur-Aronde, in front of the castle, which belonged to Charles de Bourbon count de Clermont, his brother-in-law. He summoned Tristan de Maguillers, the governor, to surrender, or he would storm it. Tristan, seeing he could no way hold out against the duke's forces, concluded a treaty, by which he engaged to yield it up on the first day of next August, if he was not before relieved by king Charles or his party: he also promised, that neither he himself nor his garrison would, during that time, make war on any of the duke's partisans,—and by this means Tristan remained in peace. This compromise had been hastily concluded, because the duke and sir John de Luxembourg had received intelligence to be depended upon, that the damoiseau de Commercy, Yvon du Puys, and other captains, with a very large force, had besieged the castle of Montagu. Commercy, to whom this castle belonged, had marched thither secretly a great number of combatants, with bombards, veuglaires, and other warlike engines, intending, by an unexpected and sharp assault, to recover the place; but it was well defended by those whom sir John de Luxembourg had placed therein. The principal leaders of the garrison were two notable men-at-arms, one of whom was an Englishman, and the other Georges de la Croix. They were frequently summoned to surrender, but would not listen to the summons, for they had not a doubt but that they should be very shortly succoured. At length the besiegers, having learnt that the duke of Burgundy was marching against them, and that they must stand the chance of a battle, were panic-struck, and so great was their fear, that they marched away about midnight for their own garrisons, leaving their cannon, bombards, and all their stores behind. Information of this was instantly dispatched to the duke and sir John de Luxembourg, who made all diligence to attack them, and the duke marched his whole army to Noyon.

In these days sir John de Luxumbourg advanced against Beauvais, and on the countries of the enemy, particularly against sir Louis de Vaucourt and his men, who had remained there for a considerable time during the winter, and set fire to a castle which they had repaired. The enemy retired within the town of Beauvais; and sir John encamped before the castle of Prouveulieu, which some Englishmen had refortified, and, by their excursions from thence, frequently oppressed the town of Mondidier, and the territories of the duke of Burgundy. They were soon forced to submit to sir John, who had the greater part executed and the rest sent to different prisons: having done this, he returned to the duke of Burgundy at Noyon.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF CHOISY, WHICH HE CONQUERS IN A FEW DAYS.

When the duke of Burgundy had remained for about eight days in Noyon, he departed, to lay siege to the castle of Choisy sur Oise, in which was Louis de Flavy, holding it for sir William de Flavy. The duke's engines did so much mischief to the walls of the castle that the garrison capitulated, on being allowed to march away with their baggage in safety. So soon as they had quitted the castle, it was demolished and razed to the ground. The duke built a bridge over the Oise, to enable himself and his army to cross toward Compiègne on the side of Mondidier. During this time the lord de Saveuses and John de Brimeu had been appointed to guard the suburbs of Noyon, with their men, and those of the lord Montgomery and of other English captains quartered at Pont l'Evêque, to prevent the garrison of Compiègne from cutting off the supplies from the duke's army.

It happened on a certain day, that those in Compiègne, namely, Joan the Maid, sir James de Chabannes, sir Theolde de Valperghue, sir Regnault de Fontaines, Poton de Saintrailles, and others of the French captains, accompanied by about two thousand combatants, came to Pont l'Evêque between day-break and sun-rise, and attacked the quarters of the English

with great courage. A sharp conflict took place; and the lord de Saveuses with John de Brimeu, with their men, hastened to their support, which renewed the vigour of the English; they together repulsed the French, who had made good progress in their quarters. About thirty were killed on each side,—and the French retreated to Compiègne, whence they had come. The English from that day strengthened their position on all sides, to avoid a similar attack. Shortly afterward, John de Brimeu, going to the duke of Burgundy with about one hundred combatants, was suddenly attacked by a party of French in the forest of Crespy in the Valois, who had come from Attichy for this purpose, and to seek adventures, and without much defence made prisoner. The reason of his being thus taken was because his men followed in a file, and were unable to form into battle-array until the attack had commenced. He was put into the hands of Poton de Saintrailles, who, in the end, gave him his liberty on paying a heavy ransom.

When the duke of Burgundy had demolished the castle of Choisy, he quartered himself in the fortress of Coudun, within a league of Compiègne, and sir John de Luxembourg was lodged in Claroi. Sir Baudo de Noielle was ordered to post himself with a certain number of men-at-arms on the causeway of Marigny, and the lord Montgomery and his men were quartered along the meadows of La Venette. The duke was joined by some reinforcements from his different countries, having the intention to besiege the town of Compiègne, and reduce it to the obedience of king Henry of England.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—JOAN THE MAID OVERTHROWS FRANQUET D'ARRAS, AND HAS HIS HEAD CUT OFF.

At the beginning of the month of May, a valiant man-at-arms named Franquet of Arras, attached to the duke of Burgundy, was overthrown and taken. He had made an excursion with about three hundred combatants toward Lagny sur Marne, but, on his return, was met by Joan the Maid and four hundred French. Franquet and his men attacked them valiantly several times, and, by means of his archers whom he had dismounted, made so vigorous a resistance that the Maid, finding they gained nothing, sent hastily for succours from the garrisons of Lagny and other castles under the dominion of king Charles. They came in great numbers with culverines, cross-bows, and other warlike instruments, so that in the end the Burgundians, after doing great mischief to the enemy's cavalry, were conquered, and the better part of them put to the sword. The Maid even caused Franquet to be beheaded, whose death was exceedingly lamented by his party,—for he was a man of most valiant conduct.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—RENE DUKE OF BAR LAYS SIEGE TO CHAPPES, NEAR TO TROYES IN CHAMPAGNE.

About this period the duke of Bar, called Réné of Sicily, collected from his duchies of Lorraine and Bar, and the borders of Germany, a considerable force of men-at-arms, commanded by that prudent and valiant knight the lord de Barbasan, who, as has been said, was detained by the English for a long time prisoner. The duke's troops might amount to three or four thousand combatants; and he led them to besiege the town of Chappes, three leagues from Troyes, in which were the lord d'Aumont, his brother and many warriors, who diligently applied themselves to its defence. They also sent to the lords of Burgundy, to entreat that they would come to their aid in this time of need. In consequence, sir Anthony de Toulongeon marshal of Burgundy, the count de Joigny, sir Anthony and sir John du Vergy, the lord de Jonvelle, the lord de Chastellux, le veau de Bar, and in general the greater part of the Burgundian nobles, to the number of four thousand combatants, assembled, and advanced toward the quarters of the duke of Bar, to offer him battle.

The duke, knowing of their coming, was drawn up ready to receive them, when the Burgundians were soon thrown into disorder, and returned to their own country. About

sixty were killed or taken: of the latter number were the lord de Plansi and Charles de Rochefort. The lord d'Aumore was also made prisoner, with several of his men, when sallying out of the town to support his friends. His brother was likewise taken, and he was forced to deliver up the castle to the duke of Bar, who completely destroyed it.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE MAID IS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE BURGUNDIANS BEFORE COMPIEGNE.

During the time that the duke of Burgundy was quartered at Coudun, and his men-at-arms in the villages between Coudun and Compiègne, it happened, that about five o'clock in the afternoon, on Ascension-eve, the Maid, Poton, and other valiant French captains, having with them from five to six hundred combatants horse and foot, sallied out of Compiègne by the gate of the bridge leading to Mondidier, with the intent to attack the post of sir Baudo de Noielle, at the end of the causeway of Marigny. At this time, sir John de Luxembourg, the lord de Crequi, and eight or ten gentlemen, but with very few attendants, were with sir Baudo. They had rode thither to consult with him on the best mode of directing their attacks on Compiègne.

The French were very near to Marigny, before the greater part of the men who were unarmed could prepare themselves; but they soon collected together, and a severe conflict commenced,—during which the cries of "To arms!" were echoed through all the English and Burgundian quarters. The English, who were encamped on the meads of Venette, formed themselves into battle-array against the French, and were near five hundred men. On the other hand, sir John de Luxembourg's men quartered at Claroi, hastened to the relief of their lord and captain, who was engaged in the heat of the skirmish, and under whom the most part rallied. In this encounter the lord de Crequi was dangerously wounded in the face.

After some time, the French, perceiving their enemies multiply so fast on them, retreated toward Compiègne, leaving the Maid, who had remained to cover the rear, anxious to bring back the men with little loss. But the Burgundians, knowing that reinforcements were coming to them from all quarters, pursued them with redoubled vigour, and charged them on the plain. In the conclusion, as I was told, the Maid was dragged from her horse by an archer, near to whom was the bastard de Vendôme, and to him she surrendered and pledged her faith. He lost no time in carrying her to Marigny, and put her under a secure guard. With her was taken Poton the Burgundian, and some others, but in no great number. The French re-entered Compiègne doleful and vexed at their losses, more especially for the capture of Joan: while, on the contrary, the English were rejoiced, and more pleased than if they had taken five hundred other combatants, for they dreaded no other leader or captain so much as they had hitherto feared the Maid.

The duke of Burgundy came soon after from Coudun to the meadows before Compiègne, where he drew up his army, together with the English and the troops from their different quarters, making a handsome appearance, and with shoutings and huzzas expressed their joy at the capture of the Maid. After this, the duke went to the lodgings where she was confined, and spoke some words to her; but what they were I do not now recollect, although I was present. The duke and the army returned to their quarters, leaving the Maid under the guard of sir John de Luxembourg, who shortly after sent her, under a strong escort, to the castle of Beaulieu, and thence to that of Beaurevoir, where she remained, as you shall hear, a prisoner for a long time.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—YOUNG KING HENRY OF ENGLAND DISEMBARKS AT CALAIS AND COMES TO FRANCE.

In this year, king Henry of England, then about eight years of age, disembarked about ten o'clock in the morning of St. George's day, from his vessel at Calais. Having mounted his horse, he went to hear mass at the church of St. Nicholas, attended by the cardinal of Winchester, the duke of York, the earls of Huntingdon, Warwick, Stafford, Arundel, and Suffolk, the counts de Bonneterre, de Hemme, the lords de Roye, de Beaumont, d'Escaillon, de Grez, and many more.

Henry VI. in his youth.—Designed from contemporary authorities.

He was likewise accompanied by master Pierre de Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, who had been sent to meet him. His attendants then followed; and he was escorted from Calais to Rouen by his army, where he remained a long time.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—AFTER THE CAPTURE OF THE MAID, THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ENCAMPS HIS ARMY BEFORE COMPIEGNE.

On the morrow of the feast of the Ascension, the duke of Burgundy changed his quarters from Coudun to La Venette, where he was lodged in the abbey, and his men in the town and near to it. Sir John de Luxembourg was quartered at Marigny. They had soon erected an earthen bulwark within a bow-shot from the outworks of Compiègne, and huts of wood and earth were built still nearer to the ramparts, in which men-at-arms kept guard

day and night. They had a deep ditch of communication sunk from the bulwark to these huts, so that the guard could safely pass and repass, without fear of the guns from the walls, which were continually firing.

The duke had some large engines pointed against the gates of the town, which, by the huge stones they cast, did great damage to the gates, bridges, and mills: some of the last were rendered quite useless, to the great distress of the inhabitants. Among other mischiefs done by these machines, a young gentleman of twenty-two years old, called Louis de Flavy, son to sir William de Flavy, governor of Compiègne, was struck dead. All present were much grieved at this accident on account of sir William, who, although he was much affected, concealed his feelings, to avoid discouraging his men, and soon after, by way of heartening them, caused his minstrels to sound before him as usual; and ordered the ramparts to be more diligently defended, notwithstanding they had been greatly damaged by these engines. There had been constructed within the ditch small wooden huts, in which the guard were sheltered from danger. Some mines were also begun on by orders of sir John de Luxembourg, which, though very deep and well concealed, were of little service, but had cost much.

While these different measures were pursuing, many shirmishes took place, in which the besiegers had numbers killed and wounded. The principal persons among the dead were sir John de Belles, knight, Alain d'Escaussines, Thibault de Caitigines, and many others, as well Burgundians as English.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE LIEGEOIS RAISE A LARGE ARMY, AND INVADE THE COUNTRY OF NAMUR.

At this time, the Liegeois were instigated by some arrogant men attached to the party of king Charles, such as John de Beaurain, John de Saumain, Everard de la Marche, with others, and, by the hatred and malice they had long borne the duke of Burgundy on account of former quarrels, which have been already detailed in the preceding part of this work, to rise in arms, and invade the territories of the duke, more especially the county of Namur, and despoil it. John de Heneberg, their bishop, remonstrated with them strongly on this subject; but his attempts to dissuade them from executing their plans were vain, although he plainly showed that very great misfortunes might befall Liege in consequence. The Liegeois were much displeased with these remonstrances, and being determined to pursue hostile measures against the duke of Burgundy, the bishop considered, that should he not take part and support them, he might be deprived of his bishopric. He, therefore, having advised with his council, resolved to save his-own honour, by sending letters of defiance to the duke before he made war upon him. The tenour of these letters was as follows.

"Most high, most noble, and most puissant prince Philip, duke of Burgundy, count of Artois, Flanders and Burgundy, palatine of Namur, &c.

"Notwithstanding that I, John de Heneberg, bishop of Liege and count de Loz, in virtue of certain statements that have passed between us, have made frequent applications to you for reparation according to the claims declared in these aforesaid statements, which have been but little attended to, and that divers great and abominable outrages have been committed by your captains and servants on my country and subjects, which, if it may please you to remember, have been fully detailed in the complaints that were made to you thereon. Nevertheless, most high, noble and puissant prince, although your answers have been very gracious, and although you declare your intentions of preserving a good understanding between us, your promises have hitherto been without effect; and these matters are now so much entangled with others, no wise concerning them, that it is very grievous to us, and most highly displeasing.

"Most high, noble and puissant prince, you must, in your wisdom, know, that by reason of my oath to remain faithful to my church and country, it behoves me to support and defend their rights against all who may attempt to infringe them, with the whole force I shall be possessed of. For this reason, most high, noble, and puissant prince, after my humble

salutations and excuses, I must again inform you of these things, and, should they be continued, opposition will be made thereto, so that my honour may be preserved.

" Given under my seal, appended to these presents, the 10th day of July, in the year 1430." Then signed, by command of my lord, " J. Berrard."

In like manner were challenges sent to the duke from different lords, allies, and friends of the bishop, namely, the count de Beaurienne, Picard de la Grace lord de Quinquempoix, Rasse de Rabel, Gerard d'Edevant, John de Valle, Henry de Gayel, John de Boilleur, John de la Barre, John de Gemblais, Corbeau de Belle-Goule, Thierry Ponthey, and several others.

CHAPTER XC.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS THE LORD DE CROY TO THE COUNTY OF NAMUR AGAINST THE LIEGEOIS.

When the duke of Burgundy learnt that the bishop of Liege and the Liegeois were preparing to invade his county of Namur, he determined with his council to send thither the lord de Croy to guard and defend the town and castle of Namur, and the whole of that country. The lord de Croy, in consequence, departed from before Compiègne, having about eight hundred men under his command, and entered Namur, where the Liegeois had already commenced the war, by taking of Beaufort and setting fire to it. The lord de Croy remained inactive in Namur, for about ten days; after this, he began his operations, by the storming of the town of Fosse, which he burnt, with the exception of the monastery. On the ensuing day, from forty to eighty Liegeois were put to death at Florennes, and forty made prisoners.

With the lord de Croy were his brother sir John de Croy, the lords de Mainsnée, de Rambures, de Fauquemberg and de d'Juselle, le Galois de Roly, the lord de Framesant, Robert de Neufville, and other nobles. The lord de Rambures was ordered to Polvache, where, in a sally, he was mortally wounded and made prisoner. The lord de Senlis was then sent thither, who surrendered the place to the Liegeois, and they set fire to and burnt it. The Liegeois were led by their bishop, and amounted to fifty thousand men. When they had gained Polvache, they laid siege to Bouvines, and took and burnt Golesme. While they were thus engaged, the lord de Croy made frequent attacks on them, and in these different skirmishes slew and took from seven to eight hundred.

CHAPTER XCI.—THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON COMES TO THE AID OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY BEFORE COMPIEGNE.

About this time, the earl of Huntingdon, de Robersac, and others, with a thousand archers from England, came to the assistance of the duke of Burgundy before Compiègne. They were quartered in the town of la Venette, where the duke had lodged before he had moved to the fort between Compiègne and Marigny; the duke's men were posted at Marigny, whence the governor, sir John de Luxembourg, and his people, had dislodged and gone to Soissons, which, through some connexions he had in the town, had surrendered to him, with other places in those parts. On the arrival of the earl of Huntingdon, the lord Montgomery marched his English back to Normandy. The duke of Burgundy laboured diligently day and night, to destroy a rampart in front of the town-bridge, which much annoyed his men, and which had held out for upwards of two months. At length by an unexpected attack made at night it was won, and from eight to ten men taken in it, who made no great defence although well supplied with stores.

After its capture, the ditches were filled, and its batteries turned against the town, and manned by a strong force of men-at-arms. During the assault some were drowned in the Oise from being in too great a hurry to escape. The duke had a bridge thrown over the Oise near to la Venette, and well guarded, which the English and Burgundians frequently crossed in their excursions to skirmish with the French near to Pierrefons. The earl of Huntingdon one day passed this bridge with all the English, and advanced to Crespy in the Valois, and thence to Sainctrines, which submitted to his obedience. He then marched to

quarter himself for the night at Verberie, and made a sharp attack on the church, whither the peasants had retreated, who in the end were constrained to yield themselves to his mercy. He hanged one of them, called Jean d'Ours, who was their leader, because he had refused to obey his first summons. The rest of the peasants escaped by paying ransoms, and losing all their effects. The earl then returned with what he had gained, to his quarters before Compiègne.

During all this time, the lord de Crevecoeur and Robert de Saveuses remained with their men at Clermont in the Beauvoisis, to guard that frontier against the French in Creil and Beauvais, and to prevent the escorts with wine and other necessaries going to the duke's army, from being cut off. The duchess of Burgundy had fixed her residence with her household at Noyon, whence she from time to time visited her lord the duke. The period for the surrender of Gournay now approached, and the duke marched his army thither to keep the appointment: he was accompanied by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Huntingdon, with about a thousand combatants, to support him, should there be occasion; but when the day came, no one from the French king appeared: the governor, therefore, seeing no hope of succour, yielded the place into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, who made the lord de Crevecoeur governor of it.

The duke then returned to his siege of Compiègne with the earl of Huntingdon, having left a sufficiency of men-at-arms to keep the garrison in check, and to guard his camp. The duke of Norfolk went to Paris.

CHAPTER XCII.—AN ADVENTURER NAMED TOUMELAIRE, WITH SOME OF THE TOWNSMEN OF RHEIMS, LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF CHAMPIGNEUX.

In these days, an adventurer called Toumelaire, whom king Charles had appointed provost of Laon, having collected five or six hundred men from the town of Rheims and that neighbourhood, led them to besiege the castle of Champigneux, in which were some English and Burgundians that much harassed the country of Champagne. He instantly laid close siege to it on all sides, expecting to gain possession thereof; but that did not happen, for within a few days, William Corain, an Englishman, and Georges de la Croix, then at Montagu, assembled as many men as they could, and, without delay, gave battle to these peasants, who, unable to make any good defence, were soon conquered, and the greater part killed or taken.

Toumelaire, however, and some others, escaped; but there remained from six to seven score dead on the field, and a party of them were burnt in a house whither they had retreated. They left behind many cannons, cross-bows, and other warlike stores, which they had brought with them. William Corain and Georges de la Croix, having repaired the castle, returned to Montagu much rejoiced at their victory.

CHAPTER XCIII.—THE DEATH OF PHILIP DUKE OF BRABANT. THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TAKES POSSESSION OF HIS DUCHY.

At this time, duke Philip of Brabant, who had for a long time before been in a languishing state, died in the town of Louvain. Some of his domestics were suspected of having caused his death, and several of them were severely tortured, in divers manners, to force them to a confession; but the matter was not the more cleared up. Physicians declared, that he died of a natural death, occasioned by excesses in his younger years in tilting and other things. He was buried by the side of his ancestors. His death was soon notified to the duke of Burgundy at the siege of Compiègne, because the nobles of the duchy of Brabant and the greater part of the commonalty considered him as the lawful successor to the late duke Philip, for he had never been married; while others said, that the countess-dowager of Hainault, aunt to these two dukes, was the nearest of kin, and of course that the succession was hers.

The duke of Burgundy, on hearing of this event, appointed some of his most confidential captains to carry on the siege of Compiègne, namely, sir James de Brimeu marshal of the

army, sir Hugh de Launoy, the lord de Saveuses and some others, who were to co-operate with the earl of Huntingdon and his Englishmen. He likewise sent messengers with letters to recal sir John de Luxembourg from the Soissonois, and to entreat that he would, without delay, return to Compiègne to take the chief command of the army; relating to him at the same time the event that had happened, and the necessity there was for him to set out instantly for Brabant. When these matters were done, the duke of Burgundy having provided everything for the continuance of the siege, and well garrisoned the great fort opposite to the gate of the town, of which he made sir Baudo de Noyelle captain, he first took leave of the earl of Huntingdon and set out for Noyon. He thence, after some days, went to Lille, and having held a council of his most confidential advisers, resolved to take possession of the duchy of Brabant and its dependencies.

The duchess of Burgundy, when the duke left her, returned to the country of Artois. The duke was received in all the towns of Brabant as their lord, although the countess-dowager of Hainault, as I have said before, laid claim to the succession of duke Philip; but when she considered the great power of the duke of Burgundy, and that the nobility and principal towns had acknowledged him for their lord, she desisted from further pursuing it. At the same time, the lady of Luxembourg, sister to count Waleran, now advanced in years, and who was at the castle of Beaurevoir, under the wardship of sir John de Luxembourg, her nephew, seized and took possession, in his name, of all the lordships that had formerly belonged to the said count Waleran, her brother, and which were now again escheated to her, as the heiress, by her father's side, to her fair nephew the duke of Brabant, lately deceased. All the oaths of the officers were renewed to her,—and from that time she was called the countess of Ligny, and of St. Pol. From her great affection to her nephew, sir John de Luxembourg, she bequeathed to him the greater part of these estates after her decease, which was very displeasing to the count de Conversan lord d'Enghien, elder brother to sir John, and they had many quarrels concerning it,—however, in the end, they made up their differences, and were good friends.

CHAPTER XCIV.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE SIEGE OF COMPIEGNE.—THE ORDERS HE GIVES,—AND OTHER EVENTS.

Soon after the departure of the duke of Burgundy from the siege of Compiègne, sir John de Luxembourg and his men arrived, and he took the chief command of the siege, according to the commands of the duke. He lost no time in strengthening the fort in front of the bridge, and erected two smaller ones on the river toward Noyon; the command of one he gave to Guy de Roye and Aubert de Folleville,—and that of the other to a common man from the Boulonois, named Branart, who had under him some Genoese and Portuguese cross-bows, and other foreigners. Having done this, sir John crossed the river by the bridge at La Venette, and went to lodge at the abbey of Royaulieu. He was followed by sir James de Brimeu marshal of the army, sir Hugh de Launoy, the lord de Crequi, the lords de Saveuses, de Humieres, sir Daviod de Poix, Ferry de Mailly, sir Florimont de Brimeu, and several other noble men, who were lodged as well in the abbey as in the village, which was much deserted, and among the vineyards and gardens in that neighbourhood.

The earl of Huntingdon remained in his quarters at La Venette. During this time the besieged made many sallies on foot and on horseback, when some were killed and wounded on both sides, but in no great number. This caused the besiegers to erect another great fort a bow-shot and a half distant from the town, near to the gate of Pierrefons, the guard of which was given to the marshal, the lord de Crequi, sir Florimont de Brimeu, having under them three hundred combatants; they lodged themselves within it before it was quite finished, and remained there a long time. The besieged now suffered severely from famine, and no provisions were to be had in the town for money, since for the space of four months none had been publicly sold in the markets. Several messengers were in consequence sent to the marshal de Bousac, to the count de Vendôme, and to other captains of king Charles, to inform them of their distress, and to require instant aid if they wished to save the town and its inhabitants.

While this misery was suffered, the marshal de Bousac, Poton de Saintrailles, Theolde de Valperghue, and other French leaders, laid siege to Proissy-sur-Oise, in which was the bastard de Chevereuse, with about forty combatants. They were soon forced to submit, and the most part were put to death by the guisarmes of the marshal, and the castle totally demolished. In like manner were subjected the strong monastery of Cathu le Chastel, and some other places, and those found within them were generally put to death. The marshal and his companions, however, did not make any attempt on the besieging army of Compiègne, as is usual in similar cases, until the last, when the siege was raised, as shall be hereafter told.

At this period, the duke of Norfolk commanded a powerful army in the countries bordering on Paris, and subjected many towns to the obedience of king Henry, such as Dammartin and others. On the other hand, the earl of Stafford took by storm the town of Bray-Comte-Robert: the castle, which was exceedingly strong, immediately surrendered The earl then crossed the Seine, and foraged the whole country so far as Sens in Burgundy, and returned with a great booty to the place whence he had set out, without meeting with the least opposition, or even seeing the enemy. He took, soon after, Le Quene en Brie, Grand Puys and Rappelton: he had four score hanged of those whom he found in Le Quene. He also took the strong tower of Bus, which with the other places were dismantled. Sir James de Milly and sir John de la Haye were in Bray-Comte-Robert, when it was taken, and made prisoners, but afterwards obtained their liberty by paying a large ransom.

CHAPTER XCV.—THE PRINCE OF ORANGE IS CONQUERED BY THE FRENCH.

On Trinity-day in this year the prince of Orange, having assembled about twelve hundred fighting men, marched them into Languedoc, where he gained many castles from the partisans of king Charles. He did the same in Dauphiny, which displeased the king and his council so much that they resolved to oppose him, and that the lord de Gaucour governor of Dauphiny, Sir Ymbert de Grolée seneschal of Lyons, and Roderick de Villandres, should collect their forces, and, with the loyal nobles and gentlemen, defend the country against these Burgundians. On mustering their forces they amounted to about sixteen hundred combatants, whom they marched to lay siege to a castle called Colomier, which in a short time submitted to them. In the mean time, the prince of Orange had retreated, knowing that his enemies, with a superior force, had taken the field, and, moreover, had won a castle garrisoned by his men. He lost no time in sending messengers with letters to the nobles and gentry in Burgundy, and to his friends and allies, to request aid. He was so diligent that, within a few days, he collected very many of the nobles, whom he led to those parts where he knew the enemy was, in hopes of regaining the castle of Colomier.

The French having been apprised by their spies of the coming of the Burgundians, had made preparations for receiving them, and in handsome array advanced to meet them, which they did between Colomier and Autane. The Burgundians, having a wood to pass through, could not immediately form in battle-array, nor instantly resist the vigorous charge of the French. The combat was, however, severe, and the victory long disputed. Among those who were dismounted on the part of the Burgundians was a valiant knight called sir Louis de la Chapelle; he was soon slain, and the French remained masters of the field by the defeat of the enemy. Two or three hundred were left dead of the Burgundians, and six score or more made prisoners. The principal among the last were, the lord de Bussy, son to the lord de St. Georges, the lord de Varembon, whose nose was cut off by a stroke of a sword, sir John Louis son to the lord de Conches, the lord de la Fretè, Thibault de Rougemont, the lord de Ruppes, the lord d'Escabonne, sir John de Vienne, the lord de Raix, John de Baudè, sir Duc de Sicon, Gerard de Beauvoir, and others, to the number before stated.

On the day of battle, many of the Burgundians, to the amount of sixteen or eighteen hundred combatants, fled in great disorder. The principal were: the prince of Orange (who was pursued as far as Autane, wherein with difficulty he saved himself), the count de Fribourg, the lord de Montagu, by name sir John de Neuf-Chastel, who bore the order of the Golden Fleece, but of which he was afterward deprived, the lord de Pesmes, and many more notable gentlemen, who fled different ways. This engagement, in which Roderick de

Villandras, who commanded the van of the French, behaved most gallantly, took place about eight o'clock in the morning. When the business was over the French assembled together in great joy, and returned thanks and praises to the Creator for the happy issue of the day. In consequence of this victory they won many towns and castles from the Burgundians; one was Aubrune, belonging to the prince of Orange, which after its capture was demolished.

CHAPTER XCVI.—THE FRENCH MARCH TO COMPIEGNE AND RAISE THE SIEGE.

The earl of Huntingdon and sir John de Luxembourg laboured long at the siege of Compiègne, and, by cutting off all provisions from entering the town, and by their continued attacks from the forts, were in daily hopes of forcing the garrison to submit to their will. But on the Tuesday before All-Saints' day the French, to the number of four thousand fighting men, under the command of the marshal de Bousac, the count de Vendôme, sir James de Chabannes, Poton de Saintrailles, sir Regnault de Fontaines, the lord de Longueval, sir Louis de Vaucourt, Alain Giron, and other captains, who had frequently been most earnestly pressed by William de Flavy the governor, and inhabitants of Compiègne, to come to their assistance, at length quartered themselves at La Verberie, attended by a multitude of peasants with spades, mattocks, saws, and other implements, to repair the roads which the Burgundians had destroyed, by felling down trees, digging deep ditches, and various other hindrances to the march of an army.

The besiegers were soon made acquainted with their arrival, and a council was holden of the chiefs, to consider whether it would be more advantageous to advance and offer them battle or wait for them in their entrenchments. Many were for fighting them before they proceeded further; but others offered solid reasons why it would be better to strengthen their camp and wait their arrival,—adding, that should they quit the siege, to march to the French, and leave their forts unprotected, the besieged, who were impatient to get out of their distressed situation, would demolish them, or at least they would make their escape from the town to a place of safety. This had such weight, that the majority of the council agreed to it; and they resolved unanimously to wait the event, and exert themselves to the utmost to resist their enemies.

The following orders were issued. The earl of Huntingdon was to cross the river very early on the morrow, Wednesday, with his Englishmen, at the new bridge, and march to Royaulieu, where he was to draw up in order of battle, with sir John de Luxembourg, leaving in the abbey of La Venette, which was strong, all useless hands, with the horses and baggage, with a few of his men to guard them, and defend the passage of the bridge.—Item, all carts, cars, merchandise, and stores, were to be secured in the abbey of Royaulieu, and the guard of it was given to sir Philip de Fosseux and the lord de Cohen.—Item, sir James de Brimeu, with three hundred combatants, were to remain in their fort, on promise from the lords that, should they be attacked, they would hasten to their support; having agreed on the signal they were to make, should they require aid.—Item, it was ordered, that the grand fort near the bridge of Marigny should be on a similar footing, as well as the two smaller ones on the river side toward Cleroi.

When these orders had been issued, the captains retired to their tents, and exhorted their men to be ready prepared on the morrow to meet the enemy. A strong guard was also ordered, of horse as well as foot, for the night, at all the avenues likely to be attacked.

On the morrow, in conformity to these regulations, the earl of Huntingdon marched six hundred English to join sir John de Luxembourg in order of battle between Royaulieu and the adjoining forest, near which they expected the enemy would advance. The remainder of the army posted themselves at the different quarters, ready to defend them should they be attempted. The French in Verberie took the field at break of day; and, by orders from the marshal de Bousac and other captains, a detachment of about one hundred men were sent toward Choisy, with provision to throw into the town, and exhort the garrison to make a strong sally against the enemy's fort. On the other hand, Poton de Saintrailles, with two or three hundred combatants, advanced by the high road toward Pierrefons, to attack that

fort; while the marshal, the count de Vendôme, and the other leaders, marched across the Oise, when, having passed the forest, they drew up in array about a bow-shot and a half distant from the Burgundians: they were all on horseback, with the reserve of some guisarmes and inferior people.

The English and Burgundians were on foot, excepting a few that had been ordered to remain on horseback. Sir John de Luxembourg then created some new knights, such as Andrew lord de Humieres, Ferry de Mailly, L'Aigle de Sains, Gilles de Saucourt, and others. With sir John de Luxembourg were Hugh de Launoy lord de Xaintes, the lord de Saveuses, sir Daviod de Poix, sir John de Fosseux, and many nobles impatient for the combat,—which could not well take place, for the French were on horseback and themselves on foot; and besides, it was necessary that they should be in readiness to succour their forts if attacked. There were, nevertheless, many skirmishes in the course of the day; in one of them, the count de Vendôme was repulsed, but no great damage was done on either side. However, a valiant man-at-arms attached to the marshal de Bousac, having charged the Picard archers, thinking that he was followed by his men, was instantly pulled off his horse by these archers, and cruelly put to death.

In the mean time, the detachment that had been sent to Choisy announced the arrival and plans of their friends to the besieged, who, rejoiced at the news, and with a fervour of courage arising therefrom, as well as from hatred to those who had caused them such distress, made a numerous sally from the town, with scaling-ladders and other warlike instruments, to attack the grand fort, in which were the marshal, sir James de Brimeu, and the lord de Crequi. They made a gallant defence and repulsed them into the town, but, fresh men rushing out, recommenced the assault, which lasted a long time,—but, as in the former one, they were again driven out of the ditches, which were not deep nor wide, for, as I have said, the works had not been completed. At this moment, Poton de Saintrailles advanced with his men from the forest, and near the high road leading to Pierrefons joined those from the town, and, thus united, made a fresh attack on this fort. William de Flavy was very active himself, and encouraged his men to do their duty; and even the women assisted greatly, no way sparing themselves to annoy their adversaries.

Notwithstanding the courage of the Burgundians, the fort was stormed in spite of their defence, and upward of eight score warriors were slain; the principal of whom were, the lord de Ligniers knight, Archambault de Brimeu, Guillaume de Poilly, Druot de Sonis, Lyonnel de Touleville, and many other gentlemen. Those made prisoners were instantly carried into Compiègne; namely, sir James de Brimeu marshal of the duke's household, the lord de Crequi, sir Florimont de Brimeu, sir Valerian de Beauval, Arnoul de Crequi, Colart de Bertanecourt, lord de Rolepot, Regnault de Saincts, Thierry de Mazingien de Reteslay, the bastard de Remy, and other noblemen, who after some time obtained their liberties by paying great ransoms. Sir John de Luxembourg having promised his friends succour if they were attacked, hearing what was passing, was desirous of fulfilling his engagement, and going thither with his whole power, but he was advised to remain where he was, lest the enemy should take advantage of his absence, and worse happen. This induced him to remain, and the day passed away.

The marshal de Bousac, the count de Vendôme, and the other captains, now entered the town of Compiègne with their men, where they were joyously received,—but from the great scarcity of provision suffered much that night from want of food. They, however, consoled themselves with their good success, and heartily congratulated each other thereon, expecting on the morrow to drive away the enemy from before the town. They constructed in haste a bridge of boats, by which they crossed the river to attack a fort on its banks, guarded by forty or fifty combatants, Genoese, Portuguese, and other foreigners, which was quickly won, and all within put to death, except a common man from the Boulonois, very expert in arms, named Branart, who was carried prisoner into the town of Compiègne. Aubert de Folleville, who commanded in another fort hard by, observing what was passing, and fearing to be stormed, set fire to his works, and retreated to the quarters of the English. The French made a grand attack on the fourth fort, at the end of the bridge, which was of some continuance. Sir Baudo de Noyelle guarded it so well, and had such a force of men-

at-arms and artillery, that the enemy was obliged to withdraw into the town, seeing they could not then succeed in taking it.

It was late in the evening when the French retreated into Compiègne, vespers having sounded some time. The earl of Huntingdon and sir John de Luxembourg, knowing they should not be attacked that evening, called a council of the principal captains to consult on their situation, and determine how they were to act. It was resolved that, on returning to their quarters, they should that night sleep in their armour, and, on the morrow, draw up in battle array before the town, to see if their adversaries were inclined to combat them, expecting from the great dearth of provision they could not remain in such numbers therein without making some sallies.

When this had been settled, the earl of Huntingdon with his English returned to their quarters at La Venette : he promised to have the bridge well guarded, so that none of their men should go away without leave. Sir John de Luxembourg retreated with his force to Royaulieu, and established a strong guard round his quarters, but, notwithstanding this, a great part of his men collected together, and took upon them to depart without sound of trumpet, and go whither they pleased. The most of them crossed this bridge, which, although promised, had not been sufficiently guarded. With them went also some of the earl's men. When the captains heard of this they changed the plan they had determined on the preceding evening, namely, to appear in battle array before the town ; and sir John de Luxembourg, and the others, made preparations to pass the Oise with the earl of Huntingdon. This was done on the Thursday morning early,—on which day the French sallied out of Compiègne in great force, sending forward scouts to learn what was become of the enemy, who soon found they had marched off; and when this was made known to those who had sent them, they and their men were greatly rejoiced. They hastily made for the abbey of Royaulieu, wherein they found plenty of provision and wines, which they devoured till they were satisfied, and made excellent cheer, for it had cost them nothing. Finding the English and Burgundians were decamped, the better-armed part of the French went to the bridge near La Venette, which they destroyed without any great opposition, and threw it into the river in sight of the enemy, abusing them with many villanous expressions ; for the French were now no longer afraid of the Burgundians hurting them, since the bridge was demolished.

They also this day made a serious attack, with all the large cannon from the town, on the fort commanded by Baudo de Noyelle, which damaged it much. But the earl of Huntingdon and sir John de Luxembourg, having again advised with their captains, concluded, that as it was impossible at that moment to withstand their enemies with hopes of success, or to keep their men together, it was advisable to withdraw to Noyon, and thence to dismiss their men to their homes. In consequence they sent orders to sir Baudo to set fire to his fort, and march away, which he punctually obeyed. The Burgundians decamped about vespers, in a very disorderly manner, for Pont-l'Evêque, shamefully leaving behind in their quarters, and in the large fort, a great number of huge bombards, cannon, culverines, veuglaires, with other artillery and very many stores, belonging to the duke of Burgundy,—all of which fell into the hands of their enemies. Sir John de Luxembourg was vexed at heart at this retreat, but he could not avoid it. On the Saturday they left Pont-l'Evêque, and went to Roye, and thence, without making any stay, each departed to his own country, or to different garrisons.

The garrison of Compiègne, on their departure repaired the bridge over the Oise, and issued in large bodies, with displayed banners, over those parts that had been possessed by the enemy, bringing back all stragglers, whom they put to death. They burnt many buildings and villages, committing great cruelties in a short time, so that they were dreaded by the country round, and scarcely any person would, from fear of them, venture out of the fortified towns or castles. In short, they created such terror that the following places surrendered to them, without waiting for an attack or striking a blow, namely, Ressons sur Mas, Gournay sur Aronde, le Pont de Remy, le Pont de St. Maixence, Longueil Sainte Marie, the town and strong castle of Bertheuil, the castle of Leigny les Chastigniers, the tower of Vermeil, and others, in which they found abundance of wealth. Having regarrisoned them, they sorely harassed the adjoining countries, more especially those parts that were of the English or Burgundian party.

CHAPTER XCVII.—THE MARSHAL DE BOUSAC LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF CLERMONT IN THE BEAUVOISIS.

While these things were passing, the marshal de Bousac collected a great part of the French who had raised the siege of Compiègne, and marched away with cannon and other artillery, to lay siege to the castle of Clermont in the Beauvoisis, at the instigation of some of the townsmen of Beauvais, wherein he and his men were lodged. The lord de Crevecœur, his brother Jean de Barentin, the bastard Lamon, with about fifty combatants, were in the castle, and vigorously defended it against the French, who made many assaults, but in vain. Several of their men were killed and wounded: nevertheless, they continued the siege for about twelve days; at which time Boort de Buyentin, with ten combatants and a trumpet, secretly entered the castle during the night, by a postern that opened to a vineyard, to assure the lord de Crevecœur that he would very shortly be relieved.

This was true; for the earl of Huntingdon, who had lately retreated to Gournay in Normandy, again took the field, having with him sir John bastard of St. Pol, and a thousand fighting men, with the intent to raise the siege. The French hearing of this, marched off one morning very early, leaving behind them the cannon they had brought from Compiègne. They returned to their garrisons, and with them many Burgundians from Clermont who had joined their party. The lord de Crevecœur was well pleased at their departure.

CHAPTER XCVIII.—A LARGE BODY OF ENGLISH AND BURGUNDIANS, ON THEIR MARCH TO BESIEGE GUERBIGNY, ARE ATTACKED AND CONQUERED BY THE FRENCH.

Duke Philip of Burgundy was in Brabant when he heard that the French had forced his men to raise the siege of Compiègne. He was much troubled thereat, as well for the loss of his troops in killed and wounded as for the great sums of money he had expended on this siege. He, however, made preparations to return to Artois with all the men-at-arms he had with him, and summoned his nobles to assemble as large a force as they possibly could. The duke advanced to Peronne, and sent forward sir Thomas Kiriel, an Englishman, James de Helly, sir Daviod de Poix, Anthony de Vienne, and other captains, with five or six hundred combatants, by way of vanguard, to post themselves at Lihons in Santerre. The duke, in the mean time, was preparing to follow them, having intentions to lodge at Guerbigny, to wait for the arrival of the main body of his men; for the French had possession of the castle, whence they much annoyed the country.

It happened that these captains whom the duke had sent in advance, dislodged one morning from their quarters at Lihons, and took the road towards Guerbigny, in separate bodies, without keeping any order on their march, or sending scouts forward as experienced men at arms always do, more especially when near their adversaries. Gerard bastard de Brimeu, the governor of Roye, now joined them with about forty combatants, and they advanced together to a town called Bouchoire. On their march they put up many hares, which they pursued with much hooting and hollowing, for their captains were very inattentive in not preserving better order,— and many of them had not even put on their armour, for which neglect they suffered severely, as you shall hear.

This same day Poton de Saintrailles had arrived very early at Guerbigny, and taking the garrison with him, advanced into the open country. He had altogether full twelve hundred fighting men, the greater part well experienced in war, whom he led toward Lihons in Santerre, and prudently sent his scouts before him. These, on approaching Bouchoire, heard the shoutings, and saw the state of the enemy, and returned with all haste to give an account of what they had seen and heard. Poton, on learning this, ordered his men instantly to prepare themselves, and led them straight to the enemy, admonishing them to do their duty well against adversaries no way in a state for the combat. Poton and his men advancing thus suddenly, and with a great noise, charged the enemy, and soon threw them into confusion: most part of them were unhorsed by the lances of the French. The leaders, however, and some others, rallied under the banner of sir Thomas Kiriel, and made a gallant

defence ; but it was in vain, for their men were so scattered and confused that most of them saved themselves by flight as well as they could.

Those who had stood their ground were either killed or taken : in the number of the first were James de Helly and Anthony de Vienne, with fifty or sixty Burgundians and English. From four score to a hundred were made prisoners, the chief of whom were sir Thomas Kiriel and two of his kinsmen, valiant men-at-arms, Robert and William Courouan, sir Daviod de Poix, l'Aigle de Sainets knight, l'Hermite de Beauval, and others, to the numbers aforesaid. Sir Gerard de Brimeu attempted to escape, after the defeat, to Roye, whence he had come ; but, the trappings of his horse being very brilliant with silversmith's-work, he was closely pursued, and carried away prisoner with the others.

When the business was over, Poton, having collected his men, led his prisoners to Guerbigny, but not before they had stripped the dead, among whom were not more than four or five of the French. He and his men refreshed themselves that day and night at Guerbigny, and on the morrow he departed with his whole force, leaving the castle in charge with the townsmen. In like manner he dislodged the garrison of La Boissiere, and set it on fire. He went to Ressons-sur-Mas, and thence to Compiègne, with his prisoners, where he was joyfully received, on account of the victory he had gained over the enemy. James de Helly was interred in the church, with a few others of the dead ; the rest were buried in the church-yard near to the place where they had been slain.

CHAPTER XCIX.—THE FRENCH OFFER BATTLE TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND HIS ARMY, WHICH THE DUKE, BY ADVICE OF HIS COUNCIL, REFUSES.

The duke of Burgundy received the news of this unfortunate defeat at Peronne on the very day when it happened. He was greatly affected by it, more especially for the loss of James de Helly and Anthony de Vienne, and instantly called together the captains then with him, namely, sir John de Luxembourg, the vidame of Amiens, the lord d'Antoing, the lord de Saveuses, and others of his household, with whom he determined to fix his quarters at Lihons in Santerre,—and he marched thither that day. On the morrow, he advanced to Roye in the Vermandois, where he remained eight days waiting for the earl of Stafford, the earl of Arundel, and other Englishmen, to whom he had sent orders to join him.

During this time, many of the captains of king Charles collected a body of about sixteen hundred combatants, and, under the command of the marshal de Bousac, the count de Vendôme, sir James de Chabannes, William de Flavy, Poton de Saintrailles, the lord de Longueval, sir Regnault de Fontaines, sir Louis de Vaucourt, Alain Guyon, and Boussart Blanchefort, marched in good array near to Mondidier, and thence went to quarter themselves at two villages two leagues distant from Roye. Very early on the ensuing day they held a council, and unanimously determined to offer combat to the duke of Burgundy and his army, if he would meet them in the open country ; and that their intentions might be publicly known, they sent a herald to the duke with their challenge. The duke, on receiving it, agreed to meet them in battle. The matter, however, was delayed by his council, who remonstrated with him on the impropriety of risking his person and honour against such people, as they had not with them any prince of equal rank with himself for him to contend with. They also stated, that he was weak in numbers, and that his troops were dispirited from the defeat they had lately suffered, and the loss of James de Helly, as well as by their retreat from before Compiègne. The duke, much grieved that he could not follow his own inclinations, assented to the advice of his council. They sent, therefore, an answer to the French, that if they would wait until the morrow, they should be unmolested in their quarters ; that even provision should be sent them, and that then sir John de Luxembourg would engage them in battle, for which he was willing to give sufficient securities.

The French, on receiving this answer, said, they would not consent to it ; but that if the duke of Burgundy was willing to advance into the plain, they were ready to combat him. While these messages were passing, the duke drew his men up in battle array without the town of Roye : the French were also in order of battle, fronting him ; but it was difficult to pass from one army to the other, by reason of the deep marshes that were between them

Some skirmishing, nevertheless, took place until night-fall, which forced the French to retire toward Compiègne, very indignant at the duke's conduct, and making great mockeries of him and his men, saying they were afraid to fight them. Thus the two armies separated, and the duke re-entered the town of Roye,—when shortly after arrived the earl of Stafford, with about six hundred combatants. The duke now left Roye, and went to quarter himself at Leigny-les-Chastiniers, where was a small castle, in which was the abbot de St. Pharon de Meaux, brother to the lord de Gamaches, with about forty of the French. The duke summoned them to surrender, which they refused,—and he instantly made an attack which gained him the lower court. Finding they could not hold out longer, they submitted themselves to the duke, who gave them up to sir John de Luxembourg, for him to do his will with them, and the castle was burnt and razed. The inhabitants of Noyon sent to request of the duke, that he would deliver them from the garrison of the castle of Irle; but as it was now winter, and the duke had not those with him whom he looked for, he returned to Montdidier, wherein he placed a garrison, and thence by Corbie to Arras, and to Flanders. The earl of Stafford marched his Englishmen back to Normandy.

In this year, the town of Coulomiers-en-Brie was taken by scalado, at daybreak, by part of king Henry's garrison from Meaux. The governor of Coulomiers for king Charles was Denis de Chally, who, hearing the disturbance, escaped with many others over the walls, abandoning their effects. The town was full of all sorts of wealth, for it had not been taken during the whole of the war by either party: it was now completely pillaged, and the inhabitants who had remained were heavily ransomed.

In this year, Pierre de Luxembourg, count de Conversan and Brayne, and successor to the inheritances of the count de St. Pol, made some agreement with his two brothers, namely, Louis bishop of Therouenne and sir John de Luxembourg, respecting this succession. In consequence of which the bishop was to have the castle of Hucties, in the Boulonois, and the castlewick of Tingry with its dependencies; sir John de Luxembourg was to have for himself and his heirs the county of Ligny in Barrois, the lands in Cambresis formerly belonging to Waleran count de St. Pol, namely, Bohain, Serin, Helincourt, Marcoin Cautaig, and other great lordships. From this time, sir John de Luxembourg bore the titles of count de Ligny, lord de Beaurevoir and de Bohain. The whole of the remaining estates and lordships were enjoyed by sir Pierre de Luxembourg, who henceforward took the titles of count de St. Pol, de Conversan, de Brayne, and lord of Enghien.

On the 30th day of September, in this year, the duchess of Burgundy was brought to bed, in the town of Brussels, of a son, who was christened Anthony; which event caused the greatest rejoicings in that town and country. At this time the count de Nuche, nephew to the emperor of Germany, was in Brussels, where he kept a noble estate; and he and some of his attendants, when they went abroad, wore green chaplets on their heads to signify that they were bachelors, although the weather was very severe. The count de Nuchy stood godfather for the new-born son of the duke of Burgundy, who was christened by the bishop of Cambray. The godmothers were the duchess of Cleves and the countess of Namur. There were three hundred torches, as well from the palace of the duke as from those of the town. The child died in the following year; and when news of it was carried to the duke, he was much vexed, and said, "I wish to God I had died when so young, for I should then have been much happier."

In this same year, sir Anthony de Bethune lord of Maruel was captured in his castle of Auchel, together with about thirty fighting men. It had been besieged by the count de Vendôme, Toumelaire provost of Laon, whom I have before noticed, with great numbers of the commonalty. Sir Anthony, seeing that resistance would be vain, agreed to surrender the place, on condition that he and his men might march away in safety. Notwithstanding this engagement, when he was about to depart he was seized and put to death by these common people, together with a gentleman called Franquet de Beguynes. The count de Vendôme was much grieved at the event, but he could not prevent it. The castle was burned and razed, to the great indignation of sir John de Luxembourg, when he heard what had passed, because sir Anthony was cousin-german to the lady Jane de Bethune, his wife, daughter to the viscount de Meaux; and he conceived a great hatred against those of Laon for so doing.

CHAPTER C.—SOME CAPTAINS ATTACHED TO SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG SURPRISE THE CASTLE OF ST. MARTIN, WHEREIN THEY ARE ALL TAKEN AND SLAIN.

[A. D. 1431.]

At the commencement of this year, some of the captains attached to sir John de Luxembourg, such as sir Simon de Lalain *, Bertrand de Manicain, Enguerrand de Crequi †, and Enguerrand de Gribauval, marched from the borders of the Laonnois, with four hundred combatants, to the abbey of St. Vincent, near Laon, wherein were a body of French. They gained it by surprise, and on their entrance they set up a loud shout, which awakened part of the enemy within a strong gateway, who instantly defended themselves with vigour; and, during this, the lord de Pennesac, then in Laon, was told what had happened. He immediately collected a force to succour those in the gate, who were gallantly defending themselves; and his men-at-arms, enraged to find the enemy so near, lost no time in putting on their armour.

They soon marched out of Laon to the assistance of their friends then fighting; but a part of the Burgundians, without finishing their enterprise, or providing for what might happen, had quitted the combat to plunder the abbey. They were, therefore, unexpectedly attacked by these men-at-arms, and with such vigour that they were totally defeated, and sixty of the principal were left dead on the spot: in the number were Bertrand de Manicain and Enguerrand de Gribauval. The last offered a large ransom for his life; but it was refused, by reason of the great hatred the common people bore him for the very many mischiefs he had long before done them.

Sir Simon de Lalain was made prisoner, and had his life spared through the means of a gallant youth of the garrison named Archanciel, who was much beloved by the commonalty. Enguerrand de Crequi was taken at the same time with sir Simon and a few others; but the remainder, witnessing their ill success, retreated to the places whence they had come. Sir John de Luxembourg was much afflicted at this event, and not without cause, for he had lost in the affair some of his ablest captains. The brother of the lord de Pennesac, called James, was killed.

At the same time, the castle of Rambures, belonging to the lord de Rambures ‡, then a prisoner in England, was won by the French, under the command of Charles des Marests, who took it by scalado. Ferry de Mailly § was the governor of it for king Henry. The French, by this capture, opened a free communication with the country of Vimeu and those adjoining, as shall hereafter be shown.

CHAPTER CI.—POTON DE SAINTRAILLES AND SIR LOUIS DE VAUCOURT ARE MADE PRISONERS BY THE ENGLISH.

In this year, the marshal de Bousac ||, Poton de Saintrailles, sir Louis de Vaucourt, and others of king Charles's captains, set out from Beauvais with about eight hundred combatants, to seek adventures, and to forage the country near to Gournay. With them was a very young shepherd's boy, who was desirous to raise his name in the same way that the Maid had done.

* Either Simon de Lalain, lord of Montigny, younger brother of the lord de Lalain, or another Simon de Lalain, lord of Chevrain, son of a great-uncle of the former, who married a lady of the house of Luxembourg, daughter to the count de Ligny.

† Enguerrand de Crequi, called *le Begue*, second son of John II. lord of Crequi, and uncle of John IV. who was killed at Azincourt.

‡ Andrew II., master of woods and waters in Picardy, son of David who was killed at Azincourt, and was master of the cross-bows of France.

§ Ferry de Mailly, fourth son of John Maillet de Mailly, lord of Talmas, &c., who, on the death of all his brothers without issue, succeeded to their lordships, and also to the lordship of Conti, which came into the family by the marriage of Colart, third son of John Maillet, to the heiress Isabel. The lords of Talmas were a younger branch of the house of Mailly.

|| Jean de Brosse, descended from the ancient viscounts de Brosse in the Angoumois, was lord of St. Severe and Boussac, and a marshal of France. He signalised himself in many actions, particularly at the siege of Orleans, and at the battles of Patai and La Charité, and died in 1433. His son of the same name, who succeeded him, was equally celebrated in the history of the day. He married Nicole de Blois, only daughter and heir of Charles, last count of Penthievre, and transmitted her large possessions to his descendants.

The earl of Warwick had notice of their march, and collected with all haste about six hundred fighting men, whom he led toward Beauvais to meet the enemy. He came up with them, unexpectedly, near to Gournay, and commenced a sharp conflict, in which so little resistance was made by the French that they were soon put to the rout, and Poton de Saintrailles, sir Louis de Vaucourt, and about sixty combatants, were made prisoners. The rest, with the exception of eight or ten who were slain, made their escape with the marshal to Beauvais. The English pursued them to the walls of that town, when the earl of Warwick, assembling his men, returned to Gournay, happy at his good success; and thence he went to the duke of Bedford in Rouen, by whom he was joyfully congratulated on his victory.

CHAPTER CII.—MAILLOTIN DE BOURS AND SIR HECTOR DE FLAVY FIGHT TOGETHER IN THE TOWN OF ARRAS.

On the 20th day of June in this year, a combat took place in the town of Arras, and in the presence of the duke of Burgundy, between Maillotin de Bours, appellant, and sir Hector de Flavy, defendant. Maillotin had charged sir Hector, before the duke of Burgundy, with having said, that he was desirous of becoming the duke's enemy, and of turning to the party of king Charles; and also, that he had required of him to accompany him in his flight, and to seize Guy Guillebaut, the duke's treasurer, or some other wealthy prisoner, to pay for their expenses.

The duke, on this charge, had ordered Maillotin to arrest sir Hector, and bring him prisoner to Arras, which he did in the following manner. Having received this order, he went, accompanied by a competent number of men, to a village near Corbie called Bonnay, and thence sent to sir Hector to come to him. Sir Hector, not knowing that any accusations had been made against him, came thither with a very few attendants, for Maillotin had pretended that he wanted only to speak with him; but no sooner did he appear than he laid hands on him, and carried him prisoner to Arras, where he remained in confinement a considerable time. However, by the exertions of his friends, he was conducted to the presence of the duke in Hesdin,—when he ably defended himself against the charges brought against him, and declared that it was Maillotin himself who made the proposals that he had mentioned. Words at last ran so high that Maillotin threw down his glove, which sir Hector, by leave of the prince, took up. The 20th day of June was fixed on for the combat, and there might be forty days before its arrival. Sufficient pledges were mutually given for their due appearance in person on the appointed day.

The duke of Burgundy came from his palace in Arras about ten o'clock of the 20th of June, grandly attended by his nobles and chivalry, to the seat which had been prepared for him in the centre of the lists, in the great market-square, the usual place for tournaments. The counts de St. Pol, de Ligny, and others of rank, entered the seat with the duke. Two handsome tents were pitched at each end of the lists, and without them were two great chairs of wood for the champions to repose in. That of Maillotin, as appellant, was on the right hand of the duke, and sir Hector's on the left. Sir Hector's tent was very richly ornamented with sixteen emblazoned quarterings of his arms, and of those of his ancestors, on each side. There was also a representation of a sepulchre, because sir Hector had been made a knight at the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem.

Shortly afterward, Maillotin was summoned by the king-at-arms to appear in person and fulfil his engagements. About eleven o'clock he left his mansion, accompanied by the lord de Chargny*, the lord de Humieres†, sir Peter Quierel lord de Ramencourt, and many other gentlemen, his relations and friends. He was mounted on a horse covered with the emblazonments of his arms, having on plain armour, his helmet on and his vizor closed, holding in one hand his lance and in the other one of his two swords; for he was provided with two, and a large dagger hanging by his side. His horse was led by the bridle by two knights on foot; and on his arrival at the barriers he made the usual oaths in the hands of

* Peter de Bouffremont, lord of Chargny, a noble Burgundian, knight banneret, and of the Golden Fleece.

† Matthew II., second son of Philip lord of Humieres, who was made prisoner at the battle of Azincourt.

sir James de Brimeu, who had been appointed for the purpose. This done, the barriers were thrown open, and he entered with his companions on foot, who then presented themselves before the duke of Burgundy. After this, he rode to his chair, where he dismounted, and entered his pavilion to repose himself and wait his adversary. The lord de Chargny, who was his manager to instruct him how to act, entered the tent with him, as did a few of his confidential friends.

Artois, king-at-arms, now summoned sir Hector de Flavy in the same manner as he had done the other; and within a quarter of an hour sir Hector left his house and came to the barriers on horseback, fully armed like his opponent, grandly accompanied by gentlemen, among whom were the two sons of the count de St. Pol, Louis and Thibault, who led sir Hector's horse by the bridle. The other lords followed behind on foot, namely, the lord d'Antoing, the vidame of Amiens, John de Flavy brother to sir Hector, Hugh de Launoy, the lord de Chargny, the lord de Saveuses, sir John de Fosseux, the lord de Crevecœur*, and many more nobles and esquires of rank. On sir Hector's arrival at the barriers, he took the oath, and then presented himself to the duke. He went to his chair, dismounted, and entered his pavilion. Soon after, they both advanced on foot before the duke, and swore on the Evangelists that their quarrel was good, and that they would combat fairly, and then returned again to their pavilions.

Proclamation was now made by the king-at-arms for all persons, under pain of death, to quit the lists, excepting such as had been charged to guard them. The prince had ordered that eight persons on each side, relations or friends of the champions, should remain within the lists unarmed, in addition to the eight that had been before appointed to raise them, or put an end to the combat, according to the prince's pleasure.

The chairs being removed, proclamation was again made for the champions to advance and do their duty. On hearing this, Maillotin de Bours, as appellant, first stepped forth, and then sir Hector, each grasping their lances handsomely. On their approach, they threw them, but without either hitting. They then, with great signs of courage, drew nearer, and began the combat with swords. Sir Hector, more than once, raised the vizor of his adversary's helmet by his blows, so that his face was plainly seen, which caused the spectators to believe sir Hector had the best of the combat. Maillotin, however, without being any way discouraged, soon closed it, by striking it down with the pummel of his sword, and retreating a few paces.

The two champions showed the utmost valour; but at this moment, before any blood had been drawn, the duke ordered further proceedings to be stopped, which was instantly done by those who had been commissioned for the purpose. They were commanded to withdraw to their lodgings, which they obeyed, by quitting the lists at opposite ends; and on the morrow they dined at the duke's table, sir Hector sitting on his right hand. When dinner was over, the duke ordered them, under pain of capital punishment, to attempt nothing further against each other, their friends, or allies, and to lay aside all the malice and hatred that was between them. In confirmation of which, he made them shake hands.

CHAPTER CIII.—SOME OF KING CHARLES'S CAPTAINS MAKE AN ATTEMPT ON CORBIE.

About this time, some of king Charles's captains, namely, the lord de Longueval, Anthony de Chabannes†, Blanchefort, Alain Guion, and others, advanced to the town of Corbie, thinking to take it by surprise. By the activity of the abbot, the place was well defended; and it was also succoured by John de Humieres, Enguerrand de Gribauval, with some more

* James lord of Crevecœur and Thois, chancellor and chamberlain to the duke of Burgundy.

† Anthony, third son of Robert lord of Charlus, killed at Azincourt. Stephen, his eldest son, was killed at Crevant in 1423. James, the second, was lord of La Palice, seneschal of Toulouse, and grand master of France, and was killed at Castillon in 1453. This Anthony was at first lord of St. Fargeau. He was born in 1411, and served as page to the count of Ventadour and to the great La Hire. He was at the battle of Verneuil, 1424. In 1439, he married Margaret de Nanteuil, countess of Dammartin, and assumed the title of count de Dammartin by virtue of that marriage. He was grand-master, governor of Paris, &c., and died in 1488.

gentlemen in their company, so that the French were repulsed with the loss of many of their men. Alain Guion was so badly wounded that he was in great peril of death. They caused, however, a very handsome suburb toward Fouilloy to be burnt. They retreated to forage the countries on the banks of the Somme, where they took the castles of Morcourt and Lyon belonging to the lord de Longueval, committing also much damage to the lands.

They soon quitted these castles for fear of being besieged in them, and returned to the places they had come from; but the duke of Burgundy, on their departure, had them razed to the ground.

CHAPTER CIV.—THE LORD DE BARBASAN LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF ANGLURE, HELD BY THE BURGUNDIANS.

In this year, the lord de Barbasan, who had resided a considerable time with the duke of Bar on the borders of Champagne, laid siege to the Burgundians in the castle of Anglure*, —and he had approached so near as to batter the walls with his cannon and other artillery. The duke of Bedford, on hearing this, sent to their relief the earl of Arundel, with the eldest son of the earl of Warwick, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, the lord de Châtillon†, the lord de Bonneul‡, and other captains, with sixteen hundred men. After some days' march, they came to Anglure, and found that the lord de Barbasan, having had intelligence of their motions, had retreated to a strong post, which he had also strengthened by outworks. Some skirmishes took place, in which from sixteen to twenty men were killed on both sides, and the lord de l'Isle-Adam was wounded. The English and Burgundians, seeing that they could not force the enemy to battle without great disadvantage to themselves, withdrew the garrison, with the lady of the castle, and set fire to it; after which they returned to Paris, and to the other parts whence they had come.

The lord de Barbasan had been constituted by king Charles governor of the countries of Brie, the Laonnois, and Champagne. Before he laid siege to Anglure, he had conquered Noeville in the Laonnois, Voisines, and other places. He had remained about a month before this castle of Anglure, having with him the lord de Conflans, sir John bastard de Dampierre, and a great number of common people. When the English and Burgundians were on their march to raise this siege, in one of the many skirmishes, the French gained possession of the outworks of the castle,—but were soon driven thence by the English, who in consequence set the castle on fire, as has been related.

CHAPTER CV.— THE MAID OF ORLEANS IS CONDEMNED TO BE PUT TO DEATH AND BURNT AT ROUEN.

Joan the Maid had sentence of death passed on her in the city of Rouen, information of which was sent by the king of England to the duke of Burgundy, a copy of whose letter now follows:

"Most dear and well-beloved uncle, the very fervent love we know you to bear, as a true Catholic, to our holy mother the church, and your zeal for the exaltation of the faith, induces us to signify to you by writing, that in honour of the above, an act has lately taken place at Rouen, which will tend, as we hope, to the strengthening of the Catholic faith, and the extirpation of pestilential heresies. It is well known, from common report, and otherwise, that the woman, erroneously called the Maid, has, for upward of two years, contrary to the divine law, and to the decency becoming her sex, worn the dress of a man, a thing abominable before God; and in this state she joined our adversary and yours, giving him, as well as those of his party, churchmen and nobles, to understand that she was sent as a messenger from Heaven,—and presumptuously vaunting that she had personal and visible communications with St. Michael, and with a multitude of angels and saints in paradise,

* Anglure, eight leagues to the north of Troyes.

† Perhaps Charles de Châtillon lord of Sourvilliers, son of Charles lord of Sourvilliers, killed at Azincourt.

‡ Another Charles de Châtillon, of a younger branch, was lord of Bonneuil.

such as St. Catherine and St. Margaret. By these falsehoods, and by promising future victories, she has estranged the minds of persons of both sexes from the truth, and induced them to the belief of dangerous errors.

"She clothed herself in armour also, assisted by knights and esquires, and raised a banner, on which, through excess of pride and presumption, she demanded to bear the noble and excellent arms of France, which in part she obtained. These she displayed at many conflicts and sieges; and they consisted of a shield having two flower de luces, or, on a field azure, with a pointed sword surmounted with a crown proper. In this state she took the field with large companies of men-at-arms and archers, to exercise her inhuman cruelties by shedding Christian blood, and stirring up seditions and rebellions of the common people. She encouraged perjuries, superstitions, and false doctrines, by permitting herself to be reverenced and honoured as a holy woman, and in various other manners that would be too long to detail, but which have greatly scandalized all Christendom wherever they have been known.

"But Divine Mercy having taken pity on a loyal people, and being no longer willing to suffer them to remain under such vain errors and credulities, permitted that this woman should be made prisoner by your army when besieging Compiègne, and through your affection she was transferred to our power. On this being known, she was claimed by the bishop in whose diocese she had been taken; and as she had been guilty of the highest treason to the Divine Majesty, we delivered her up to be tried and punished by the usual ecclesiastical judges, not only from respect to our holy mother the church, whose ordinances we shall ever prefer to our own, but also for the exaltation of our faith. We were unwilling that the officers of our secular justice should take cognizance of the crime, although it was perfectly lawful for us so to do, considering the great mischiefs, murders, and detestable cruelties, she has committed against our sovereignty, and on a loyal obedient people.

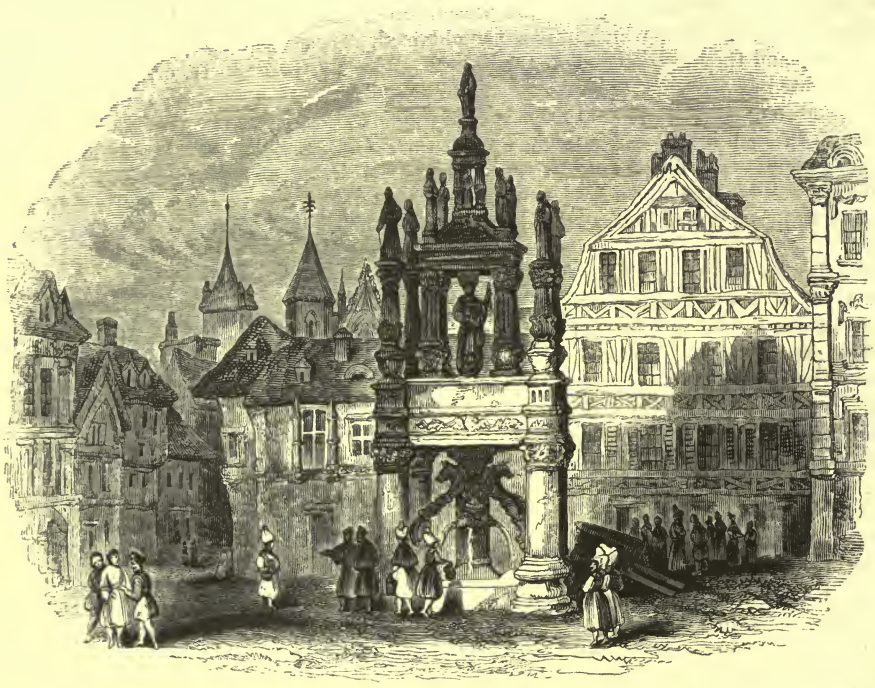
"The bishop having called to his aid in this matter the vicar of the inquisitor of errors and heresies in the faith, with many able doctors in theology and in the canon law, commenced with much solemnity and gravity the trial of the said Joan. After these judges had for several days interrogated her on her crimes, and had maturely considered her confessions and answers, they sent them for the opinion of our beloved daughter the university of Paris, when they all determined that this Joan was superstitious, a sorceress of the devil, a blasphemer of God and of his saints, a schismatic, and guilty of many errors against the faith of Jesus Christ.

"To recal her to the universal faith of our holy church, to purge her from her pernicious errors, and to save her soul from perpetual damnation, and to induce her to return to the way of truth, she was long and frequently charitably preached to; but that dangerous and obstinate spirit of pride and presumption, which is always endeavouring to prevent the unity and safety of Christians, held the said Joan so fast bound that no arguments nor exhortations could soften the hardness of her heart, so that she boasted that all which she had done was meritorious, and that it had been done by the command of God and the aforesaid holy virgins, who had personally appeared to her. But what was worse, she refused to acknowledge any power on earth but God and his saints, denying the authority of our holy father the pope, and of the general councils of the universal church militant.

"The ecclesiastical judges, witnessing her obstinacy and hardness of heart, had her brought forth before the people, who, with the clergy, were assembled in great numbers, when she was again preached to by an able divine. Having been plainly warned of the doctrines of our holy religion, and the consequences of heresies and erroneous opinions concerning it to the welfare of mankind, she was charitably admonished to make her peace with the church, and renounce her errors, but she remained as obstinate as before. The judges, having considered her conduct, proceeded to pronounce sentence upon her, according to the heinousness of her crimes; but before it was read her courage seemed to fail her, and she said she was willing to return to the church. This was heard with pleasure by the judges, clergy, and spectators, who received her kindly, hoping by this means to preserve her soul from perdition.

"She now submitted herself to the ordinances of the church, and publicly renounced and abjured her detestable crimes, signing with her own hand the schedule of her recantation and

abjuration. Thus was our merciful mother the church rejoiced at the sinner doing penance, anxious to recover the lost sheep that had wandered in the desert. Joan was ordered to perform her penance in close confinement.



PLACE DE LA PUCELLE, ROUEN.
The Square in which the Maid, Joan of Arc, was burnt, with the Fountain raised to her memory. This monument was destroyed in the great revolution, but has since been replaced by a statue.
From an original drawing, assisted by a print of the Fountain in Millin's Antiquités Nationales.

"But these good dispositions did not last long; for her presumptuous pride seemed to have acquired greater force than before,—and she relapsed, with the utmost obstinacy, into all those errors which she had publicly renounced. For this cause, and that she might not contaminate the sound members of our holy communion, she was again publicly preached to; and proving obstinate, she was delivered over to the secular arm, who instantly condemned her to be burnt. Seeing her end approach, she fully acknowledged and confessed that the spirits which had appeared to her were often lying and wicked ones; that the promises they had made to set her at liberty were false; and that she had been deceived and mocked by them. She was publicly led to the old market-place in Rouen, and there burnt in the presence of the people!"

This notice of her sentence and execution was sent by the king of England to the duke of Burgundy, that it might be published by him for the information of his subjects, that all may henceforward be advised not to put faith in such or similar errors as had governed the heart of the Maid.

CHAPTER CVI.—THE GENERAL COUNCIL IS CONTINUED AT BASIL, BY THE SOLICITATIONS OF THE EMPEROR.

In this year, a general council of the holy church, which had been moved for during the pontificate of pope Martin, was ordered by the pope to be held in the city of Basil. Basil is a handsome city, abounding in wealth, and seated on the banks of the Rhine; whither came crowds from all parts to attend the council, more especially many notable clerks from the university of Paris, and numberless ambassadors from the emperor of Germany, different kings, princes, and prelates. Pope Eugenius, however, was desirous of deferring this council for a year and a half, and wished to have it transferred to Bologna la Grassa, for the accommodation of the Greeks, who he was in hopes would attend it. The emperor, when he heard of this, wrote letters to the pope, containing in substance as follows.

In the first place, he was unwilling that the council should be transferred from Basil, or any way delayed on account of the Greeks; for as much pains had been taken in vain to unite them with the holy church, it would be better to extirpate reigning heresies.—Item, the members of the council had written to those of Prague, called Hussites, to attend this council; and he, the emperor, had likewise written to them, and sent them passports for their coming and return. The Hussites had shown intentions of compliance with these requests, for they had suffered great losses in Hungary, having been twice defeated by the duke of Austria.—Item, as the Hussites knew that this council was chiefly held for the abolition of their heresies, could it be expected that any sincere conversions would take effect, without the points of the disputed doctrines having been fully and publicly argued?—Item, should it happen that they be converted by force of reason, as the members of the council are from various countries, they will admonish their countrymen when returned to destroy these Hussites.—Item, because the Hussites declare their sect to be founded on the Holy Scriptures, should the council be delayed, they will naturally conclude that this is done through a consciousness of inability to controvert their doctrines, and will become more hardened and obstinate in their errors.—Item, because common report has bruited it abroad that this council was assembled for the reformation of public manners and the state of the church, it is to be feared that many, who have loudly spoken of these matters, will say, if the council be adjourned, that it is a mockery and farce, and will end as unprofitably to the church as those of Pisa and of Constance.

Item, since this council has been called to appease dissentions that have arisen between the clergy and laity in many towns of Christendom; and since the members have summoned the attendance of several of the chief inhabitants of different towns in Saxony, particularly of Magdebourg, who had expelled the bishop and his clergy from their town, and of others who had rebelled against their bishops because they leaned to the doctrines of the Hussites; it is to be feared, should the council be deferred, that they will form such strong connexions with the Hussites that it will be no longer possible to remedy the mischief.—Item, although several towns and princes, situated amidst these heretics, have made truces with them, nevertheless the majority of them are firmly united with the Hussites, in hopes that the council will decide on their doctrines; but should they find it is adjourned for so long a time as a year and a half, they will be for ever lost to the church.

Item, it was hoped that this council would employ itself in the pacification of many kings and princes now waging war against each other, and in taking proper measures for a secure and lasting peace. Should it now separate, these princes would continue a cruel warfare, and no hope remain of again assembling it for the prevention of seditions and heresies, and thus very many things profitable to the Christian church will be delayed, if not totally obstructed; and greater slanders and mischiefs will arise than he was willing to write.

These arguments having been adduced in the letters from the emperor, he thus concludes:

"We, therefore, require of your holiness, that you instantly write to the president and members of the council that they do not on any account separate, but that they do accomplish that which they have begun, and for which they have been assembled in the name of the Lord; and that you do recal and annul whatever you may have written to the contrary.

Have the goodness to consider also, that the heretics are increasing in arms; and that if you do not disband them by clerical measures, and replace them in their primitive state, there will not be left a possibility of doing it by any other means whatever. Those who have advised you to adjourn the council have not assuredly understood the grievous evils that may result from that measure. Would to God they were sensible of the dangerous consequences at this moment arising from delay! Should they fear that laics would usurp power belonging to the church, they would deceive themselves,—for this is only a subtlety to retard the council; which measure, if carried into effect, would indeed force the laics to act against the church.

"This can only be prevented by continuing the sittings of the council; for then the laics will be effectually restrained, when they shall see the clergy abstain from all considerations of personal profit. You should also consider, that perhaps the holy council will not consent to adjourn itself, and that in this it will be followed by the kings, princes, and common people; and your holiness, who has hitherto been held in respect, and considered as spotless by the members of the Christian church, will fall under suspicion, and your mandates be disregarded. For this adjournment, without any essential cause, will stain your innocence; and it may be said that you nourish heresies among Christians, a perseverance in wickedness, and in the sins of the people. Disobedience may, therefore, be consequently expected to the church of God; for there are some who will not scruple to publish that you have been the cause of these evils,—and many more than you are aware of will agree with them. It would be very useful and good, if your holiness would attend the council in person; but if that cannot be, send your immediate commands for it to continue its sittings in the manner in which it has commenced; for there are measures before it, affecting the very vitals of Christianity, that cannot and ought not to suffer a moment's delay.

"Should your holiness require, in future, any measures to be discussed that do not demand such haste,—such as touching a union with the Greek church,—another council may be called better inclined towards it; for should this council be now dissolved, it is to be doubted whether another can be assembled within the eighteen months, from events that may arise. Your holiness will be pleased to weigh maturely all that we have written to you, and give directions for the continuation of this council; and have the goodness to receive our admonitions paternally and kindly; for it has been our conscience, and the great difficulties into which the church of God has fallen, and also our anxiety that your character may not be liable to the least suspicion, that have urged us to make them. This we will more clearly demonstrate to you when we shall be in your presence, which we hope will shortly happen."

This remonstrance had its due effect on the holy father, who re-established the council at Basil, which was attended by great multitudes of ecclesiastical and secular lords, ambassadors, princes, and prelates, and common people out of number.

CHAPTER CVII.—THE DUKE OF BAR ENTERS THE COUNTY OF VAUDEMONT TO CONQUER IT BY FORCE.

I HAVE before mentioned that a serious quarrel * had taken place between René duke of Bar and Anthony de Lorraine count de Vaudemont. In consequence, thereof, the duke of Bar had collected a great body of men-at-arms, as well from his own duchy as from other parts of Germany, to the amount of six thousand men. The principal leaders were, the counts de Salmes, de Salivines and de Linanges, the bishop of Metz, sir Thibaut de Barbey, and other noblemen of high rank. The duke had also with him that gallant and renowned

* The duchy of Bar having passed to the house of Anjou, René, in the year 1431, sent his bailiffs from Bar and St. Michel to receive from Anthony of Lorraine, count de Vaudemont, his acknowledgment of him as lord paramount. The duke insisted on having full obedience of all places within the county that had been held as fiefs from the dukes of Bar, under pain of confiscation. *Dict. de Martinière.* This was probably the cause of quarrel. René claimed the duchy of Lorraine in right of his wife Isabella, only daughter of Charles the late duke; and Heuterus, relating the cause of this quarrel, says, that Anthony, count of Vaudemont, brother of the deceased, refused to admit René's pretensions, alleging that the duchy could not descend to heirs-female. For some reasons, however, it would appear probable that Heuterus is mistaken, and that the dispute related to the affairs of the county of Vaudemont only.

knight the lord de Barbasan, by whose advice he ordered his army,—for he had great knowledge and experience in war.

Having provided a sufficiency of artillery, provision, and stores, the duke marched his army before Vaudemont *, the capital of that country, which was naturally strong, and had been repaired with additional fortifications, by the count, who had likewise well victualled and garrisoned it; knowing that it was intended to be attacked by his enemies. He had appointed, as governors in his absence, Gerard de Passenchault, bailiff of the county, and Henry de Fouquencourt, who made great exertions to put the place in a proper state of defence. They were, however, in spite of their efforts, soon besieged on all sides, by reason of the superior numbers of their enemies.

The besiegers also overran and destroyed by fire and sword most part of the county of Vaudemont, which, although very vexatious to the count, he could no way resist for the present. He garrisoned all his strong places as well as he could, and resolved to wait on duke Philip of Burgundy, whose party he had always supported, and humbly request aid from him to deliver his country from his enemies.

He found the duke in Flanders, to whom having told his distress, the duke replied, that he would willingly lay the case before his council, and give him a speedy answer, and the best assistance he could afford. A short time before the count's arrival, sir Anthony de Toulongeon, the marshal of Burgundy, and other noble persons from that country, had come to remonstrate with the duke on the state of affairs in that duchy, and on the devastations there done by his enemies the French and Bourbonnois, who were daily committing murders and mischiefs by fire and sword, having already conquered some of his towns and castles, and intending further inroads unless they were checked. They earnestly solicited that he would, for the salvation of the country, send thither some of his Picard captains, accompanied by a certain number of men-at-arms, more particularly archers, of whom, they said, they were in much need.

The duke held several councils on these two demands, and on the means of complying with them. They caused many debates, and his ministers urged the necessity of non-compliance, saying that the French were on the borders of Picardy, eager to make an inroad on Artois, and the moment they should know that his Picards had left their country, they might do him very great mischief. Notwithstanding all the dangers that might ensue, it was resolved, as a matter of necessity, that a thousand or twelve hundred combatants should be given to the marshal, who should have the chief command, with the Picardy captains under him; and when they were arrived in Burgundy they should afford the count de Vaudemont the strongest support they could.

When this had been resolved upon, it was necessary to seek for captains to conduct the expedition; for there were few of any rank willing to undertake it, because it was to a distant country, where the enemy was in great force, and they did not expect to be well paid, according to the custom in those parts. However, the duke of Burgundy, the count of Vaudemont, and others of weight in Picardy, determined to accept of such as they could find willing to go; and they sounded Matthieu de Humieres, Robinet de Huchechien, the bastard de Fosseux, the bastard de Neufville, Gerard bastard de Brimeu, and some other gentlemen and men-at-arms of the middle ranks, who had no great properties in their own country, to know if they were inclined to assemble men-at-arms, and to follow their leader whither he pleased, to seek adventures. Some presents and greater promises being added to this proposal, they agreed to accept of the offers.

They collected, therefore, about the beginning of May, as many men-at-arms as they could, in various parts, to the amount of a thousand or twelve hundred, and had the duke of Burgundy's commands to keep them on foot for a certain time; the most of them were poor soldiers, accustomed to support themselves by living on their neighbours, when they could not find wherewithal in their own countries, but strong, healthy, and vigorous, and accustomed to war. When they were assembled in companies, they marched for the Cambresis, and were mustered in a large village called Solames, belonging to the abbot of

* Vaudemont, a small town in Lorraine. It had been the capital of the county, but had given up that honour to the little town of Vezelize.

St. Denis in France. They thence advanced under the command of the marshal, and other Burgundian lords, to Rethel, where they received a proportion of their pay, and thence returned through St. Menehould to Burgundy, where they remained some little time, waiting until the Burgundian forces were ready.

In the meantime, while these preparations were going forward, the duke of Bar was besieging, with his numerous army, the town of Vaudemont. He had remained before it for three complete months, and had greatly damaged the walls by his cannon and other engines. The besieged were in the utmost distress; but, as they had hopes of being speedily relieved by the count, from whom they had secret messages, they bore all with much patience. Their two governors made great exertions to defend the place, that their lord might not reproach them with having any way neglected their duty.

CHAPTER CVIII.—THE DUKE OF BAR IS COMBATED BY THE COUNT DE VAUDEMONT AND DEFEATED.

When the marshal of Burgundy had assembled all his men, he marched them toward Langres; and thence the Burgundians and Picards advanced toward the Barrois, where they were joined by the count de Vaudemont with all the forces he could collect. When united, they might amount to about four thousand combatants, and their chief captains were the said Anthony de Toulongeon, marshal of Burgundy, the count de Vaudemont, the lord d'Antoing, Gerard de Marigny, the count de Fribourg *, the lord de Mirabeau †, the lord de Sez, the lord de Roland, sir Imbert Marechal, a Savoyard, the bastard du Vergy, Matthieu de Humieres, nephew to the above-mentioned lord d'Antoing, sir John de Cardonne lord de Bichancourt, Boort de Bazentin, a gallant English knight called sir John Ladan, and sir Thomas Gergeras.

Sir John Ladan was governor of Montigny-le-Roi, and had with him six score combatants at the least, with many notable gentlemen renowned and expert in war. They advanced in handsome array into the Barrois, followed by sixteen or twenty carts laden with stores and provision. They announced their entrance into the Barrois by setting fire to different parts of that country; and thus they advanced to a large village called Sandacourt, within seven leagues of their adversaries, where they arrived on a Saturday night. On the morrow, Sunday, they expected an attack from the enemy, and, consequently, they formed their men in order of battle, and remained in this state the most part of that day, having their archers posted behind sharp stakes to prevent the charge of the cavalry. As the enemy did not appear, they retired, about vespers, to the village to refresh themselves, and called a council to consider how they should act. It was resolved that since, from the badness of the roads, and from the country being so intersected with hedges, they could not, without danger, march to meet the enemy, who were superior to them in numbers, they should return through the Barrois to Burgundy, destroy the country they marched through, and reinforce themselves with men and everything necessary to enable them to combat the enemy.

This resolution was very displeasing to the count de Vaudemont, but he was, through necessity, forced to abide by it. The captains then ordered all things to be packed and ready for the march on the ensuing day, Monday, the feast of St. Martin in the summer; but the duke of Bar, having heard of their arrival, quitted the siege of Vaudemont, leaving a sufficient body to blockade it until his return, and marched his army to offer them battle before they were reinforced. His strength consisted of about six thousand combatants, under some of the highest rank in Bar, Lorraine, and Germany, and advanced in handsome array. The scouts of the marshal of Burgundy fell in with those of the duke of Bar, attacked and conquered them; and this was the first intelligence the marshal had of their intentions.

* The county of Freyburg became united with that of Neufchâtel by the marriage of Egon XIV, count of Furstenburg and Freyburg, with Verena, heiress of Neufchâtel. Their grandson John, count of Freyburg, &c. married a daughter of the prince of Orange, but died 1458, without issue.

† Henry de Bauffremont married Jane, sister and heir to John, last lord of Mirabeau, of the family of Vergy, about 1388.

He gave instant notice of the coming of the enemy to his captains, who drew up their men in good order, chiefly under the directions of the English knight. The archers were posted in front, and on the wings, with their stakes before them. The Burgundian men-at-arms wanted to remain on horseback, but the Picards and English would not suffer them; and at last it was ordered, that every man, whatever might be his rank, should dismount,—and all who should disobey should be put to death. The horses and carriages were placed in the rear, in such wise as to prevent the enemy from making any attack on that quarter.

While this was passing, the duke of Bar had advanced his army to within half a quarter of a league of them, and thence sent his heralds and trumpets to announce to them his approach, and to say, that if they would wait for him, he would offer them battle. The Burgundian captains sent for answer, that they were ready to receive him, and wished for nothing better than what he had proposed.

The heralds returned with this answer to the duke, who then advanced to within cross-bow shot of his enemies, although the lord de Barbasan had frequently advised him to avoid an open combat, but to force them to retreat from his country by famine and other means. He added many arguments in support of his advice; but the duke would not listen to them, trusting to superiority of numbers, notwithstanding the greater part of his men had not been accustomed nor experienced in war like to his adversaries, the Burgundians, Picards, and English.

The duke, partly by the advice of the lord de Barbasan, drew up his army handsomely; for he had a great desire for the combat, though he had with him but very few archers. When this was done, many new knights were created on his side. Preparatory to the battle, the marshal of Burgundy and the count de Vaudemont had two tuns of wine brought to the front of their line, which, with bread and other victual, were delivered out to their men in what quantity they pleased; and all who had any hatreds made peace with each other. They had also some cannon and culverines on the two wings and in the centre of their army, and they remained for two hours fronting each other.

While they were thus situated, a stag, as I was informed, came between their battalions, and, stamping thrice with his feet on the ground, paced along the Burgundian line,—and then, returning, dashed through that of the Barrois, when great shoutings were made after it.

Some new knights were now created by the Burgundians and Picards, such as Matthieu de Humieres, Gerard de Marigny, his son, and others. The count de Vaudemont, during this ceremony, rode on a small hackney along the line, entreating the men "to combat bravely, assuring them, on the damnation of his soul, that his cause was good and just,—that the duke of Bar wanted to disinherit him,—and that he had ever been strongly attached to the party of duke John and duke Philip of Burgundy." The Burgundians and Picards were well pleased with this address, and determined to remain as they were, and not advance on the enemy. On the other hand, the duke of Bar, having finished his preparations, and drawn up his army mostly on foot, observing that the enemy did not move, resolved to begin the combat, and marched toward them, who still remained in their position.

When the Barrois were advanced to within twelve or sixteen diestres* of their line, they discharged the cannons and culverines before-mentioned, and set up a loud shout. This caused such an alarm among the Barrois that they flung themselves on the ground, and were greatly frightened. Shortly after, the battle raged on all sides, and it might then be about eleven o'clock. The Picard-archers made excellent use of their bows, and killed and wounded numbers with their arrows.

The violence of the combat lasted about a quarter of an hour, and the two parties were engaged in different quarters; but at length that of the duke began to give way, and to fly in various directions,—which being observed by the enemy, it renewed their courage, and they made fiercer attacks than before. The Picard archers especially killed and wounded an incredible number, so that the disorder and defeat very soon became general on the side of the Barrois.

The duke of Bar was made prisoner by one named Martin Fouars, belonging to the count de Conversan, lord d'Enghien, who had all the honour and profit of such a prize, although

* Diestres. See Du Cange, Supplement, *Dextri.*

some said he was not taken with his own hand. Together with the duke were made prisoners, the bishop of Metz, John de Rodemaque, sir Everard de Salebery, the viscount d'Arcy, the lord of Rodemaque, sir Colard de Sausy, sir Vilin de la Tour, and others, to the amount of more than two hundred. There remained dead on the field of battle, and including those slain in the pursuit, which lasted for two good leagues, from five-and-twenty hundred to three thousand men. The principal among them were the counts de Salmes and de Salme-Salmes, de Linanges, Germans,—the lord de Barbasan, sir Thibault de Barbey, two brothers to the bishop of Metz, George de Banastre and his two brothers, and others, to the amount aforesaid, the greater part of whom were gentlemen.

This defeat and pursuit lasted two or three hours; and when all were re-assembled, the Burgundian lords, with the count de Vaudemont, returned their most humble thanksgiving to their Creator for the great victory they had obtained through his means. They did not lose more in killed than forty men, the chief of whom was sir Gerard de Marigny. They remained that night on the field of battle. The marshal of Burgundy was slightly wounded in the face, and the duke of Bar above the nose. On the morrow they marched away for Burgundy, carrying with them their prisoners.

CHAPTER CIX.—THE YOUNG KING HENRY COMES FROM ENGLAND, WITH A GRAND ATTENDANCE, TO PARIS, TO BE CROWNED KING OF FRANCE.

About the end of November, in this year, the young king Henry came from Pontoise to St. Denis, with the intent of proceeding to Paris, to be anointed and crowned king of France. He was accompanied from England by his uncles the cardinals of Winchester and of York, the duke of Bedford, the rich duke of York, the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and Suffolk. He was likewise attended by many of the great lords of France, such as sir Louis de Luxembourg bishop of Therouenne, master Peter Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, master John de Mailly, bishop of Noyon, the bishops of Paris and of Evreux, sir John bastard de St. Pol, sir Guy le Bouteiller, the lord de Courcelles, sir Gilles de Clamecy, sir James de Painel, sir John de Pressi, the lord de Passy, the bastard de Thian, and several more.

King Henry was escorted by about two or three thousand combatants, as well from England as from the country round St. Denis, for the security of his person. He left that town for Paris about nine o'clock in the morning, and was met at La Chapelle, half way between Paris and St. Denis, by sir Simon Morier, provost of Paris, with a numerous company of the burghers, dressed in crimson satin doublets with blue hoods, to do him honour and respect: there were also very many of the inhabitants dressed in scarlet.

When the provost and his company had made their obeisances, the king was next saluted by persons on horseback, representing the nine worthies *, armed each according to his manner. Then by the commandant of the watch, the provost of merchants, with the officers of the court, dressed in silk and crimson hoods.

At a small distance came master Philip de Morvillers, first president of the parliament, in his robes of ceremony, followed by all the lords of the parliament in flowing robes of vermilion. Then came the members of the chamber of accounts, the directors of the finances, the masters of requests, the secretaries, in robes of the same colour. As they advanced they made their reverences to the king, each according to his rank, and to the lords who accompanied him. With regard to the common people, they were numberless.

When the king arrived at the entrance of the gate of St. Denis, the arms of the town were on so large a scale that in the body of them were enclosed six men, one to represent a bishop, another the university, and a third the burghers: the others personated sergeants. The king was presented, on his passing the gate, with three crimson hearts: in one were two doves; in another small birds, which were let fly over the king's head; and in the third, violets and other flowers, which were thrown over the lords who accompanied him.

The provost of merchants and the sheriffs now brought a handsome azure-coloured canopy,

* *Nine worthies.* According to the Encyclopédie, vol. iv. supplement, the *neuf preux* were named Joshua, Gideon, Samson, David, Judas Macchabeus, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Godefroy de Bouillon. For further particulars, I refer to the Encyclopédie, where mention is made of this procession to meet Henry VI.

besprinkled with flowers-de-luce, which they bore over the king's head as he passed through the streets. When he approached the little bridge of St. Denis, a pageant of three savages and a woman continued fighting in a sort of forest that had been formed there, until he had passed. Underneath the scaffold was a fountain of hippocras, with three mermaids swimming round it, and which ran perpetually for all who chose to drink thereat. On advancing to the second gate of the street of St. Denis, there were pageants that represented in dumb show the nativity of the holy Virgin, her marriage, the adoration of the three kings, the Massacre of the Innocents, and a good man sowing his corn, which characters were specially well acted. Over the gate was performed the legendary history of St. Denis, which was much admired by the English.

In front of the church des Innocents was formed a sort of forest in the street, in which was a living stag; when the king came near, the stag was hunted by dogs and huntsmen; and, after a long chase, it took refuge near the feet of the king's horse, when his majesty saved its life.

At the entrance of the gate of the Châtelet was another scaffold, on which was a representation of king Henry clothed in a robe of flowers-de-luce, and having two crowns on his head. On his right hand were figures to personate the duke of Burgundy and the count de Nevers, presenting him with the shield of France: on his left, were his uncle the duke of Bedford, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury presenting him with the shield of England. Each person was dressed in his own proper tabard of arms.

The king thence went to the palace, where the holy relics were displayed to him and to his company, and was then conducted to the hôtel des Tournelles to partake of a repast. When he had dined, he went to visit the queen his grandmother at the hôtel de St. Pol. On the morrow he was carried to the castle of Vincennes, where he remained until the 15th day of December, when he returned to the palace.

On the 17th of that month he went from the Palace in great pomp, and attended by a numerous body of nobles and ecclesiastics, to the church of Nôtre Dame, for his coronation. In the nave of the church had been erected a scaffold eight score feet long, and of a proper height, which was ascended from the nave, and led to the entrance of the choir. The king was crowned by the cardinal of Winchester, who also chaunted the mass, to the great displeasure of the bishop of Paris, who said that that office belonged to him. At the offertory the king made an offering of bread and wine in the usual manner. The wine was in a large pot of silver gilt, which was seized on by the king's officers, to the discontent of the canons of the cathedral, who claimed it as their perquisite; and they urged their complaints before the king and council, who, after it had cost them much in this claim, caused it to be returned to them.

All the other ceremonies usual at coronations were this day performed, but more after the English than the French mode; and the lords before-named were about the person of the king, and serving him while in the church, according to their several offices.

When mass was over the king returned to the Palace, and dined at the table of marble in the midst of the hall. On one side of him were seated the cardinal of Winchester, master Peter Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, master John de Mailly, bishop of Noyon; and on the opposite side were the earls of Stafford, Mortimer, and Salisbury, as representing the peers of France. Sir John, bastard de St. Pol, was grand-master of the household; and with him, preceding the meats, were sir Gilles de Clamecy, sir Guy le Boutciller, and sir John de Pressy. The lord de Courcelles was on that day grand-butler, and sir James de Painel grand-pantler; an English knight, called sir Walter Hungerford, carved before the king.

During the dinner four pageants were introduced: the first was a figure of our Lady, with an infant king crowned by her side; the second, a flower-de-luce, surmounted with a crown of gold, and supported by two angels; the third, a lady and peacock; the fourth, a lady and swan. It would be tiresome, were I to relate all the various meats and wines, for they were beyond number. Many pieces of music were played on divers instruments; and on the morrow a gallant tournament was held at the hôtel de St. Pol, where the earl of Arundel and the bastard de St. Pol won the prizes, and gained the applause of the ladies for being the best tilters. King Henry, having made some days' stay at Paris, departed, and went to Rouen.

CHAPTER CX.—THE DETACHMENT THE DUKE OF BAR HAD LEFT TO BLOCKADE VAUDEMONT MARCH AWAY ON HEARING OF THE ILL SUCCESS OF THE BATTLE.

Very soon after the defeat of the duke of Bar and his army, news of it was carried to the French before Vaudemont by those who had escaped; and it caused such an alarm among them that they instantly took to flight in a most disorderly manner, each man imagining the enemy at his heels, and leaving behind the artillery, stores, and provision, that had been intrusted to their guard, and which were in great abundance. The garrison, observing the confusion and disorder in the camp of the besiegers, concluded that the duke of Bar had been conquered, and instantly sallying out on horseback and on foot, made a great slaughter, and took many prisoners. They gained so much that they were all enriched.

Intelligence of this defeat was spread throughout the countries of Bar and Lorraine, and that their lord had been made prisoner, which caused the severest grief to all attached to him. The place where this battle had been fought was called Villeman; and from that day it bore the name of the Battle of Villeman. The count de Vaudemont was lavish in his thanks and praises to the marshal of Burgundy, and the other lords and gentlemen who had so essentially aided him. He then returned to his country, and the marshal, with his Burgundians and Picards, to Burgundy, carrying with him the duke of Bar, whom he placed under a good guard at Dijon.

CHAPTER CXI.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG ASSEMBLES MEN-AT-ARMS AND MARCHES INTO CHAMPAGNE AGAINST THE FRENCH, FROM WHOM HE CONQUERS SEVERAL CASTLES.—OTHER MATTERS.

In the month of July of this year, sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny, assembled, by orders from king Henry and the duke of Burgundy, about a thousand combatants, whom he led into the countries of Champagne and the Rethelois, to conquer some castles held by the troops of king Charles, which had much harassed those parts. Sir John was accompanied by the lord de Ternant and the Rethelois; and his first attack was on the castle of Guetron, in which were from sixty to four-score of king Charles's men, who, perceiving the superiority of the enemy, were so much frightened that they permitted them to gain the lower court without offering any resistance; and, shortly after, they opened a parley, and proposed to surrender the place on having their lives and fortunes spared. This offer was refused,—and they were told they must surrender at discretion. In the end, however, it was agreed to by the governor that from four to six of his men should be spared by sir John.

When this agreement had been settled, and pledges given for its performance, the governor re-entered the castle, and was careful not to tell his companions the whole that had passed at the conference,—giving them to understand in general that they were to march away in safety; but when the castle was surrendered, all within it were made prisoners. On the morrow, by orders from sir John de Luxembourg, they were all strangled and hung on trees hard by, except the four or six before mentioned,—one of their companions serving for the executioner.

An accident befel one of them, which is worth relating. The hangman was in such haste that the cord, as he was turned off the ladder, hitched under his chin, and thus suspended him, while the executioner went on to complete the sentence on others. Some of the gentlemen standing by took compassion on him, and one of them, with a guisarme, cut the cord: he fell to the ground, and soon recovered his senses. The spectators then entreated sir John to have pity on him for the love of God, and to spare his life, which request was at length complied with, and he went away in safety.

Sir John de Luxembourg, having executed justice on these marauders, marched away with his army, but not before he had demolished the castle of Guetron, to the castle of Tours-en-Porcien*. He remained before it some days, during which the captain capitulated

* Porcien, a principality in Champagne.

to deliver it up, with the exception of the cannon, on being allowed to march off unmolested, but without any baggage. Some, who had formerly taken the oaths to king Henry, were hung, and the castle was razed to the ground.

Thence sir John marched to a castle called Bahin : the captain thereof was one Barete, who soon offered to surrender, on condition that he himself and his garrison might have their lives spared, and be allowed to depart with their baggage, which terms were accepted. At this time, the earl of Warwick's son joined sir John, with sir Gilles de Clamecy and four hundred combatants, to assist him should there be occasion ; but as the French were not in sufficient force in Champagne and those parts to resist, they returned shortly after to Meaux in Brie, and to the other garrisons whence they had come. Sir John reduced to obedience many other places and towns that had been held for king Charles,—some by treaty, others by force of arms.

At this period, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, who was decorated with the duke of Burgundy's order of the Golden Fleece, was appointed, by the king of England and his council, marshal of France. He assembled about six hundred fighting men, part of whom were English ; and in conjunction with the bastard de St. Pol, and one of his own brothers, he led them to the town of Lagny-sur-Marne, then possessed by king Charles's party, thinking to conquer it by surprise,—but it was too well defended by those to whose guard it had been intrusted.

CHAPTER CXII.—THE DUKE D'ALENÇON MAKES THE CHANCELLOR OF BRITTANY PRISONER.

This year the duke d'Alençon made his uncle's chancellor of Brittany prisoner, because he would not assist him with money according to his pleasure, for his ransom when captured at the battle of Vermeuil in Perche, which he looked to obtain from the chancellor. He carried him prisoner to his town of Poussay. But in a short time, the duke of Brittany, being much exasperated at such conduct, assembled his barons and a large force of men-at-arms, whom, with some English captains, he marched to the town of Poussay, and besieged it all round,—but the duke d'Alençon had quitted it from fear of his enemies ; he had, however, left there his duchess, daughter to the duke of Orleans, then a prisoner in England, who was ill in child-bed, and sorely vexed at these matters.

The siege was carried on for some time ; but at length the duke of Alençon, on account of the situation of the duchess, and to prevent his town and subjects being further harassed, made peace with his uncle, and restored to him his chancellor, and the others whom he had made prisoners. Thus was the siege broken up. The duke had taken the chancellor prisoner at a country-seat which he had near to Nantes,—and his object was to get paid a certain sum of money that his uncle, the duke of Brittany, was indebted to him.

CHAPTER CXIII.—THE FRENCH ARE NEAR TAKING THE CASTLE OF ROUEN.

On the third day of February in this year, at the solicitations of the marshal de Bousac, the lord de Fontaines, sir John Foulquet, the lord de Mouy, and other captains, assembled a force of about six hundred fighting men in the city of Beauvais. They marched thence to within a league of Rouen, and posted themselves in ambush in a wood. Thence the marshal sent off secretly a gentleman called Richarville with a hundred or six-score combatants, all on foot, except four or five who were mounted on small horses, to the castle of Rouen, in which the marshal had for some time kept up a correspondence with a marauder on the part of the English named Pierre Audeboeuf, a Béarn-man, who had promised to deliver up the castle to him.

When Richarville and his detachment approached the castle, he found the Béarn-man ready to perform his promise ; and they all entered, except a few who were left to guard the horses. They instantly made themselves masters of the greater part of the castle, and particularly the great tower, which was well supplied with stores. The earl of Arundel and many English were in bed in the castle, most part of whom saved themselves as well as they

could over the walls: the others retired within the town, but not without leaving several killed and wounded by the French.

When this was done, Richarville mounted his horse, and hastened back with all speed to where he had left the marshal, and told him the success of his enterprise, requiring him, at the same time, to advance quickly to the support of his men, when, without doubt, the whole of the castle would be won. But, to make short of the matter,—for all that he could say, and notwithstanding the urgency of the case which he stated to the commanders, he could not prevail on them to march, although the marshal and the principal captains had most faithfully promised to support him, if he should succeed in making a lodgment within the castle: now he had succeeded, they would not fulfil their engagements; and when within one league, as I have said, of Rouen, they began to quarrel among themselves about the division of the plunder, which had not as yet been won.

These disputes caused them to march back without proceeding further, and leave part of their men in the utmost danger. Richarville seeing this, and knowing that he had successfully done his duty, abused them in the coarsest terms, which they very patiently suffered, and hastened their departure. They returned to Beauvais and the other places whence they had come, to the great vexation of Richarville, who had flattered himself that he should conquer the castle of Rouen. He remonstrated with several who had friends and relatives within the town of Rouen, but in vain; they marched away with the others to Beauvais.

While this was passing, the French were exerting themselves to drive the English without the gates of the castle, which they had gained possession of; but when day appeared, and they heard nothing of their army, they began to fear they should not be supported, and that they had been deceived in the promises made them. They were much surprised and cast down; and, on the other hand, the English were hourly increasing, and attacking them with great courage. They were accompanied by many of the townsmen, for fear they might be suspected of favouring the French.

The French, finding they were not in sufficient force to defend all they had conquered, with one accord retired to the great tower, with all the provision they could lay hands on, and determined to hold out until death. They were, however, soon attacked on all sides, by the cannon and engines the English brought against it, which damaged it in many places. Those within were in a few days much straitened for provision and other things, which forced them, having now no hopes of relief, to surrender at discretion to king Henry and his council, after having held out for twelve days. Before they were conquered, they had done much mischief to the English by the artillery they found within the tower, and that which they had transported thither. They were all made prisoners, and put under a good guard; and shortly after, one hundred and fifty were beheaded in Rouen,—and Pierre Audeboeuf was quartered, and his body affixed at the usual places.

About this period the duke of Burgundy marched a thousand combatants from his country of Artois to Burgundy, where he remained three days to visit those parts that had been much harassed by the enemy. While there, he was waited on by the archbishop of Rheims and other notable ambassadors from king Charles, to treat of a peace between them; but as they could not conclude on terms, they returned to the king. When the duke of Burgundy had ordered proper measures for the government of that country he returned to Artois, Flanders, and Brabant.

CHAPTER CXIV.—THE FRENCH TAKE THE CASTLE OF DOMMART IN PONTHIEU, AND CARRY OFF THE LORD DE DOMMART PRISONER.

In the month of February a party of king Charles's men, to the amount of fourscore combatants, under the command of a noble knight called sir Regnault de Verseilles, collected from Beauvais, Breteuil, and other places, crossed the river Somme in small boats near to Pequigny, and were thence conducted to the castle of Dommart in Ponthieu, to the walls of which, without being perceived by the guard, they fastened their ladders and gained an entrance. They instantly shouted, "The castle is won!" and began to batter down doors

and windows. This noise awakened the inhabitants, and especially the lord, sir James de Craon, who was in bed with his wife. He suddenly arose, thinking to put an end to it, but it was in vain; for his enemies were too powerful, and his men, who were not very numerous, could not collect together. He and the greater part of them were made prisoners; the rest escaped over the walls. The French, after having gained possession, packed up all the moveables they could find within the castle, such as gold and silver plate, furs, clothes, linen, and other things, which, after having refreshed themselves, they carried away, with their prisoners, by the way they had come, leaving the castle in the same outward state as they had found it.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of the town of Dommart, hearing the noise in the castle, collected together, and sent notice of what had passed to Pequigny and to other places. It was not long before nearly two hundred men of all sorts were assembled, who pursued the French with such haste, that they overtook them at the place where they had before passed the Somme, and instantly attacked them. They were soon defeated: part were made prisoners or killed, and the others were drowned in attempting to cross the river. However, sir Regnault had crossed the Somme before they came up with them, with his prisoner sir James de Craon, and carried him, without any opposition, to Beauvais, whence he afterward obtained his liberty by paying a large sum of money.

CHAPTER CXV.—SIR THOMAS KIRIEL, AN ENGLISHMAN, IS APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF THE CASTLE OF CLERMONT IN THE BEAUVOISIS.

This year, through the intrigues of sir John de Luxembourg, the strong castle of Beauvoisis was given to the command of sir Thomas Kiriel, an Englishman,—which castle had been long held by the lord de Crevecoeur, under the duke of Burgundy. The duke had consented to this appointment, on sir Thomas giving sir John de Luxembourg a promise, under his hand and seal, that he would yield it up whenever required. Sir Thomas soon collected a large company of English, whom he placed in this castle, and carried on a severe warfare against the towns on the French frontier, such as Creil, Beauvais, Compiègne, and others. In like manner, did they act in regard to the castlewicks of Mondidier and other places under the obedience of the duke of Burgundy.

In truth, during these tribulations, they made many prisoners, and even carried off women, as well noble as not, whom they kept in close confinement until they ransomed themselves. Several of them who were with child were brought to bed in their prison. The duke of Burgundy was very angry at such things being done to those under his obedience, but could not obtain redress; for when he demanded the restitution of the castle according to sir Thomas's promise and agreement, he put off the matter with different reasons for delay, such as soldiers readily find, who often, on certain occasions, follow their own will. In short, after many delays, the duke of Bedford, in compliment to his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, ordered sir Thomas to deliver up the castle of Clermont to the lord d'Auffremont.

CHAPTER CXVI.—THE INHABITANTS OF CHAUNY-SUR-OISE DESTROY THE CASTLE OF THEIR TOWN.

About the same time, sir Colart de Mailly, bailiff for king Henry in the Vermandois, and sir Ferry de Mailly, resided at the castle of Chauny-sur-Oise, the lawful inheritance of Charles duke of Orleans, a prisoner in England. Sir Ferry happened to say some things not very respectful, in regard to the townsmen, which alarmed them lest he might introduce a stronger garrison of English into the castle by the back gate than would be agreeable to them, and reduce them the more under his subjection. They, consequently, held some secret meetings of the principal inhabitants, namely, John de Longueval, Matthew de Longueval his brother, Pierre Piat, and others, who bound themselves by a solemn oath to gain possession of the castle, and demolish it, the first day that sir Colart and sir Ferry de Mailly should be in the town.

Having arranged their plan, they posted some few of their accomplices near to the gate of the castle, properly instructed how to act. When they saw the two knights, with their attendants, quit the castle to amuse themselves in the town, as was their usual custom, they crossed the drawbridge, the guard having no suspicion of them, and instantly raised it and gained possession of the place. The guard was greatly vexed, but there was no remedy; and those in the secret within the town instantly, on hearing what had passed, rang the alarm-bell, and, arming themselves with staves and what weapons they could find, hastened to the castle, wherein they were instantly admitted.

Some of the principal inhabitants waited on the two knights to assure them they needed not be under any apprehension for their persons or property; that all their effects should be strictly restored to them, for what they were about was for the good and security of the town. The knights, seeing there was no alternative, replied, that since it could not be otherwise, they would act according to their pleasure; and, much discontented with what was passing, they retired with their friends to a house in the town, where all their property was delivered to them. The inhabitants, with one accord, followed up the destruction of the castle, so that within a very few days it was demolished from top to bottom.

Shortly after, the bailiff of the Vermandois and his brother quitted the town of Chauny,—and in their stead sir John de Luxembourg first sent sir Hector de Flavy to govern them, and then Waleran de Moreul; but, after what the inhabitants had done, they found them more inclined to disobedience than before the castle was demolished.

CHAPTER CXVII.—THE CITY OF CHARTRES IS CONQUERED BY KING CHARLES'S PARTY.

On the 20th day of April, in this year, was won the noble city of Chartres by the arms of king Charles. This city had followed the party of dukes John and Philip of Burgundy since the year 1417, when she first attached herself to duke John, and afterward to the English party. The taking of it was owing to two of the inhabitants, named Jean Conseil and le Petit Guillemin, who had formerly been prisoners to the French, with whom they had resided a long time, and had been so well treated by them that they had turned to their side. They had made frequent journeys, with passports from the French, to Blois, Orleans, and other places under their obedience, with different merchandise, bringing back to Chartres other articles in exchange.

There was also within Chartres a jacobin doctor of divinity, called Friar Jean Sarrazin, of their way of thinking, who was the principal director of their machinations, and to whom they always had recourse. Having formed their plan, when the day arrived for its execution, the French collected in different parts a force amounting in the whole to four thousand men, the principal leaders of which were the lord de Gaucourt, the bastard of Orleans, Blanchet d'Estouteville, sir Florent de Lers, La Hire, Girard de Felins, and other chiefs of inferior rank.

They began their march toward Chartres, and when within a quarter of a league, they formed an ambuscade of the greater number of their men. Others, to the amount of forty or fifty, advanced still nearer the town; and the two men before named, who were the plotters of this mischief, were driving carriages laden with wine and other things, especially a great quantity of shad fish. Some expert and determined men-at-arms were dressed as drivers of these carriages, having their arms concealed under their frocks. So soon as the gate leading to Blois was opened these carriages advanced to enter, led on by Jean Conseil and Petit Guillemin. The porters at the gate, knowing them well, asked what news. They said they knew none but what was good,—on which the porters bade them welcome. Then, the better to deceive them, Jean Conseil took a pair of shad, and, giving them to the porters, said, "There's for your dinner: accept of them with our thanks,—for we often make you and others wait for us to shut and open the gates and barriers."

While this conversation was passing, those disguised as carters suddenly armed themselves and fell on the porters, killed part of them, and gained possession of the gate. Then making the signal that had been agreed on, the whole army that was in ambuscade quickly advanced,

and began their march into the town in handsome order, completely armed, and with displayed banners before them. Those of the porters who had escaped into the town gave the alarm to the inhabitants, who instantly, and in many places, cried, "To arms!" The burghers and commonalty immediately assembled; but unfortunately the said jacobin friar had been preaching to them in a very popular strain some days before; and had requested that they would hear a sermon of his, which would greatly profit their souls if attended to; and he had fixed on this very morning to preach it, at a remote part of the town, the most distant from the gate where the attempt was to be made.

At the moment when the alarm was given, the majority of the inhabitants were attending to the friar's sermon; but on hearing the cries, "To arms!" often repeated, they were greatly frightened, and hastened to their homes as speedily as they could. Very many of them armed, and with staves, joined their bishop and their governor, who led them to where the French were, intending to drive them out of the town; but it was too late, for the French were much superior in numbers, well armed, and accustomed to war. They were beside far advanced within the town when the inhabitants met them,—and the French, the more to deceive them, shouted out, "Peace! peace!" as they pushed forward in handsome array, discharging their arrows. Some shot passed on each side; but it lasted not long, for, to complete their misfortune, William de Villeneuve, captain of the garrison, instead of leading them to battle, perceiving the business was so far advanced, mounted his horse, and, with about a hundred of his men, fled in haste through the opposite gate, and multitudes of people with him. Those who remained were soon defeated, without offering further resistance.

The French having advanced to the market-place, and seeing none to oppose them, held a council, and detached parties through the streets, to discover if any of the enemy were preparing for resistance; but every one fled before them, and saved himself as well as he could. In consequence of this attack about sixty or fourscore of the townsmen lost their lives,—the principal person of whom was master Jean de Festigny, a native of Burgundy, the bishop. From five to six hundred were made prisoners: the chief was master Gilles de l'Aubespine*, who governed the town for the English. All who were taken, churchmen or burghers, were forced to pay heavy ransoms,—and everything that could be turned into money was seized. In regard to rapes and other extraordinary acts, they were committed according to military usage on a conquered town.

On the morrow, several who had been partisans of the English were publicly beheaded; and new magistrates were appointed in the name of the king of France, together with a very strong garrison to defend the frontier against the English. The commander-in-chief within the town, and of this force, was the bastard of Orleans.

CHAPTER CXVIII.—THE CARDINAL OF SANTA CROCE IS SENT BY THE POPE TO FRANCE, TO ENDEAVOUR TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE CONTENDING PARTIES.

At this time our holy father the pope sent to France the cardinal of Santa Croce to appease the quarrel between the king of France on the one part, and Henry king of England and the duke of Burgundy on the other. The cardinal made great exertions to procure a peace, but in vain; however, he did succeed by his diligence in establishing a truce between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy for six years,—and they mutually exchanged assurances of this truce under their hands and seals, drawn up in the strongest manner.

The people fondly hoped that this truce would be lasting, and in consequence returned to their agricultural labours, restocking their farms with cattle, and other things; but their joy did not long continue, for within the first half-year, so bitter were the parties against each other, the war recommenced with greater fury than before. The principal reason for this renewal of war was owing to the French seizing some of the Burgundian party with the English; and, in like manner, some poor adventurers among the Burgundians having joined the English, and wearing a red cross, made war on the French,—so that by these means the

* Giles, baron d'Aubespine, was of a noble family in Beauce, and ancestor of the Marquises of Chateauneuf, Verderonne and Aubespine, many of whom were distinguished characters, in the two following centuries.

truce was broken. Justice was nowhere attended to, and numberless plunderings were daily practised against the lower orders of the people and the clergy; for notwithstanding they paid very large sums to the leaders of the two parties, according to the country they lived in, to enjoy security, and had received from them sealed papers as assurances of not being disturbed, no attention was paid to them, and thus they had no other resource than to offer up their prayers to God for vengeance on their oppressors.

CHAPTER CXIX.—THE ENGLISH CONQUER THE BULWARK AT LAGNY-SUR-MARNE.

During the month of March of this year, the duke of Bedford, in conjunction with the council of king Henry then at Paris, ordered a body of men-at-arms to march and subject to the king's obedience some castles held by the French on the borders of the Isle of France, such as Mongay, Gournay, and others. They were also commanded to destroy the bridge of Lagny-sur-Marne. The chief commanders of this force were, the earl of Arundel, the eldest son of the earl of Warwick, the lord de l'Isle-Adam marshal of France to king Henry, sir John bastard de St. Pol, sir Galois d'Aunay, lord d'Orville*, and others. When they left Paris, they were about twelve hundred fighting men, having with them abundance of carts and carriages, with cannon and other artillery. In a few days they came before the above-mentioned castles, which were soon constrained to submit. Some of the garrisons marched away in safety, and with part of their baggage; while others remained at the discretion of the English,—many of whom were executed, and others ransomed.

After these surrenders the English took the road toward Lagny-sur-Marne; and on their arrival before it, the earl of Arundel had a large bombard pointed against the arch of the drawbridge leading to the town, which broke it down at the first discharge, so that all communication with the bulwark at the opposite end of the bridge was cut off. The earl now made a fierce attack on this bulwark, and won it, notwithstanding the few within defended it with much courage and obstinacy. John of Luxembourg, one of the bastards of St. Pol, was killed at this attack, and others wounded. The English broke down the bridge in many places, and, having set the bulwark on fire, retired to their quarters.

The English having determined to make an attempt, within a few days, on the town of Lagny, on different parts at the same time, the earl of Arundel remained with a certain number of men for that purpose. When the day arrived, and as the marshal and the other captains were marching to the assault, sir John de Luxembourg, bastard of St. Pol, who bore for his device, and on his banner, a brilliant sun, said aloud, in the hearing of many, that he made a vow to God that if the sun entered the town, he would do the same,—which expression was diversely construed by those who heard it.

They advanced gallantly to storm the place; but by the vigilance and intrepidity of Huçon Queue, a Scotsman, sir John Foucault, and the other captains in the town, they were boldly received, and very many of the assailants were killed or severely wounded. They lost also four or five of their banners and pennons, which were, by force of arms, drawn into the town by their two ends; one was the banner of the lord de l'Isle-Adam, and another, having the sun on it, that of the bastard de St. Pol, who had vowed to enter the place if the sun did. They were forced to retreat to their quarters with shame and disgrace. At the end of three days the greater part of the men disbanded without leave of their captains,—saying that they were losing their time by a longer stay, for that they ran a greater risk of loss than gain,—and returned to the duke of Bedford at Paris. These English and Burgundians had been eight days before Lagny, battering the walls with their artillery, before they made this attack.

* Robert d'Aunoy Seigneur d'Orville, master of the woods and waters in the year 1413, who died the year following, was son of Philip d'Aunoy, Maître-d'hôtel to king Charles V., and present at the battle of Poitiers. John, the son of Robert, is the lord here mentioned; he was grand-échanson of France, and died in 1489. *Le Galois*, was a common surname of the lords d'Orville.

CHAPTER CXX.—PHILIBERT DE VAUDRAY, GOVERNOR OF TONNERRE, AND THE LORD D'AMONT, WAIT ON THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO SERVE HIM.

In these days, Philibert de Vaudray and the lord d'Amont left Burgundy with about five hundred men-at-arms, by command of their lord the duke of Burgundy, to aid his brother-in-law the duke of Bedford. They took the road through Champagne to gain Picardy; but the French, hearing of their intentions, had assembled from seven to eight hundred combatants, on their line of march, to combat and to conquer them. They were commanded by Yvon de Puys, the bastard de Dampierre, the borgne de Remon, and some others, who drew themselves up in battle-array on the approach of the Burgundians. These last immediately dismounted to defend themselves; but when they were on the point of commencing the engagement, the French, who for the greater part had not dismounted, suddenly wheeled about in great confusion and fled, but not without having some few killed and wounded. The Burgundians now continued their route unmolested to Picardy, where they remained for some time pillaging and devouring the country. They thence marched to join the duke of Bedford at Paris.

About this time, the king of Cyprus, in consequence of a long illness that had succeeded to his imprisonment by the Saracens, departed this life, after having most devoutly received all the sacraments of the holy church. With the unanimous consent of the estates of that kingdom, he was succeeded by John de Lusignan, his only son by his queen Charlotte de Bourbon, who was crowned in the cathedral church of Nicosia.

CHAPTER CXXI.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD MARCHES A LARGE FORCE TO LAGNY-SUR-MARNE, TO SUPPORT THE ENGLISH AND BURGUNDIANS WHO HAD REMAINED THERE, BUT RETIRES WITHOUT MAKING ANY CONQUEST.

[A. D. 1432.]

At the beginning of this year, the duke of Bedford, styling himself regent of France, collected about six thousand combatants from different parts under his obedience, whom he marched against the town of Lagny-sur-Marne, held by the supporters of king Charles. There might be in that place from eight hundred to a thousand picked and well-tried men, under the orders of a Scots captain, called sir Ambrose Love, and sir John de Foucault, who valiantly conducted those under their banners. With the duke of Bedford were the lord de l'Isle-Adam, marshal, sir John bastard de St. Pol, the bastard d'Aunay, knight and lord of Orville, Philibert de Vaudray, the lord d'Amont, and many others of notable estate, who had long laid siege to the town, to reduce it to the obedience of king Henry.

There were numerous pieces of artillery pointed against the gates and walls, which they damaged in many places, and caused the greatest alarm to those of the garrison,—for in addition, they were much straitened for provisions. The duke of Bedford had them frequently summoned to surrender, but they would never listen to it,—for they never lost hopes of being relieved by their party, as in fact they afterward were. The besieged had thrown a bridge of boats over the Marne, for their convenience of passing and repassing, and had erected a bulwark at each end, the command of which was intrusted to a certain number of men-at-arms.

While these things were passing, the king of France assembled about eight hundred combatants, whom he despatched to Orleans, under the command of the marshal de Bousac, the bastard of Orleans, the lord de Gaucourt, Rodrique de Villandras, the lord de Saintrailles, and other captains of renown, to throw succours into the town of Lagny. They advanced in a body to Melun, where they crossed the Seine, and thence, through Brie, toward Lagny, being daily joined by forces from their adjoining garrisons. In the mean time, the duke had so hardly pressed the garrison, that they had offered to capitulate when the French forces arrived. The duke prepared with diligence to offer battle to the French, and sent for reinforcements from all quarters. He ordered his heralds at arms to signify to the French

his willingness to combat them and their allies, if they would fix on the time and place. To this they returned no other answer than that, under the pleasure of God and of our blessed Saviour, they would not engage in battle but when it should be agreeable to themselves, and that they would bring their present enterprise to a happy conclusion.

The French advanced in handsome array, in three divisions, to a small river within a quarter of a league of the town; and the duke of Bedford, having drawn up his army in three divisions also, marched thither to defend the passage. When the two armies were near, several severe skirmishes took place at different parts: especially on the quarter where the heir of Warwick and the lord de l'Isle-Adam were posted, a sharp attack was made by Rodrique de Villandras, the lord de Saintrailles, and other captains, who were escorting a convoy of provision for the town. In spite of their adversaries, they forced a passage for part of their convoy to the very gates, and drove in from twenty to thirty bullocks, a number of sacks of flour, and a reinforcement to the garrison of about four score men-at-arms; but this was not effected without great effusion of blood, for very many were killed and wounded on both sides.

On the part of the French was killed the lord de Saintrailles, eldest brother to Poton de Saintrailles. In another quarter, where sir Thomas Kiriel, sir John bastard of St. Pol, the lord d'Amont, and Philibert de Vaudray were posted, many gallant deeds were done, and several killed and wounded on both sides. The English lost there a gentleman called Odart de Remy.

These skirmishes lasted nearly till vespers,—and as it was St. Laurence's day in August, and very hot, the two armies suffered greatly from it. The French captains, perceiving that they could not gain any advantage, for the English and Burgundians were strongly posted, retreated with their army to Cressy in Brie, where they halted for the night, and thence marched to Chateau-Thierry and to Vitray-le-François, where they stayed four days. The duke of Bedford, knowing that the French intended entering the Isle of France, and fearing they might conquer some of his towns, decamped in no very orderly manner from before Lagny, for many things were left behind by him, and advanced towards Paris. Having collected his men, he followed the French to offer them battle again; but they sent for answer, that they had gained what they had come for.

The lord de Gaucourt was of infinite service to the French by his wisdom and prudence. The French now left Vitry and returned toward Lagny, where the lord de Gaucourt remained: the other captains led their men to the garrisons whence they had come. The besieged were much rejoiced, and not without cause, at the departure of their enemies,—for the siege had lasted upwards of four months, in which time they had suffered very great hardships from want of provision and other distresses.

At this period, the English lost the castle of Monchas in Normandy, belonging to the count d'Eu, prisoner in England, and which they had held for a long time. The captain of it was called Brunclay*, but he was at the time with the duke of Bedford at the siege of Lagny. The French delivered all of their party confined in the prisons, and sent in haste to offer its government to sir Regnault de Fontaines, then at Beauvais, who immediately accepted of it, and marched thither with about eighty combatants. By means of this castle, a sharp warfare was carried on in Vimeu, and the adjacent parts, against all who supported the party of king Henry and of the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CXXII.—THE COMMONALTY OF GHENT RISE AGAINST THEIR MAGISTRATES.

At this season, the commonalty of Ghent rose in arms, to the amount of fifty thousand, against their magistrates†. Having assembled about ten o'clock in the morning, they went to the square of the market-place, and drew up in front of the hall where the magistrates

* "Brunclay." Q. Brownlow.

† The cause of this commotion was the baseness of the gold and silver coin struck in the duke's name. The sedition lasted twelve, not two days only, and was appeased by the promise of a new coinage.—Pontus Heuterus, in vit. Philippi Boni.

were. They were obliged instantly to speak with them, or they would have forced an entrance through the doors and windows.

When the magistrates appeared, they immediately put to death the deacon of small trades, called John Boëlle, one of the sheriffs, named Jean Danielvan Zenere, with one of

Insurrection of Ghent.—Composed from contemporary authorities. This View exhibits the domestic architecture of the times.

the counsellors called Jason Habit. The other magistrates were in fear of their lives from the cruelties they saw committed before their eyes; the mob, however, were contented with what they had done. The commonalty then marched away in a body for the abbey of Saint Pierre, to destroy a wood that was hard by; from thence they went to St. Barron, to recover some hereditary rents they had paid the church; but the abbot, by his prudent conduct and kind words, pacified them, and prevented further mischief. He complied with all their requests, and gave them abundantly to eat from the provisions of the monastery.

They went away well pleased with the abbot, and then broke into three or four houses of the principal burghers, carrying away all they thought proper, and destroying the rest of the furniture. They threw open the gates of all the prisons of the duke, setting those confined at liberty,—more especially one called George Goscath, who was a strong partisan of theirs against the magistrates. After they had thus acted for two days, by the interference of several of the chief men of Ghent they were appeased, and returned quietly to their former occupations. During these riots, the duke's officers left the town, fearful that the mob would put them to death, as they had done others; and the duke of Burgundy, by reason of the many weighty affairs he had on his hands, was advised to act mercifully toward them. They entreated forgiveness of the duke's council, who, on their paying a fine, pardoned them, and they afterward remained peaceable.

CHAPTER CXXIII.—SIR JOHN BASTARD OF ST. POL AND THE LORD DE HUMIERES ARE TAKEN PRISONERS BY THE FRENCH.

WHILE these things were passing at Ghent, sir John bastard de St. Pol and the lord de Humieres marched from Artois, with about sixty combatants, to join the duke of Bedford in Paris. They went to Mondidier and to l'Isle-Adam, thinking to proceed thence in safety to Paris; but they were met by a detachment from the garrison of Creil, who had received notice of their intended march, and were instantly attacked with such vigour that, in spite of their resistance, they were both made prisoners, with the greater part of their men, and carried to Creil.

A few saved themselves by flight; and the two knights, after some little time, ransomed themselves by paying a large sum of money to those who had taken them.

CHAPTER CXXIV.—GREAT DISORDERS ARE COMMITTED BY THE FRENCH IN THE AMIENNOIS, SANTERRE, AND VIMEU.

AT this time, Blanchefort*, who held the castle of Breteuil for king Charles of France, did infinite mischief to the countries of Amiens, Santerre, and Vimeu, by fire, sword, and pillaging,—insomuch that most of the inhabitants had deserted the country, and retired within the fortified towns; for they were by these means deprived of the power of paying the tributes levied on them for forbearance. This party had also repaired some of the castles in Vimeu, such as Araines, Hornoy, and others, in which they posted garrisons, who much annoyed the adjacent parts. They were likewise harassed by those of the Burgundy faction. The poor labourers knew not whither to fly, for they were not defended by the lords of either party; and what added to their distress, sir Philibert de Vaudray and the lord d'Amont†, on their return from serving the duke of Bedford, took possession of Pont de Remy, by driving away the lord de Saveuses' men, who had the guard of it.

The lord de Saveuses was very indignant at this conduct, and assembled his friends and dependants to expel them thence; but as he found they were superior to him in numbers, he gave up the attempt,—and they remained in the quiet possession of the post, to the great annoyance of the country round.

CHAPTER CXXV.—THE HEIR OF COMMERCY TAKES THE TOWN OF LIGNY IN THE BARROIS, BELONGING TO SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG.

IN the month of September of this year, the heir of Commercy, who had a long standing enmity against sir John de Luxembourg, as well for his detaining from him the castle of Montague as for other matters of quarrel between them, assembled from divers parts four or five hundred combatants, whom he led secretly to Ligny in the Barrois, and, through neglect of the guard, took it by scalado. The town was instantly alarmed, and the majority of the inhabitants precipitately withdrew into the castle, which had not been conquered,—whence they defended themselves gallantly against the enemy, who summoned them repeatedly to surrender. They would never listen to the summons, but despatched messengers in all speed to inform sir John de Luxembourg of their distress, and to require his aid.

* Perhaps, Guy III. de Blanchefort, lord of St. Clement, &c., a chamberlain of the king, and seneschal of Lyons, who died in 1460.

† This must be James lord of Aumont, counsellor and chamberlain to the duke of Burgundy, son of John, lord of Aumont, grand-échanson, who was slain at Azincourt.

Sir John, on hearing this, immediately set clerks to write letters to all his friends and relations, to press them most earnestly, from the affection they bore him, now to hasten to the succour of his town of Ligny. Many of the nobles and gentlemen to whom he had applied, made instant preparations to attend him, and would have joined him in great numbers, but, in the mean time, the young lord of Commercy perceiving he could not win the castle, and fearing the great force sir John de Luxembourg would march against him, whose power and inclinations he well knew, concluded with those in whom he had the greatest confidence to return whence they had come. Having thus determined, they packed up all the moveables they found in the town that were portable: they set the houses on fire, to the grief and dismay of the inhabitants, and then marched away with their prisoners to Commercy. Intelligence of this was instantly sent to sir John de Luxembourg, who was grieved at heart on hearing it; and as his plans were now at an end, he sent letters to countermand the coming of his friends, and gave up his intended expedition.

CHAPTER CXXVI.—THE BURGUNDIANS, UNDER PRETENCE OF BEING ENGLISH, GAIN THE CASTLE OF LA BOUE, NEAR TO LAON,—OTHER MATTERS.

At this same period, the men of the lord de Ternant, who resided in Rethel, dressed themselves with the red cross to counterfeit being English, and on a certain day won by stratagem the castle of la Boue, within two leagues of Laon. They were under the command of a man-at-arms called Nicholas Chevalier; and, by means of this capture, those of Laon, and other places under the obedience of king Charles, suffered much. The reason why they put on the red cross was on account of the truce between king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, which was not then expired. They had always been of the duke's party; and very many mischiefs were done to the poor countrymen by English, French, and Burgundians.

The count de Vaudemont, at this time also, assembled three or four hundred combatants in Picardy, whom he conducted to his town of Vezelize: one of his captains was the bastard de Humieres: and on their arrival, they commenced a severe warfare on the Barrois and Lorrainers, to whom they did much mischief by fire, sword, and plunder.

In the month of October, the duke and duchess of Burgundy went to Holland, escorted by about six hundred combatants from Picardy. The duke staid there about a month, to examine the country; and during that time, a treaty was concluded between his counsellors and those of the duchess of Bavaria, by which it was settled that the duke of Burgundy should, from the present, enjoy all the honours, profits, and emoluments of the countries of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Frizeland, with their dependencies, as his own hereditary right; but that, should the duke die before the said duchess, all these territories were to return to her as the legal heiress of them. Many noble lordships and rich estates were at the same time allotted her, together with the county of Ostrevant, of which county alone she was now to style herself countess, laying aside all the titles of the above-named places. When these matters had been finally concluded, the duke consented that his cousin, the duchess, should marry sir François de Borselle, which had been secretly treated of between the parties. The duke of Burgundy henceforward styled himself, in addition to his former titles, count of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, and lord of Frizeland. On the conclusion of this treaty, he returned to Flanders*.

* Monstrelet appears to have been informed but imperfectly of these transactions. In the year 1428, the countess being besieged in Gouda by the Burgundian forces, submitted to a peace, by which she acknowledged Philip as heir to Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, appointing him protector of the said states during her lifetime. It was also stipulated that she should not marry without the consent of Philip and her states. Upon the conclusion of this treaty the duke departed, leaving Francis de Borselle, a nobleman of high rank attached to the Burgundian party, lieutenant of the provinces. In *July* 1433, says the historian of Holland, the countess married this gentleman in violation of her engagement, upon which the duke entered the country, caused him to be apprehended and confined him in the tower of Rupelmonde. It was rumoured that he would be beheaded, and Jacqueline, alarmed for his safety, conveyed absolutely the whole of her estates to Philip for his liberation, in consideration of which the *generous* robber assigned to his late prisoner, the county of Ostrevant, the lordships of Brill and South Beveland, with the collection of certain tolls and imposts, on which they lived together but a short time before death put a period to her eventful history, in the month of October, 1436.—*Barlandi Hollandiæ comitum Historia et Icones.*

CHAPTER CXXVII.—FRIAR THOMAS GOES TO ROME.—HE IS BURNT THERE.

In this year, friar Thomas Conette *, of the order of Carmelites, whom we have before noticed in this history, made many preachings in divers parts of Champagne, the which had induced numbers of ladies of high rank to lay aside their ridiculous dresses. He thence journeyed to Rome, during the popedom of Eugenius IV., and arrived there with the Venetian ambassadors. He was lodged at Saint Paul's, whence the pope ordered him to come before him, not with any evil intentions toward him, but for him to preach; for he had heard much of his renown. He refused twice to attend the holy father, under pretence of being ill; and the third time, the pope sent his treasurer to bring him.

Friar Thomas, seeing the treasurer enter the house, leaped out of the window to escape; but, being directly pursued, was taken and carried before the pope in his palace. The cardinals of Rouen and of Navarre were charged to examine him and his doctrines, who, finding him guilty of heresy, and worthy of death, he was in consequence sentenced to be publicly burnt in the city of Rome.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.—THE DEATH OF THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.

In these days, Anne, duchess of Bedford, and sister to the duke of Burgundy, lay ill, at the hôtel of the Tournelles in Paris, of a lingering disorder, which, in spite of all the care of her physicians, of whom she had many, carried her off from this life. She was buried in the same chapel of the Celestins where Louis, late duke of Orleans, had been interred. The duke of Bedford was sorely afflicted at her death, as were many of his party; for they feared that the connexion, which had been continued by her means with her brother, the duke of Burgundy, would thereby be weakened.

When she died, ambassadors from the three parties, namely, king Charles, king Henry, and the duke of Burgundy, were assembled at Auxerre, and at Melun, to treat of a peace; but as they could not agree upon terms, they separated and returned to their lords.

CHAPTER CXXIX.—SOME OF THE FRENCH CAPTAINS CROSS THE RIVER SOMME, AND OVERRUN ARTOIS.

In the beginning of December, captain Blanchefort, sir Anthony de Chabannes, the lord de Longueval, sir Carados Desquesnes, and others of king Charles's party, assembled about eight hundred or a thousand combatants near Breteuil, and thence marched to cross the river Somme at Capy. They advanced during the night for Dourlens, whither they had sent spies to learn if they could not win it by scalado: but the lord de Humieres, having had notice of their intentions, sent in all haste to inform the mayor and magistrates that the French were marching to attack their town.

Upon this, they made every preparation for a good defence; and sent a messenger to the castle of Beauval to make the garrison acquainted with the above intelligence. The messenger was met, just before day-break, a quarter of a league from the town, by the French scouts,

* This unfortunate heretic was a Breton by birth. Being seized with an inordinate desire of reforming the dress of the ladies, and the manners of the clergy, he left Rennes and travelled into the Low Countries, where he preached with so much success that the towers of gauze and ribbons called *hennins*, which were then the rage, disappeared wherever he went. Perhaps he was spared the mortification of hearing that they were resumed, several stages higher, immediately after his departure. From Flanders he travelled into Italy, reformed the order of Carmelites at Mantua, and made himself famous for his zeal and eloquence at Venice. The papal ambassadors reported his praises at Rome; but his ardour for reform, which had captivated many others, alarmed pope Eugenius, who justly dreaded the consequences of his strenuous assertions that marriages ought to be allowed to the clergy, and that flesh might be eaten by them without risk of damnation. It was not long after his arrival at the pontifical city, that a process was instituted against him for these and other heretical doctrines, and father Thomas was at last burnt for not knowing how to confine his eloquence to the harmless subject which first called it forth. He suffered with great constancy, and was by some, even among the catholics, reputed a martyr. For further particulars, consult Bayle, art. "Conecte."

by whom he was taken and examined, and they soon learned from him his errand. They returned to their main body, which was close in the rear, who, hearing what the messenger had said, found their enterprise had failed, and returned to the town of Beauquesne. When they had fully refreshed themselves, they re-crossed the Somme, and marched back to their garrisons with great numbers of prisoners and a rich pillage.

CHAPTER CXXX.—A BENEDICTINE MONK ATTEMPTS TO GAIN THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO, AT ROME.

While all these things were passing, a Benedictine, surnamed The Little Monk, who had been a great favourite of pope Martin, and had much power during his reign, attached himself, after his decease, to his successor, pope Eugenius, and gained the same power under him as he had enjoyed before.

Notwithstanding the favour he was in with the pope, he conceived the design of betraying him, through the temptations of the devil, as it may be supposed, and had connected himself with the prince of Salerno, promising to put him in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and even of the city of Rome. To effect this he one day waited on the pope to take his leave, saying that he was going to Avignon to fix his residence there for some time. He then requested of the governor of the castle of St. Angelo to take charge of his coffers, containing his wealth, until his return, which the governor assented to, not suspecting his treachery.

He ordered twelve cases to be made, capable of holding twelve men, which were to be entrusted to the care of two men to each case. When all things were ready, the better to succeed in his enterprise, he sent a page, who was his own nephew, with letters to one of the prisoners confined in the castle of St. Angelo, which fortunately fell into the hands of the governor, and thus made him acquainted with the whole of the plot. He instantly carried them to the pope, who ordered the monk to be delivered to the secular power, by whom he was put to the torture, and confessed his guilt. He was then condemned to death, and hanged on a gibbet, and quartered in the principal market-place of Rome.

The prince of Salerno having failed in his attempt, did not however refrain from making open war on the pope, within a short time after this event.

In these days, an adventurer called Thomelaire, provost of Laon for king Charles, won the castle of Passavant by means of certain intelligence with those within it. This was very displeasing to the duke of Burgundy, for he was afraid that it would lay open his country to the enemy; and he had the place so strongly besieged, that those who had taken it were forced to surrender at discretion. The said Thomelaire and some others were put to death, and the castle razed to the ground.

CHAPTER CXXXI.—A PEACE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BAR AND THE COUNT DE VAUDEMONT.

In this year a peace was concluded, through the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, between the duke of Bar and the count de Vaudemont. Each promised to restore to the other whatever castles or towns they had won; and it was also agreed that the eldest son of the count should marry the duke's eldest daughter*, who was to give her annually six thousand francs, and a certain sum in ready money on the day of her marriage.

This treaty having been drawn up by their most able counsellors, was signed by them, and then they mutually pardoned each other for whatever they might have done amiss. The young lady was delivered into the hands of the count, and all the articles of the treaty were duly observed, to the great joy of their subjects, who now found themselves free from all the vexations they had suffered in consequence of the late warfare between their lords.

* Frederick and Jolante. The marriage thus agreed upon was concluded; and the duchy of Lorraine and county of Vaudemont were afterwards united in their persons.

CHAPTER CXXXII. — THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY IS BROUGHT TO BED OF A SON IN THE TOWN OF GHENT.

On the 14th of April in this year, the duchess of Burgundy was brought to bed of a son in the town of Ghent. His godfathers were the cardinal of Winchester, and the counts de St. Pol and de Ligny, brothers: and the countess de Meaux was the godmother. He was christened Josse, although neither of the godfathers bore that name; but it had been so ordered by the duke and duchess. They all presented very rich gifts to the child.

Rejoicings at Ghent on the birth of the son of the Duke of Burgundy.

This year, the duke, with the consent of the estates, renewed the coin; and golden money was struck, called Riddes *, of the value of twenty-four sols in silver coin called Virelans †. All the old money was called in at a fourth or fifth part of its value, and recoined. At this time there were great quarrels between the towns of Brussels and Mechlin, insomuch that a severe war took place between them. In like manner, there was much dissention among the Ghent-men, so that several officers were banished from the town.

CHAPTER CXXXIII. — A PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BAR AND THE COUNTS DE ST. POL AND DE LIGNY.

A treaty of peace now took place between the duke of Bar and the two brothers, the counts de St. Pol and de Ligny, who had for some time been at war,—by which the whole country of Guise, parts of which had been conquered by Sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny, and which was the hereditary inheritance of the duke of Bar, was given up to the

* Riddes,—of the value of five shillings—Cotgrave. † "Virelans." Q.

said sir John de Luxembourg, in perpetuity to him and his heirs. For the greater security of the above, the duke freely gave up the castle of Bohain, in the presence of many of his nobles and officers of the county of Guise, whom he had ordered thither for the purpose of witnessing it, as well as several imperial and apostolical notaries.

There were likewise some discussions relative to Joan de Bar, daughter of sir Robert de Bar, count of Marle, and the portion of property she was to have in the duchy of Bar, in right of her said father. There were also some proposals for a marriage between the second son of the count de St. Pol and one of the youngest daughters of the duke of Bar : but these two articles were deferred to the next time of meeting. When this negotiation had lasted some days,.and the duke had been most honourably and grandly feasted by the two brothers in the castle of Bohain, he departed thence, according to appearances highly pleased with them, and returned to his duchy.

CHAPTER CXXXIV. — A WAR TAKES PLACE BETWEEN SIR JOHN AND SIR ANTHONY DU VERGY AND THE LORD DE CHASTEAU-VILAIN.

In this same year a great discord arose between sir John and sir Anthony du Vergy, Burgundian knights, and the lord de Château-Vilain*, which ended in an open war. The lord de Château-Vilain, the more to annoy his enemies, turned to the party of the king of France, together with sir Legier d'Estouteville, Jean de Verpelleurs, and some other gentlemen, who had long been his allies and wellwishers. By this conduct they broke their oaths to the duke of Burgundy, their natural lord, with whom the lord de Château-Vilain had been on the most intimate terms. This lord also returned the badge of the duke of Bedford, which he had long worn, which made the duke very indignant; and he blamed him greatly in the presence of the person who had brought the badge, saying that he had thus falsified the oath he had made him.

The duke of Burgundy was likewise very much displeased when it came to his knowledge, and he sent pressing orders to all his captains in Burgundy to exert themselves to the utmost in harassing the lord de Château-Vilain. In obeying these orders, the country of Burgundy suffered much ; for the lord de Château-Vilain had many castles in different parts of it, which he garrisoned with his friends. By the forces of the duke, assisted by the lords du Vergy and others of the nobles of Bnrgundy, he was so hardly pushed that the greater part of his castles were conquered and demolished ; namely, Graussy, Flongy, Challancy, Villiers le Magnet, Nully, the castle of St. Urban, Blaise, St. Vorge, Esclaron, Varville, Cussay, Romay, Vaudemont, and Lasoncourt.

The siege of Graussy lasted more than three months under the command of Jean du Vergy, the principal in this quarrel, having with him sir William de Baufremont, William de Vienne, sir Charles du Vergy, and twelve hundred combatants. The lord de Château-Vilain, with the heir of Commercy and Robert deVaudricourt, and sixteen hundred fighting men, marched to raise the siege, when a grand skirmish took place, but only one man was killed.

The lord de Château-Vilain, however, finding that he could not attempt to raise the siege without very great danger from the strength of his enemies, retreated to the place whence he had come ; and shortly after, sir Denis de Sainct-Flour, who commanded within the castle, capitulated to surrender the place, on the garrison being allowed to march away in safety with their lives and baggage. Having concluded this treaty, sir Denis went to the king of France, who had him beheaded for several charges that had been made against him, and also for having put his wife to death.

At this time, some captains of the duke of Burgundy took by storm and by scalado the town of Epernai, belonging to Charles duke of Orleans, a prisoner in England, in which every disorder was committed as in a conquered town.

* William, lord of Chateauvilain, held the office of *Chambrier de France* in 1419, and died in 1439.

CHAPTER CXXXV.—A TREATY OF PEACE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THE LIEGEOIS.

At the end of this year, a peace was concluded between the duke of Burgundy and the Liegeois. Many meetings had been held before the two parties could agree on terms: at last it was settled that the Liegeois should pay the duke one hundred and fifty thousand nobles by way of compensation for the damages they had done to his country of Namur, by demolishing his castles, and other mischiefs. They also consented to raze to the ground the tower of Mont-Orgueil, near to Bovines, which they held, and which indeed had been the chief cause of the war.

They completely fulfilled all the articles of the treaty; and the pledges for their future good conduct were John de Hingsbergh their bishop, Jacques de Fosseux, and other nobles of the country of Liege. For the more effectual security of this treaty, reciprocal engagements were interchanged between the parties; and thus the Liegeois, who had been in very great alarms and fear, were much rejoiced to have peace firmly established throughout their territories.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, WHO STYLED HIMSELF REGENT OF FRANCE, MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF THE COUNT DE SAINT POL.

[A. D. 1433.]

At the commencement of this year, John duke of Bedford espoused, in the town of Therouenne, Jacquelina, eldest daughter to Pierre de Luxembourg count de St. Pol, and niece to Louis de Luxembourg bishop of Therouenne, chancellor of France for king Henry, and also to sir John de Luxembourg. This marriage had been long negotiated by the bishop, who was very eager to bring it about, and he was at that time the principal minister and adviser of the said duke. The duke of Burgundy was not in that country when it was solemnized,—but hearing of it on his return, he was displeased with the count de St. Pol for having thus, without his knowledge or advice, disposed of his daughter.

The wedding-feasts were celebrated in the episcopal palace of Therouenne; and for the joy and happiness the duke felt in this match (for the damsel was handsome, well made and lively,) and that it might be long had in remembrance, he presented to the church of Therouenne two magnificent bells of great value, which he had sent thither from England at his own cost. Some days after the feasts were over, he departed from Therouenne.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.—THE TOWN OF ST. VALERY, IN PONTHIEU, IS WON BY THE FRENCH.

At this time, sir Louis de Vaucourt and sir Regnault de Versailles, attached to king Charles, accompanied by about three hundred combatants, surprised, about day-break, and took by scalado the town of St. Valery in Ponthieu. The town was governed for the duke of Burgundy by Jean de Brimeu, and great mischiefs were done there by the French according to their custom of dealing with conquered towns. The capture of this place alarmed the whole country round, and not without cause; for within a few days they greatly reinforced themselves with men-at-arms, and commenced a severe war on all attached to the English or Burgundians. The most part of those in the neighbourhood entered into an agreement for security with them, for which they paid heavy sums of money.

At this time also, by means of Perrinet Crasset, governor of la Charité on the Loire for king Henry, was that town and castle given up. It was strongly situated, and had not been conquered during the whole of the war.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.—THE DUKES OF BEDFORD AND OF BURGUNDY GO TO SAINT OMER.

Toward the end of May in this year, the dukes of Bedford and of Burgundy went to St. Omer to confer together on several public matters, and to consider on certain angry expressions that had been used and reported on both sides. The cardinal of England was with the duke of Bedford, and very desirous to bring these two dukes to a right understanding with each other. However, though these two noble princes were come to Saint Omer for this purpose, and though it had been settled that they were to meet at an appointed time without either being found to wait on the other; nevertheless, the duke of Bedford expected that the duke of Burgundy should come to him at his lodgings, which he would not do. Many of their lords went from the one to the other to endeavour to settle this matter of ceremony, but in vain.

At length the cardinal waited on the duke of Burgundy, and, drawing him aside, said in an amicable manner, "How is this, fair nephew, that you refuse to compliment a prince who is son and brother to a king, by calling on him, when he has taken so much trouble to meet you in one of your own towns, and that you will neither visit nor speak to him?" The duke replied, that he was ready to meet him at the place appointed. After a few more words, the cardinal returned to the duke of Bedford; and within a short time, the two dukes departed from St. Omer without anything further being done, but more discontented with each other than before.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.—THE DEATH OF JOHN DE TOISY BISHOP OF TOURNAY.—GREAT DISSENTIONS RESPECTING THE PROMOTION TO THE VACANT BISHOPRIC.

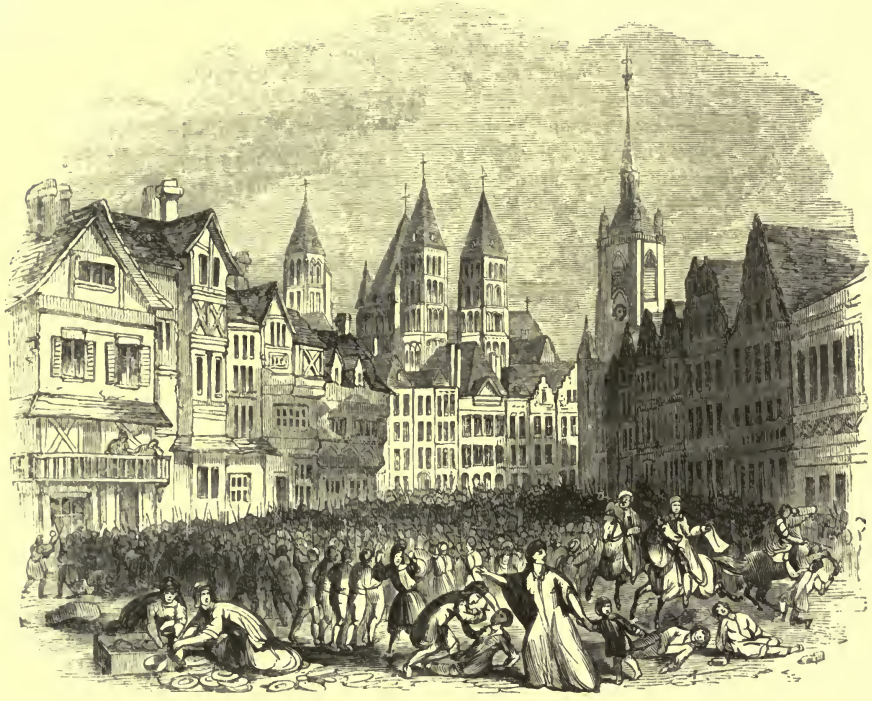
In this year died, in the town of Lille, at a very advanced age, master John de Toisy bishop of Tournay, and president of the duke of Burgundy's council. John de Harcourt, bishop of Amiens, was nominated by the holy father the pope to succeed him, which much displeased the duke of Burgundy, for he was desirous to have promoted to it one of his counsellors, called master John Chevrot, archdeacon of the Vexin under the church of Rouen. The duke had spoken on this subject to the bishop of Amiens, that when it should become vacant he might not apply for it; and it was reported, that de Harcourt had promised not to accept thereof. However, when he had been translated to Tournay, the duke ordered all his subjects, in Flanders and elsewhere, not to pay him any obedience; and, in addition, the whole, or greater part of the revenues of the bishopric were transferred to the duke, to the great sorrow of the bishop. Hoping, nevertheless, to devise some means for a reconcilement, he resided a long time in Tournay as a private person, where he was obeyed, and much beloved by the burghers and inhabitants.

During this interval, the archbishopric of Narbonne became vacant, and, through the solicitations of the duke of Burgundy, it was given to John de Harcourt by the pope, and the bishopric of Tournay to the before-mentioned Jean de Chevrot. This translation was made by the holy father to please all parties, more especially the duke of Burgundy; but it was very unsatisfactory to Jean de Harcourt, who refused to be translated, saying, that the pope had only done it to deprive him of his bishopric of Tournay.

The duke, seeing that he would not comply, was more angered against him and the townsmen of Tournay than before, and in consequence forbade his subjects to carry any provisions to Tournay, under pain of confiscation and corporal punishment. He had it also proclaimed, that all persons should give to his officers information where any property lay belonging to the burghers of that town, that it might be confiscated.

Very many mischiefs were done for the space of four or five years, on account of this discord. During which time, the count d'Estampes was sent into Tournay with a large company of knights and esquires, to take possession of the bishopric for Jean de Chevrot, although John de Harcourt was in the town. It happened, therefore, that when the count d'Estampes had ordered master Stephen Vivien to take possession of the cathedral, the greater part of the townsmen, to show their discontent at the proceeding, rose in rebellion,

and advanced to the cathedral, where Vivien, seated on the episcopal throne, was going through all the ceremonies and acts that he had been ordered to do in the name of Jean Chevrot, in taking possession of the bishopric. The populace no sooner witnessed what he was about than they rudely pushed him from the throne, and tore his surplice and other parts of his dress. Many, in their rage, would have put him to death if the officers of justice had not laid hands on him and carried him off as their prisoner, giving the crowd to understand that he should be judicially punished to their satisfaction.



Insurrection of Tournay—View looking towards the Cathedral. From an original drawing.

John de Harcourt, on whose account this riot had been raised, restrained them as much as he could by gentle remonstrances, and begging of them to return to their houses, for that all would end well, and he would legally keep possession of his bishopric; after some little time the commonalty retired, and the magistrates and principal inhabitants made the best excuses they could to the count d'Estampes for this riot,—for they were afraid they should fare the worse for it in times to come. The count d'Estampes, finding nothing effectual could be done, departed, and returned to the duke of Burgundy at Arras, and told him all that had passed in Tournay. He was much vexed thereat, and issued stricter orders than before to distress the town, so that from this quarrel respecting the two bishops very many persons suffered great tribulations. Even after the peace was concluded between king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, the king was much displeased at the conduct of the duke respecting Tournay, and was desirous of supporting the claim of John de Harcourt.

John de Harcourt perceiving that the duke was obstinately bent on having Jean de Chevrot bishop of Tournay, and that he should not be allowed to enjoy peaceably the revenues of the bishopric, and that withal his lands in Hainault had been seized on and confiscated by the duke, departed from Tournay, and went with a few attendants to the

king, who gave him a most gracious reception, and he then continued his journey to his archbishopric of Narbonne. Thus did Jean de Chevrot gain the bishopric of Tournay, who sent thither, to take possession, a canon of Cambray named master Robert d'Auclair. He was at this time very courteously received there, and obeyed as his procurator.

CHAPTER CXL.—THE FRENCH MAKE MANY CONQUESTS ON THE CONFINES OF BURGUNDY.

About this time, ambassadors were sent from the three estates of the duchy and county of Burgundy to the duke, to remonstrate with him on the great damages the partisans of king Charles were doing to his country by fire and sword, more especially his brother-in-law the duke of Bourbon. They told him, that they had already taken by force many towns and castles, and were daily making further inroads into the country, which must be totally destroyed unless a speedy remedy was applied. They concluded by requesting most humbly that he would, out of his grace, raise a sufficient body of men, and that he would personally march to their assistance.

The duke, having heard their harangue, assembled his council, and then determined to collect men-at-arms from all his dependencies in Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, and other parts. Clerks were instantly employed to write letters to the different lords, knights, and esquires, who had usually served him in his wars, to assemble as many men-at-arms and archers as they could raise, and be ready to march with him at the beginning of the month of May, whither he might be pleased to lead them. The captains, on receiving these orders from their prince, made every diligence to obey them; and several soon brought their men into the field, which harassed much the countries of Picardy, Ponthieu, Artois, Tournesis, Ostrevant, Cambresis, Vermandois, and the adjoining parts, for the duke had not been equally diligent in completing his preparations, so that these men remained wasting the countries aforesaid for upwards of a month.

At the end of May, the duke having assembled, from divers parts, a great quantity of carriages, stores, and artillery, set out from the town of Arras on the 20th day of June, attended by many of his captains. He was also accompanied by his duchess, who had a numerous attendance of ladies and damsels, to the amount of more than forty; and they were lodged in Cambray, where sir John de Luxembourg met him, and requested that he would come to his castle of Bohain, to which the duke assented. On the morrow, when the duke and duchess had heard mass in the church of our Lady at Cambray, and afterward taken some refreshment, they set out for the castle of Bohain, where they were joyfully and honourably received by sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny, and the countess his lady. They and their attendants were plentifully and nobly served with all sorts of provisions that were in season: and they remained there for two days, taking their pleasures in the chase and other amusements.

In the mean time, the captains and men-at-arms advanced into the Rethelois. The duke and duchess, on leaving Bohain, went to Peronne, and thence through Champagne, passing near to Rheims. There were with him full six thousand combatants, as well men-at-arms as archers, the principal leaders of whom were the lord de Croy, sir John de Croy, his brother, sir John de Hornes, seneschal of Brabant, the lord de Crequi and his brother, sir John bastard de St. Pol, his brother Louis, the lord de Humieres, sir Baudo de Noyelle, the lord de Crevecœur, Robert de Neufville, Lancelot de Dours, Harpin de Richammes, and many other nobles, as well knights as esquires. When the duke marched through Champagne, he formed his troops into a van-guard, a main body, and a rear-guard. Sir John de Croy commanded the first under his brother,—and he had with him Harpin de Richammes. During the march, all the baggage was placed between the van and main body; and the duchess, then far gone with child, was there also, with her women, and near to the duke.

The army marched in this array before the town of Troyes, that was held by the French, and advanced to Cappes on the line to Burgundy. Many of the Burgundian lords now joined him, to whom he gave a gracious reception,—and having called a council of war, resolved on their future proceedings. It was settled that the duchess should fix her residence

with her attendants at Châtillon-sur-Seine, while the duke marched to lay siege to Mussi-l'Evêque, in the possession of the French. Great preparations were made, and many pieces of artillery were pointed against the gates and walls. The garrison once intended making an obstinate defence; but when they saw how numerous and well-appointed were the duke's forces, and found they had no hope of succour, after eight days' siege, they capitulated to surrender the place, on having their lives and fortunes spared. On the conclusion of this treaty, they marched away under the duke's passports for St. Florentin.

When the duke had appointed a new garrison, he went to the duchess at Châtillon, and his men-at-arms advanced toward the county of Tonnerre.

CHAPTER CXLI.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RECONQUERS SEVERAL PLACES WHICH THE FRENCH HAD WON IN BURGUNDY.

When the duke of Burgundy had sojourned some days at Châtillon, he ordered the duchess to go to Dijon, where she was most honourably received, and he himself went after his army. He had Lussigines and Passy besieged; and the first was so hard pressed that the garrison surrendered on having their lives spared, but giving up their effects. Those of Passy also gave hostages to surrender on the first day of September following, unless the duke and his army should be fought withal and beaten by his adversaries before that time.

Many other castles and forts held by the French, who were much alarmed at the great power of the duke of Burgundy, were yielded up to him; namely, Danlermoine, Herny, Coursaint, Scealefloug, Maligny, Saint Phalle, Sicry, Sabelly, and others, to the amount of twenty-four. After these surrenders, the duke went to Dijon, and his captains and men-at-arms were quartered over the country. Sir John de Croy was the commander-in-chief at all these sieges of places that submitted to the obedience of the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CXLII.—GILLES DE POSTELLES IS ACCUSED OF TREASON TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND BEHEADED.

In this year a gentleman of Hainault was accused of treason against the duke of Burgundy. His name was Gilles de Postelles, who had been brought up as a dependant on the dowager-countess of Hainault, aunt to the said duke. He was charged with having practised with divers of the nobles of that country to put the duke to death by shooting him with an arrow, or by some other means, while hunting in the forest, whither he would accompany him. For this cause, he was arrested in the mansion of the countess, at Quesnoy, by sir William de Lalain*, bailiff of Hainault. When he had been strictly examined and tortured, he was beheaded and quartered in the market-place of Mons, and his quarters were sent to be placed in the four principal towns of that country. One of his servants was beheaded with him; but John de Vendegeg, to whom he had discovered his plot, fled the country, and afterward, by means of different excuses, and through the interest of his friends, was pardoned by the duke. The countess of Hainault was strongly suspected of being implicated in this affair, but nothing was clearly proved against her.

* Of this family, ("a family," says Comines, "of great and brave men, who for the most part found their deaths in fighting for their native princes,") was Otho lord de Lalain, who died in 1441, at the advanced age of 108 years. His eldest son William, who succeeded him in his honours, and was bailiff of Hainault and Holland, is the person here mentioned. He died in 1444. Sansay, the second son of Otho, married the heiress of the family of Robesarte; and Simon, the third son, has been already mentioned, unless that be another Simon, the first-cousin of Otho. See ante, p. 585.

CHAPTER CXLIII.—THE FRENCH WIN BY SCALADO THE TOWN OF CRESPY IN THE VALOIS.—OTHER MATTERS.

While these things were passing, a party of king Charles's adherents won by scalado, at day-break, the town of Crespy in the Valois from the English. The bastard de Thian was governor; and he, with part of the garrison, and the inhabitants were made prisoners: innumerable mischiefs were done to the town, for the French treated it in their usual manner to a conquered place.

On the eve of the feast of the Ascension, in this year, the commonalty of Ghent rebelled against the duke's officers and the magistrates. But the principal sheriff posted himself with the banner of the counts of Flanders in the market-place well accompanied, before the rebels had time to collect together, who, perceiving that they could not now carry their intentions into effect, fled from the town; some of them, however, were taken, and punished by the magistrates of Ghent.

In these days the town of Bruyeres, in the Laonnois, was won from king Charles by sir John de Luxembourg's men, commanded by Villemet de Hainau, governor of Montagu. This capture caused great alarm in the adjoining places, for they expected a strong garrison would be posted therein to attack them; and they, consequently, reinforced themselves as much as they could, to be enabled to resist them.

CHAPTER CXLIV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY KEEPS HIS APPOINTMENT BEFORE PASSY.—HE BESIEGES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF AVALON.

When the first day of September was come, the duke of Burgundy (having previously sent his orders to all those who had been accustomed to serve under him) made his appearance before Passy according to the terms of the capitulation. He was there joined, by orders of king Henry, by the lord de l'Isle-Adam marshal of France, and sir John Talbot*, with sixteen hundred combatants. The duke received them joyfully, and made very handsome presents to these lords and to their men. The French, however, did not appear; and the garrison, in consequence, surrendered the place to the duke of Burgundy, and marched away under his passports.

The duke then sent a detachment to surround Avalon, of which was captain one called Fort Espice, having under him two hundred men-at-arms, the flower of the army, and renowned in war. They made an obstinate defence. The principal Burgundian lords among the besiegers were, the lord de Charny, Philibert de Vaudray, and others,—from Picardy were, sir John bastard de St. Pol, the lord de Humieres, and many noblemen, who advanced with great courage, and encamped near to the ditches. Several engines were pointed against the gates and walls, and damaged them greatly, breaches being made in divers parts.

The besiegers now thought to take the place by storm, and made a vigorous attack, but were gallantly repulsed. However, the garrison, foreseeing that they could not hold out longer, and having no hopes of succour, they fled by night in much disorder, through a postern that had been neglected by the enemy. Their flight was soon known, and the Burgundians lost no time in arming and pursuing them, so that falling courageously upon them, they took and slew many. Fort Espice and some others saved themselves by flight. The town was now suddenly attacked, and won without resistance. The wife of Fort Espice was made prisoner, with many of his men and some peasants,—and everything that was found in the place was plundered and carried away.

* This is the great Talbot, created earl of Shrewsbury in 1442.

CHAPTER CXLV.—PIERRE DE LUXEMBOURG, COUNT DE ST. POL, BESIEGES THE TOWN OF ST. VALERY.—THE DEATH OF THE COUNT DE ST. POL.

In the month of July of this year, Pierre de Luxembourg count de Saint Pol, accompanied by lord Willoughby,* an Englishman, and twelve hundred combatants of the two nations, laid siege to the town of Saint Valery; in which were, on the part of king Charles, sir Louis de Vaucourt, Philip de la Tour, and sir Regnault de Versailles, with a garrison of three hundred men. They pointed artillery against the walls and gates; and after the siege had lasted for three weeks, the before-named knights entered into treaty with Robert de Saveuses, who had been commissioned by the count de St. Pol for the purpose, and agreed that they would surrender the place at a fixed day, should they not be relieved before then, on receiving a sum of money, and liberty to depart in safety with their prisoners and baggage. As no one appeared to their succour, they marched away, under passports, to Beauvais.

Shortly after, sir Louis de Vaucourt and sir Regnault de Versailles were met by one called Le Petit Roland, on the road to Senlis, who, though of the same party, from a private quarrel attacked them with the men he was leading to Chantilly; and in the end he defeated and robbed them, making sir Regnault his prisoner.

The count de St. Pol, having re-garrisoned St. Valery, gave the command of it to sir Robert de Saveuses. On marching thence, he fixed his quarters at a large village called Blangy, in the county of Eu, with the intent to besiege the castle of Monchas, held by sir Regnault de Fontaines for king Charles. Sir Regnault, not wishing to wait the event of a siege, capitulated with the commissioners of the count to surrender the place on the 15th day of next October, provided that neither king Charles nor any of his partisans should be in sufficient force to offer him combat on that day before the castle of Monchas, or on the plains of Santhois near to Villiers-le-Carbonel, one league distant from Haplain-court. This treaty was confirmed, the 26th day of August, by the count, and hostages given on each side for its due performance.

On the last day of this month of August, while the count was encamped near to Blangy, and giving his orders for besieging the castle of Rambures, he was taken suddenly ill, and died almost instantly. His men and all the English captains were grieved at heart for his loss, and retired to the garrisons whence they had come. His household had the body transported to St. Pol, where it was interred in front of the great altar of the abbey-church of Cercamps, of which his ancestors had been the founders. His eldest son, Louis de Luxembourg, then about fifteen years of age, took possession of all his estates and lordships, and thenceforth was styled the Count de St. Pol.

CHAPTER CXLVI.—THE LORD DE LA TRIMOUILLE IS ARRESTED IN THE KING'S PALACE, AND MADE TO SURRENDER HIS PRISONER, THE VISCOUNT DE THOUARS.

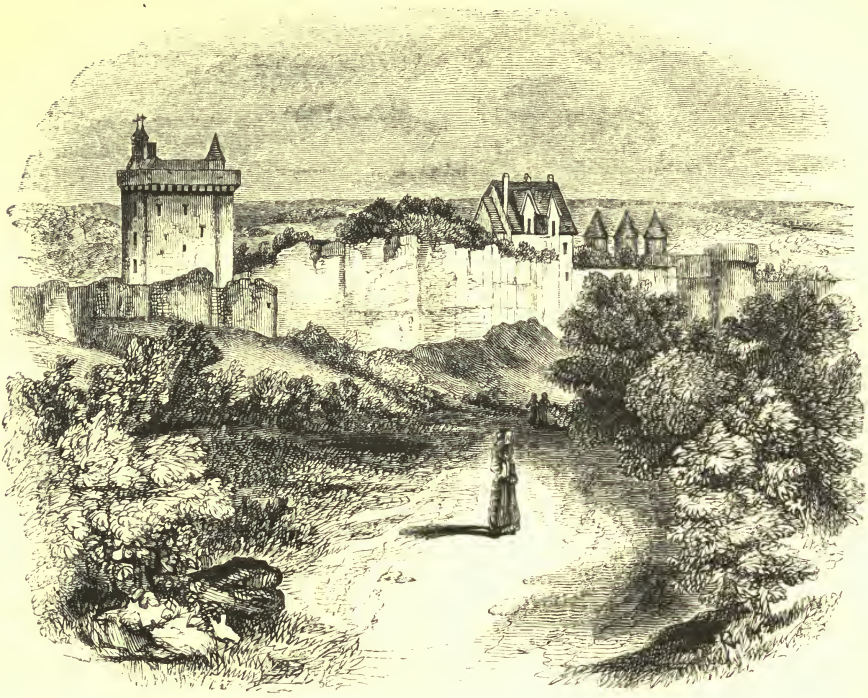
While these things were passing, king Charles resided chiefly at the castle of Chinon, and with him was the lord de la Trimouille, his principal adviser, but who conducted public affairs much to the dissatisfaction of Charles d'Anjou, and many other great lords.

They also hated him from their friendship to the lord d'Amboise viscount de Thouars†, whom he had detained in prison from the time the lord de Lessay and Anthony de Vivonne had been beheaded through his means at Poitiers, and also because the constable, by reason

* Robert, lord Willoughby of Eresby, one of the greatest heroes of the English army,—present at the battles of Azincourt and Verneuil, and at almost all the celebrated actions of the day, was in 1432, invested with the title of Earl of Vendome, Beaufort, &c., and died in 1442, leaving only a daughter Joan, the wife of Sir Richard Welles, knight.—*Dugdale.*

† Louis d'Amboise, Viscount of Thouars, prince of Fallmont, &c. &c. had been deprived of his lands for adherence to the English party, but was afterwards restored to them, and served the king of France in his conquest of Guienne. He was grandson of Ingerger, surnamed "the great," who married Isabel heiress of Thouars, and widow of the marshal de Nesle, and was made prisoner at the battle of Poitiers.

of his interference could not regain the good graces of the king. Having therefore formed their plan, the lord de Bueil*, sir Peter de Verseil, Pregent de Coetivy†, and other barons, to the number of sixteen, entered the castle of Chinon, and went to the chamber of the lord de la Trimouille, whom they found in bed. They made him prisoner, and carried him away,



Ruins of the Castle of Chinon, the Residence of Charles VII., during the occupation of Paris by the English. From a Print in Stothard's Tour.

taking from him the government of the king. He afterward, by treaty, surrendered to them the lord d'Amboise, and promised never to return to the king, yielding up many forts that he held as security for keeping the said treaty. Shortly after, the constable was restored to the good graces of his monarch, who was well satisfied to receive him, although he was much vexed at the conduct that had been held to the lord de la Trimouille: nevertheless, new ministers were appointed for the management of his affairs.

At this time, Philip lord de Saveuses resided in Mondidier with a sufficient garrison to oppose the French in Compiègne, Ressons, Morte-mer, Bretueil, and other places. These had made an excursion to the amount of about one hundred and fifty combatants into the country of Santhois, where they were met by the lord de Saveuses, who slew or made prisoners the greater part: the rest saved themselves by flight.

In this year, died in his town of Avesnes, in Hainault, the count de Penthievre‡, who

* John V., count of Sancerre, son of John lord de Bueil, killed at Azincourt, and of Margaret, countess of Sancerre. He was a celebrated commander, and called *le Fléau des Anglais*.

† Coetivy, the name of an ancient family of Lower Brittany. Pregent VII., lord of Coetivy, was eldest son of Alan III., killed at the siege of St. James de Beauvron, in 1424, and of Catherine, daughter of Hervé, lord of Châtel, killed at Jersey. This Pregent married Mary de Laval, daughter of the infamous marshal de Retz. He was chamberlain in 1424, governor of La Rochelle, and in 1439 promoted to the high office of admiral of France. He was killed at Cherbourg in 1450. "Ce fut un gran dommage et perte notable pour le Roi, car il estoit tenu des vaillans chevaliers et renommés du royaume, fort prudent, et encore de bon age."—*Hist. du Roi Charles VII.*

‡ Oliver de Bretagne, or de Blois, grandson of the famous competitor of John de Montfort, had been deprived of his large counties of Penthievre, Limoges, &c. &c. but never of the duchy of Brittany, to which he pretended no claim.

had been deprived of the duchy of Brittany, as has been elsewhere fully related. A great mortality took place throughout almost all France, as well in large towns as in the country; and there prevailed also great divisions between the nobles and gentlemen against each other, so that neither God, his church, nor justice, were obeyed or feared, and the poor people were grievously oppressed in various ways.

CHAPTER CXLVII.—WILLIAM DE CORAM PUTS TO FLIGHT JOHN BEAURAIN.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG RE-CONQUERS THE CASTLE OF HAPHINCOURT.

About this period, William de Coram, an Englishman, in company with Villemer de Hainault, and some others of sir John de Luxembourg's captains, with three or four hundred combatants, overthrew and plundred near to Ivoy, between the Ardennes and Champagne, from five to six hundred men, whom John de Beaurain, and divers captains, had assembled in hopes of conquering them. John de Beaurain, however, and others, saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses.

In the month of September, the castle of Haphincourt, seated on the river Somme, two leagues distant from Peronne, was taken by a partisan of king Charles, called Martin le Lombard, and his accomplices. Within the castle was sir Pierre de Beausault*, a noble and ancient knight, with his lady, the mother to sir Karados de Quesnes.

The whole of the country of Vermandois was much alarmed at this conquest, for the inhabitants feared it would open an easy entrance for the enemy into those parts. They, however, lost no time in sending notice of it to sir John de Luxembourg, who, in a few days, assembled eight hundred Picards, and marched them, in company with his nephew the young count de St. Pol, sir Simon de Lalain, the lord de Saveuses, and other noble captains, to the castle of Haphincourt, and had his artillery instantly pointed against the walls. His attacks were so severe on the garrison that they were forced to surrender at discretion, when some were hanged and others strangled. As for Martin, Jacotin, and Clamas, they obtained their liberty on paying a heavy ransom. The castle was delivered into the hands of Jean de Haphincourt, and the knight and lady sent away. After this exploit, sir John de Luxembourg returned with his nephew, and the other captains, to the places whence they had come.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.—THE COUNTS DE LIGNY AND DE ST. POL KEEP THE APPOINTED DAY AT VILLIERS LE CARBONEL, AND AFTERWARD DEFEAT THE FRENCH FROM THE GARRISON OF LAON.

On the 15th day of October, the young count de St. Pol, sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny, with from four to five thousand combatants, whom they had summoned from Picardy and Hainault, under the command of sir William de Lalain, sir Simon his brother, the lord de Mailly, sir Colart de Mailly his brother, the lord de Saveuses, Valleran de Moruel, Guy de Roye, and others expert in arms, marched to keep the appointment at Villiers le Carbonel, according to the capitulation signed at the castle of Monchas in Normandy. They were also joined by twelve hundred English, under the orders of the lord Willoughby and sir Thomas Kiriel.

Neither sir Regnault de Fontaines, governor of Monchas, nor any others on the part of king Charles, made their appearance at Villiers le Carbonel; and thus their hostages were left in very great danger. The two counts, however, remained all that day in battle array on the plain, and toward evening quartered themselves and their men in the adjoining villages, seeing there was not a probability of an enemy showing himself. On the morrow, they returned, by a short march, to the place whence they had come.

His brother, John de l'Aigle, was restored to Penthièvre soon after, and died 1454. Charles, the third brother, succeeded, whose only daughter and heir, Nicole de Blois, marrying Jean de Brosse, the county of Penthièvre passed into that family.

* Peter de Montmorency, lord of Plessis Cacheleu, son of John II., lord of Beausault, and uncle of Anthony, who was slain at Verneuil, and of John, in whom the direct line of this younger branch ended in 1427.

Within a few days after this, when the two counts were at Guise, news was brought them, that the lord de Penesach, governor of Laon, had made an excursion, with four or five hundred combatants from different garrisons into the country of Marle, and had nearly taken Vervins, the hereditary inheritance of Joan de Bar, sir John's daughter-in-law, and had set fire to the suburbs of Marle. Sir John was much troubled on receiving this intelligence, and instantly mounted his horse, together with the count de St. Pol, sir Simon de Lalain, and those of his household. He sent in haste for reinforcements from all his garrisons that were near, and sir Simon ordered his men, who were quartered in a village hard by, to follow without delay; so that he had very soon upwards of three hundred fighting men, whom he boldly marched to meet the enemy.

He overtook them on their retreat at Disy, not far from Laon; and although they were very superior in numbers, he no sooner saw them, than without waiting for the whole of his men to come up, he most gallantly charged them, and did wonders by his personal courage. The French took to flight even under the eyes of their commander, excepting a few, who were defeated, and the most part put to death, to the number of eight score. The principals were, Gaillart de Lille, Anthony de Bellegarde, de Mony, le borgne de Vy, Henry Quenof from Brabant, and others, to the number aforestated. From sixty to eighty were made prisoners, the greater part of whom were on the morrow hanged; among them was one named Rousselet, provost of Laon. A gentleman of arms, called L'Archenciel, was taken in the engagement, but given up to sir Simon de Lalain, whose life he had formerly saved at St. Vincent, as has been related.

In return, sir Simon was desirous of saving his; but he could not succeed, for sir John de Luxembourg caused him to be put to death, which angered greatly sir Simon; but he could not remedy himself. The French were pursued as far as Laon, and many killed and taken. On this day the young count de St. Pol was entered a warrior,—for his uncle made him slay several, in which he took much delight. After the defeat, they all returned to Guise in high spirits on account of their happy success.

CHAPTER CXLIX. — LA HIRE AND OTHER FRENCH CAPTAINS OVERRUN ARTOIS AND CAMBRESIS.

In the month of September of this year, La Hire, with others of king Charles's captains, such as Anthony de Chabannes, Blanchefort, Charles de Flavy, Regnault de Longueval, and full fifteen hundred combatants, whom they had assembled in Beauvais, crossed the Somme at Cappy into Artois, and made a number of peasants prisoners, who were unsuspicious of such an inroad, and returned with them and their plunder to Beauvais, where they were all quartered. They also made great seizures of men and cattle in the Cambresis, by whose ransoms they acquired large sums of money.

They again took the field, but after some little time they divided; and Anthony de Chabannes, with Blanchefort and their men, went toward Cambray, and, passing by it, they took the straight road to Haspres, as a free fair had been held the preceding day at the town of Ivoy; and because the townsmen would not compound according to their pleasure, they burnt most part of the town and the church. They then advanced to Haspres, which was full of people and merchandise, and entered it by surprise. They made many prisoners; but several retired with some monks into a strong tower, which was long attacked in vain by the French. In revenge for not being able to gain it, they plundered all they could lay hands on in the town, and then set it on fire, by which several houses were destroyed, with the church and abbey of St. Akaire. They also committed other enormous mischiefs.

Having packed up their plunder, they departed, and, traversing the Cambresis, took many prisoners, and burnt numbers of houses, and went to lodge at Mont St. Martin*, where La Hire was waiting for them. On this same day, La Hire had set fire to the town of Beaurevoir, the mill, and a very handsome country-seat called La Mothe, situated near to

Mont St. Martin. Q. If not Thun-St.-Martin?

the town, and belonging to the countess de Ligny. Many detachments scoured the country, committing numberless mischiefs without opposition; for sir John de Luxembourg was absent with his nephew the young count de St. Pol, on business relative to matters that had happened in consequence of the death of sir Peter de Luxembourg, his father. This was the cause why the French met with no resistance on this expedition, wherever they went. From Mont St. Martin they took the road toward Laon, carrying with them multitudes of prisoners, and great herds of cattle. They halted at Cressy-sur-Serre, and thence, without any loss, returned to Laon, where they divided their spoils, and went to the different garrisons whence they had come.

About this period the lords de Croy and de Humieres returned, with about two thousand horse, from Burgundy, where they had been for a considerable time under duke Philip, assisting him in his various conquests from the French.

The duchess of Burgundy was delivered of a son at Dijon, who was knighted at the font: his godfathers were Charles count de Nevers, who gave him his own name, and the lord de Croy. He was also made a knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and in addition the duke his father gave him the county of Charolois.

CHAPTER CL.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HOLDS THE ANNIVERSARY FEAST OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE IN THE CITY OF DIJON. — HE ATTENDS THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY'S SON.

At this time the duke of Burgundy held the feast of the Golden Fleece in the city of Dijon; and shortly after messengers arrived from the duke of Savoy, to request that he would come to the wedding of his son the count of Geneva, about to marry the daughter of the king of Cyprus*, which wedding was to be celebrated in the town of Chambery in Savoy. The duke of Burgundy complied with the request; and having arranged all his affairs about Candlemas, he left the duchess at Châlons in Burgundy, with his army in that neighbourhood, and departed for Savoy, attended by about two hundred knights and esquires.

After some days' travelling he arrived at Chambery, and was met by the duke of Savoy and the count de Geneva, who received him with every respect. On the day after his arrival, the wedding was celebrated, and the feast was most plentifully served. On the right of the great table were seated the cardinal of Cyprus, uncle to the bride, the queen of Sicily, consort to king Lewis, and daughter to the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Burgundy; in the centre was the bride, and then the duke of Bar, the count de Nevers†, and the heir of Cleves. At the second table were placed the duke of Savoy, the count de Fribourg, the marquis de Fribourg, the prince of Orange, the chancellor of Savoy, with several noble men and ladies. At other tables were many knights, esquires, ladies and damsels, from various countries, all most richly dressed; and every table was abundantly and properly served according to the rank of the guests.

This feast lasted for several days, in which the company amused themselves with dancings, and in divers sports and pastimes. The duke of Burgundy, after staying three days, presented the bride with a magnificent clasp of the value of three thousand francs,—on which occasion he was heartily thanked by the duke of Savoy and his son,—and, taking leave of the company, returned to Burgundy.

* Lewis, count of Geneva, eldest son of Amadeus, duke of Savoy, married Charlotte, only daughter of John, king of Cyprus, and Helen of Montferrat.

† Charles, count of Nevers, eldest son of Philip, count of Nevers, killed at Azincourt, was born in the year preceding his father's death, and died in 1464. His mother was Bona d'Artois, daughter of Philip, count of Eu.

CHAPTER CLI.—A GENERAL COUNCIL IS HELD AT BASIL.

In the course of this year, a general council was held at Basil with great pomp. The emperor of Germany, and many great lords, as well secular as ecclesiastic, from different countries, were present at the opening thereof. Their first object was to send ambassadors to endeavour to appease the quarrels between the king of France on the one hand, and the king of England and the duke of Burgundy on the other. During the sitting of this council the very agreeable intelligence was brought thither, that the men of Prague had been defeated, and from eight to ten thousand killed, by the nobles of Bohemia, assisted by six hundred men-at-arms, whom the members of the council had sent to their support.

Shortly after, two priests, the leaders of the Hussite heretics, were slain; one named Protestus du Tabouret, and the other Lupus, together with six thousand of their sect.* The rich city of Prague was conquered, and purged of heretics, as well as the greater part of the country. The Bohemians sent an embassy to the council to receive absolution, and a confirmation in the Catholic faith. The council laid a tax on the clergy of one-tenth.

Ambassadors arrived at Basil in great state, from the king of Castille and the Spaniards: these were attended by full four hundred persons, and two hundred mules. The cardinals de Santa Croce and de San Pietro were sent by the council to Philip Maria, duke of Milan, to recover the lands of the church which he had seized, but their labour was in vain.

CHAPTER CLII.—THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF PROVINS, IN BRIE, ARE WON BY THE ENGLISH AND BURGUNDIANS.—THE FRENCH RECONQUER THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF SAINT VALERY.

About this time, the town and castle of Provins, in Brie, was won by scalado, from the French, by the English and Burgundians. Their principal captains on this expedition were, sir John Raillart, Mando de Lussach, Thomas Girard, governor of Montereau-faut-Yonne, Richard Huçon, and others, with about four hundred combatants. The leader of the scalers was one called Grosse-tête. The castle was gained at five o'clock in the morning, although the governor, de Gueraines, with five hundred fighting men, defended themselves most valiantly for the space of eight hours, to the great loss of the assailants, who had six-score or more killed; and in the number was a gallant English man-at-arms, called Henry de Hungerford. The town and castle were, however, conquered and pillaged, and the greater part of the French put to death. The governor, perceiving all hopes of success were vain, escaped with some others. The command of the place was afterward given to the lord de la Grange †.

In the beginning of the month of January, the partisans of king Charles regained the town and castle of St. Valery, under the command of Charlot du Marests, governor of Rambures, through the negligence of the guards. It had been intrusted to the care of Robert de Saveuses, but he was then absent; and there was such a mortality in the town, that few ventured to reside therein: the bastard de Fiennes, his lieutenant, with others, were made prisoners; and the whole country of Ponthieu was in great alarm at this event. Philip de la Tour was also a principal commander on this expedition with Charlot du Marests.

* Here is a vast confusion of names, as usual, in the affairs of distant countries. Tabouret is evidently an invention of Monstrelet's, derived from Taborite, the general name by which the religious insurgents were then distinguished, from Tabor, a town in Bohemia, founded by their leader, John Zisca. Protestus, may, very probably, be a mistake for Procopius, surnamed "of the shaven crown," a celebrated leader and bishop among these Taborites during the reign of Sigismund, who was slain in a bloody battle near Prague. Of Lupus, I can say nothing.

† John de la Grange, ancestor of the lords of Vesvre and Montigni, and of the marquises of Arquien. Marshal de Montigni, celebrated under Henry III, was fifth in descent from him.

CHAPTER CLIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RETURNS FROM BURGUNDY TO FLANDERS AND ARTOIS, HAVING WITH HIM JOHN, SON TO THE COUNT DE NEVERS.—OTHER MATTERS.

[A. D. 1434.]

In the beginning of this year, Philip duke of Burgundy returned from Burgundy to his territories of Flanders, Artois, and other parts, escorted by about six hundred combatants. He left his duchess and young son behind him in Burgundy, and all his castles well garrisoned with men-at-arms. He carried with him John, son to the count de Nevers, his cousin-german, on his visits to the principal towns, where he sought for succours in men and money to take back with him to Burgundy.

During this time, sir John de Luxembourg, who had posted himself on the frontiers of the Laonnois, conquered the strong abbey of St. Vincent-lez-Laon from king Charles's garrison, and made prisoner a notable gentleman, called Anthony de Cramailles, whom sir John caused to be beheaded and his body quartered at Ripelmonde. At this attack on the abbey of St. Vincent, Jarnet de Pennesach and Eustache Vaude lost their lives. Sir John re-garrisoned this place, which caused great fears in the town of Laon; and to be enabled to resist any attacks from thence, they had strong reinforcements quartered among them of well tried men-at-arms. In consequence, daily skirmishes took place between them, when many of each party were killed or wounded; and on the side of sir John de Luxembourg, a valiant knight, called Colart de Forges, was slain by a shot from a bow, which passed through his leg.

CHAPTER CLIV.—JOHN DE NEVERS IS ORDERED TO LAY SIEGE TO MOREUIL.—HE HAS THE COUNTY OF ESTAMPES GIVEN TO HIM.

When the duke of Burgundy was returned to Picardy with John *, son to the count de Nevers, the duke gave him the county of Estampes, which title he bore for a long time after, and was likewise appointed governor of Picardy, to take on him the charge of guarding the frontiers.

He assembled men-at-arms to lay siege to the castle of Moreuil †, in possession of the French; and was joined by the lord d'Antoing, sir John de Croy, the vidame of Amiens ‡, Valeran de Moreuil, the lord de Humieres, the lord de Saveuses, the lord de Neufville, sir Baudo de Noyelle, governor of Peronne, and the governors of Mondidier and Roye. His force consisted of one thousand combatants, whom the count d'Estampes led to the castle of Moreuil, and quartered them before it. Not more than one hundred fighting men were in the castle, who were, within eight days, so hardly pressed, that they were forced to surrender the place on having their lives spared, leaving their baggage and effects at the disposal of the count d'Estampes and his commissaries. On the treaty being signed, the French marched away under passports from the count, and the command of the place was given to Valeran de Moreuil. The count d'Estampes conducted his army then to the castle of Mortemer, near Ressons-sur-mer, which was soon surrendered, and completely demolished. After which the count marched back with his men to the places whence they had come.

* John of Burgundy, a posthumous son of Philip, and brother to Charles, count of Nevers. He succeeded to the estates of his brother in 1464, assumed the title of Duke of Brabant, and died in 1491. Elizabeth, his daughter, married the duke of Cleves, and brought the earldom of Nevers into that family. His first wife was daughter of the Vidame of Amiens, who is mentioned immediately afterwards.

† Moreuil, a town in Picardy, situated between Corbie and Mondidier.

‡ Raoul d'Ailly, sieur de Pequigny, and Vidame of Amiens.

CHAPTER CLV.—A QUARREL BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND POPE EUGENIUS, WHOM THEY WANTED TO DETAIN AT ROME AGAINST HIS WILL.

At this period, pope Eugenius, who resided at Rome, had an inclination to fix his abode at Florence, which, when known to the Romans, troubled them much. They assembled in great multitudes, and went to the pope to say that he should not depart thence, for that he could be nowhere better than in Rome, the fountain of Christianity.

The pope and cardinals, perceiving the madness and obstinacy of the people, pretended to give up their intentions of removing: nevertheless, the Romans established sufficient guards at all the gates, that they might not depart without their knowledge. However, by means of the beautiful queen of Sicily, who sent the pope some galleys and other vessels, he secretly quitted Rome, and went to Florence, to the great vexation of the Romans, who instantly arrested all whom the pope had left behind; and in the number was his nephew, the cardinal of Venice. He afterwards escaped, disguised like a monk, and thus equipped travelled alone.

CHAPTER CLVI.—THE ABBEY OF ST. VINCENT, NEAR LAON, IS DEMOLISHED.—MANY CASTLES ARE CONQUERED BY THE BURGUNDIANS.

The duke of Burgundy now departed from Picardy, on his return to Burgundy, attended by about two thousand fighting men, and sir Simon de Lalain and Robert de Saveuses. He took his march through the Cambresis, and thence to Cressy-sur-Serre, and to Provins.

The French were, at this time, assembled in great force at Laon, with the intent to besiege the abbey of St. Vincent, which was garrisoned, as has been before said, by sir John de Luxembourg. Sir John sent messengers to the duke at Vervins to inform him of his situation, and to request that he would march back to Cressy-sur-Serre, and remain there for three or four days, in order that the French in Laon, hearing of his being so near, might give up their intentions of besieging him. The duke complied with the request, and returned to Cressy; and in the meantime a treaty was commenced between the Count de Ligny and the French in Laon, when it was agreed that the garrison should march from St. Vincent with their baggage and other effects, but that the place should be demolished.

This being done, the duke continued his march through Champagne to Burgundy; and while there he greatly reinforced himself with troops from Burgundy and Picardy. He thence detached a party to besiege the town and castle of Chaumont in the Charolois, held by the French; the garrison was soon so hardly pressed that it surrendered at discretion to the duke of Burgundy, who had upwards of one hundred of them hanged. Sir John bastard de St. Pol commanded the Picards in the duke's absence. Among those who were hanged was the son of Rodrigue de Vilandras. Those in the castle surrendered themselves to the duke, and were treated in like manner as the townsmen. This detachment afterward besieged Beuam, which also surrendered, but on condition that the garrison should have free liberty to depart with staves in their hands. Thus by laying siege to several castles and smaller forts, they reduced a great many to the obedience of the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CLVII.—THE LORD TALBOT RETURNS TO FRANCE, AND CONQUERS MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES.

In this same year, the lord Talbot returned from England to France, bringing with him eight hundred combatants, whom he landed at Rouen. Marching thence toward Paris, he reconquered the fort of Jouy, situated between Beauvais and Gisors, and hanged all the French found within it. He continued his march to Paris, where it was determined, by king Henry's council, that he should, in company with the lord de l'Isle-Adam, marshal of France, sir Galois d'Aunay lord of Arville, and the bishop of Therouenne, chancellor of

France for king Henry, march with all their troops to lay siege to the castle of Beaumont-sur-Oise, which had been much strengthened by Amadour de Vignolles, brother to La Hire. These three knights marched from Paris with full sixteen hundred well-tried combatants, but when they came before the castle of Beaumont they found it deserted; for Amadour de Vignolles, having heard of their intentions, had abandoned it, and retreated with his men and baggage to the town of Creil.

The English, having destroyed the fortifications of Beaumont, hastened to follow them, and having surrounded Creil on all sides, many severe skirmishes took place, in which the besieged made a gallant defence; but in one of them, Amadour was mortally wounded by an arrow, which greatly disheartened his men, for they held him to be a courageous and expert man-at-arms.

During this siege, the bishop of Therouenne joined the besiegers, and at the end of six weeks the garrison surrendered, on condition of being allowed to depart with their baggage and effects. After the English had regarrisoned the town and castle of Creil, they advanced to lay siege to the Pont de St. Maixence, held by Guillon de Ferrieres, nephew to St. Trailles, who surrendered it on conditions similar to those granted at Creil. The English thence marched to Neufville en Esmoy, and to La Rouge Maison, and then to Crespy in Valois, which was taken by storm. There were full thirty French within it, under the command of Pothon le Bourguignon. They then returned to Clermont in the Beauvoisis, held by the bourg de Vignolles, who submitted to them, and thence to Beauvais; but perceiving they could not gain anything further, they retreated to Paris and to the other garrisons whence they had come.

CHAPTER CLVIII.—THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES RECONQUERS THE TOWN OF ST. VALERY.

At the same time with the foregoing expedition, the count d'Estampes, accompanied by the lord d'Antoing, sir John de Croy, the vidame of Amiens, and most of the lords who had been with him at Moreuil, marched to lay siege to St. Valery, where they remained about one month. At length, Charles du Marests and Philip de la Tour, who had gained the town by surprise, entered into a capitulation to evacuate it within eight days, should they not before then be relieved, on receiving a certain sum of money, and on being allowed to depart in safety with their baggage and effects.

On the appointed day, no French forces appeared to offer combat to the count d'Estampes; but on the contrary, Louis de Luxembourg, chancellor of France, came thither to the support of the count with five hundred English, commanded by the lord Willoughby, sir Guy le Bouteiller, and Brunclay governor of Eu. The chancellor and his companions were joyfully received by the count d'Estampes and the other lords. The French marched away, according to the terms of their treaty, from St. Valery to Rambures, whither they were led by Charles du Marests. On their departure, a barge arrived at the port from St. Malo, laden with wines for the French, which was instantly seized by the sailors attached to the English party.

The chancellor and the English returned to their former quarters at Eu, and the count d'Estampes was lodged that night in St. Valery. On the morrow, he began his retreat to Artois, having appointed John de Brimeu governor of the town and castle, where he disbanded his forces. From the town of Eu, the chancellor marched the English to lay siege to the castle of Monchas, which in a few days surrendered by means of a sum of money given to sir Regnault de Fontaines, the governor. The whole of this castle was destroyed, although it was the finest castle in the county of Eu. During this time, the earl of Arundel resided mostly at Mantes, and in the district of Chartres, and reconquered many forts from the French in those parts, as well as in Perche. The duke of Bedford was now returned from England to Rouen, and thence went to Paris, where he resided a considerable time.

CHAPTER CLIX.—THE FRENCH GAIN THE TOWN OF HAMME ON THE SOMME, IN THE VERMANDOIS.

In the month of August of this year, a party of French won the town of Hamme, which had been held by the count de Ligny's men. The townsmen instantly surrendered on the French appearing before it, for the garrison had abandoned the place. The count de Richemont, constable of France, the bastard of Orleans, La Hire, and many other captains, came thither with a large body of combatants.

The countries of the Vermandois, Artois, and Cambresis, were greatly alarmed at the conquest of Hamme, which was a strong situation, and gave them the passage of the river Somme, and also because their prince was absent in Burgundy. However, the counts de St. Pol, d'Estampes, and de Ligny, used all diligence to collect a sufficiency of troops to oppose any further incursions of the French. A treaty was at the same time set on foot, and the French agreed to restore the town of Hamme to its owner, sir John de Luxembourg, on receiving the sum of forty thousand crowns. The reason of this treaty being made on such easy terms was the expectation of a speedy peace being concluded between king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, for negotiations on this subject had already commenced. With the town of Hamme the fort of Breteuil was also given up to the count d'Estampes, which Blanchefort had held for a considerable time.

At this period, the duke of Burgundy caused Coulogne-les-Vigneuses to be besieged by sir William de Rochefort and Philibert de Vaudrey, with eight hundred combatants. They posted themselves in a block-house—and at the end of three months, the garrison surrendered, on having their lives and baggage spared.

CHAPTER CLX.—THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF CHASTEAU-VILAIN SUBMITS TO THE OBEDIENCE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

On the duke of Burgundy's return to that country, he advanced to Grantsy, which had for some time been besieged by sir John de Vergy and his allies. The inhabitants, seeing no hope of being succoured, concluded a treaty to surrender it to the duke, when the castle was not destroyed, but given to the lord de Thil, brother to the lord de Château-vilain. When this had been done, the duke ordered sir John de Vergy, and the other captains, as well from Burgundy as from Picardy, to advance before the city of Langres, and summon the garrison to submit to his obedience. This they not only refused to do, but detained the herald, called Germole, who had brought the message. The Burgundians, finding themselves unable to take the place, returned with the army to the duke.

CHAPTER CLXI.—HEAVY TAXES LAID ON THE COUNTRIES OF ARTOIS AND THOSE ADJOINING, ON ACCOUNT OF THIS WAR.

In these days, very heavy taxes were laid on the countries of Artois, Vermandois, Ponthieu, Amiennois, and others adjoining, to pay the composition-money to the constable of France, which had been agreed to for the surrender of Hamme. The poorer ranks were sorely oppressed by them, and began to murmur and be very much discontented with the rulers and ministers to whom the duke of Burgundy had intrusted the government of these countries in his absence, but it availed them nothing: for those who refused to pay were arrested, and their effects seized without regard to justice, until their quotas were duly paid.

During this time, the lord de Saveuses had been ordered by the count d'Estampes to demolish the town and castle of Breteuil in Beauvoisis, which, as has been said, was given up to him by Blanchefort, the late governor thereof. The lord de Saveuses had brought a number of workmen and labourers from Amiens, Corbie, and other places, who soon

destroyed the whole, excepting a strong gate of the castle that had been well fortified, and which the lord de Saveuses filled with provisions and artillery, leaving within it from twenty to thirty of his men, to guard it. In like manner were demolished the tower of Vendueil, and some other smaller forts in the country round about.

CHAPTER CLXII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY'S CAPTAINS APPEAR BEFORE VILLEFRANCHE, WHEREIN WAS THE DUKE OF BOURBON.—THEY AFTERWARD BESIEGE BELLEVILLE, WHICH SURRENDERS TO THEM.

About this time the duke of Burgundy sent the greater part of his captains, with a large body of men-at-arms, to overrun the country as far as Villefranche, wherein was Charles duke of Bourbon. This detachment was commanded by the lord de Chargny, sir Simon de Lalain, sir Baudo de Noyelle, the lord d'Auxi, Robert de Saveuses, Lancelot de Dours, Harpin de Richammes, and consisted of about sixteen hundred combatants, who marched in handsome array toward the parts whither they had been ordered. Toward evening, on one of their marches, they fell in with about six hundred of the enemy, who instantly fled to their lord the duke of Bourbon; some of the worst mounted were made prisoners by the Burgundians and Picards.

On their arrival before Villefranche, they drew up in battle array, and sent a pursuivant to inform the duke of Bourbon of their coming, and to offer him battle. The duke, ignorant of their force, was not inclined to accept their challenge,—but made answer, that since the duke of Burgundy was not present on the field, he would not fight them. He despatched, however, many on horseback and on foot, from his town, to skirmish with them. The duke himself even made a sally, mounted on his excellent war-horse, but without arms, and dressed in a long robe, with a wand in his hand, to make his men keep up a steady countenance at the barriers; during which a considerable skirmish took place, but without any great losses on either side.

After the Burgundians and Picards had remained four hours in battle array, seeing that no advantages were to be gained, they retreated in good order, posting their most expert men in their rear by way of guard, and thus returned to their lord the duke of Burgundy. The duke ordered them afterward to lay siege to Belleville,—in which place the duke of Bourbon had put sir James de Chabannes and the bailiff of Beauvais, with three hundred men, who made instant preparations for defence. Nevertheless, the besiegers so pressed them with their engines and continued attacks that, at the end of a month, they surrendered, on having their lives spared, and marched off without arms and baggage, on foot and with staves in their hands, to their lord the duke of Bourbon. He was much mortified to receive them in that condition, but he could not amend it.

The duke of Burgundy placed several of his Picardy captains as a garrison in that town, whence they committed innumerable mischiefs all over that part of the Bourbonnois. On the other hand, the duke of Burgundy sent a detachment from his army in Burgundy to Dombes, and to the neighbourhood of Lyon on the Rhone, who took many castles, and wasted the country with fire and sword, carrying back with them a very large booty in plunder. The leaders of this last expedition were, the count de Fribourg, the bastard de St. Pol, the lord de Vaurin, and some others.

CHAPTER CLXIII.—THE LORD WILLOUGHBY AND MATHAGON LAY SIEGE TO ST. SEVERIN, WHERE THE ENGLISH ARE AT FIRST VICTORIOUS, BUT ARE AFTERWARDS DEFEATED BY THE FRENCH.

In this same year of 1434, the lord Willoughby, accompanied by Mathagon*, and some other captains, and from eight hundred to a thousand combatants, laid siege to a very strong place in the country of Maine called St. Severin, about two leagues distant from Alençon,

* This can be no other than Matthew Gough, an English captain of those days, and one of the commanders in the town of St. Denis, when it was won by the French.

which was held by the French. The governor was a gallant knight, named sir Anthony de Loreuil, who, on the arrival of the enemy, made a vigorous defence: nevertheless, the English surrounded the place on all sides, and remained there about six weeks.

While this was going forward, the lord de Bueil, sir William Blesset, the lord de la Varenne, and other French captains, assembled about fourteen hundred fighting men, with the intent to force the enemy to raise their siege. They remained for some days at Beaumont le Vicomte, where part of them were quartered, and the remainder at Vivien, four leagues distant from St. Severin. While at Beaumont they called a council of all the chief captains, to consider how they should act; when, after much noise and debating, they considered themselves not strong enough to fight the English in their present situation, and determined to attempt withdrawing the besieged the back way out of the town. The captains now returned to their different quarters, and established good guards around them during the night, both of horse and foot. The lord de Beuil was, on this expedition, lieutenant for the lord Charles d'Anjou, and had the charge of his banner.

This same night a detachment of the English, having had intelligence of the advance of the French, took the field, and marched in silence until they came near to the town of Vivien, whither they sent scouts to reconnoitre the state of the French, who, having twice entered Vivien, brought word they were in tolerable good order. The English then made an attack on their quarters about day-break, and easily defeated them without much loss. Many were taken and killed: among the last was a valiant man from Amiens, but originally from Auvergne, called John de Belley. When the business was over, the English took the field with their prisoners; but the lords de Bueil and de la Varenne, who were in Beaumont, hearing of this discomfiture from the runaways, made instant preparations to pursue the English, who no sooner saw them than they rejoiced, thinking to defeat them as they had done the others,—and each party met gallantly. Many valorous acts were done on both sides; but, in the end, the English lost the day, partly from the prisoners whom they had taken at Vivien joining the French. A valiant knight named Arthur was slain, and Mathagon made prisoner,—but the bastard of Salisbury* fled. Four hundred, or more, of the English were killed or taken, and the French left masters of the field, very joyful for their victory. When the English who had remained at the siege of St. Severin heard of the ill success of their companions, they raised the siege, and retreated to the garrisons whence they had come.

CHAPTER CLXIV.—LA HIRE TREACHEROUSLY MAKES THE LORD D'AUFFEMONT A PRISONER.

During these tribulations, La Hire, accompanied by Anthony de Chabannes, the bourg de Vignolles his brother, and about two hundred combatants, passed one day near to the castle of Clermont in the Beauvoisis, of which the lord d'Auffemont was governor. He was no way alarmed at their appearance; and, as a mark of his good will, ordered wine to be drawn, and carried without the postern of the great tower, for them to drink. The lord d'Auffemont came also out of the castle, with only three or four of his attendants, to converse with them, and showed great courtesy to La Hire and his companions, not having the smallest distrust of their treacherous intentions, which they very soon made apparent; for during the conversation, La Hire laid hands on him, and forced him to surrender the castle, putting him withal in irons and in confinement. In this state he kept him upwards of a month, insomuch that his limbs were greatly bruised and benumbed, and he was covered with lice and all sorts of vermin.

At length he obtained his liberty, and paid for his ransom fourteen thousand saluts d'or, and a horse of the value of twenty tons of wine, notwithstanding king Charles wrote several times to La Hire to set him at liberty without ransom, for that he was well satisfied with his services,—but it was all in vain.

* John, bastard son of the great earl of Salisbury, to whom in his will he bequeathed fifty marks. See *Dugdale*.

CHAPTER CLXV. — THE COMMON PEOPLE OF NORMANDY RISE AGAINST THE ENGLISH GARRISONS.

In this year the common people in Normandy, especially those in the country of Caux, rebelled against the English. There were upward of two thousand in one company, who had risen in their own defence, because, contrary to the royal edicts, the English had plundered the poorer ranks. The bailiff and other officers in that country had before advised them (each according to his state) to provide themselves with arms and staves, to enable them to oppose all who should attempt to pillage or oppress them by seizing their effects by force.

Common People of Normandy. Grouped from contemporary authorities.

In obedience to these commands, the peasants had risen and driven back many parties of marauders to their garrisons, having killed and taken captive several, to the great displeasure of their captains. They, however, did not let this appear, but concluded a treaty with the peasants, who foolishly began their retreat in a very disorderly manner, not suspecting the malice of the English, who secretly followed them to St. Pierre sur Dive, near to Tancarville, when they attacked them, and slew from a thousand to twelve hundred: the rest saved themselves as well as they could in the woods, and by flight.

Great complaints were made of this conduct at Rouen, and many were banished that had been of this enterprise; but shortly after, it was hushed up. on account of more serious matters that fell out in that country.

CHAPTER CLXVI.—LA HIRE GAINS THE CASTLE OF BRETEUIL, IN BEAUVOISIS, BY STORM.

When La Hire had conquered the castle of Clermont, as has been related, he assembled about five hundred combatants from the garrisons in the Beauvoisis, and marched them to the castle of Breteuil, which was in the possession of Saveuses' men. He made a sharp attack on it,—but it was well defended, and several of the assailants were killed. The garrison, however, from the repeated attacks, finding they had lost many men in killed and wounded, and that the fortifications were much damaged, surrendered to La Hire at discretion. He had some of them hanged, and sent the rest prisoners to Clermont,—and, having regarrisoned the place, committed numberless mischiefs throughout the adjacent parts in Santerre, and toward Amiens, Corbie, Mondidier, and elsewhere.

CHAPTER CLXVII.—THE DUKES OF BURGUNDY AND OF BOURBON MEET IN THE CITY OF NEVERS, AND AGREE ON TERMS FOR A PEACE.

A murderous war having been continued for a long time between the duke of Burgundy and his brother-in-law, the duke of Bourbon, secret negotiations were set on foot, in the hope of pacifying them. They were begun by commissioners from each side meeting in the town of Mâcon, where they remained several days. At the commencement, some difficulties arose respecting the precedency of these two dukes, and which should have the honour of being named first. After some dispute, it was settled that the duke of Burgundy should be first named, and take the precedency of the duke of Bourbon in every instance. When this matter had been determined, they then discussed various proposals for bringing about a peace between them, and appointed another meeting, when the two dukes might have an interview, either at Douzy * or in the city of Nevers, in the ensuing month of January.

This being settled, the commissioners separated, and returned to their respective lords. While these negotiations were passing, the duke of Burgundy celebrated the festivals of Christmas and Twelfth-day, in his town of Dijon, in a most magnificent manner; and when the feasts were over, he departed thence grandly attended by the count de Nevers, the marquis de Rothelin, his nephew of Cleves, with many other knights and esquires of note, and a numerous body of men-at-arms. He journeyed to Douzy, and thence to Nevers, where he was lodged at the bishop's palace, and waited some days for the arrival of the duke of Bourbon and his sister the duchess. At length the duchess came, accompanied by her two sons and a brilliant attendance of knights, esquires, ladies, and damsels. The duke of Burgundy went out of the palace to meet her, and received her with much affection and joy, for he had not seen his sister for a long time, and showed the same love to his nephews, although they were very young. The duchess, on quitting her carriage, was handed by the duke as far as her lodgings, where he took his leave, and left her to repose for the night. On the morrow, the duchess waited on her brother at the palace; she was received most kindly, and partook of a variety of amusements. There was much dancing, and a numerous party of masqueraders on the part of the duke of Burgundy: when wines and spices had been brought, the company retired to their lodgings.

On the next day a council was held, when it was determined that Arthur of Brittany, constable of France, and the archbishop of Rheims, should be sent for. Within a few days, the duke of Bourbon arrived at Nevers, attended by sir Christopher de Harcourt†, the lord de la Fayette, marshal of France, and many other knights and esquires of renown. The duke of Burgundy sent out the lords of his household to meet him; and when he was approaching the duke of Burgundy, without the town, he pressed forward,—and the two dukes, on their meeting, showed the greatest respect and brotherly affection to each other. A knight of Burgundy, observing this, said aloud, " We are very foolish to risk our bodies

* Douzy, a small town in Champagne, on the borders of Luxembourg.

† Christopher de Harcourt, lord of Avrech, grand master of the woods and waters in 1431, was third son of James de Harcourt, lord of Montgomery.

and souls at the will of princes and great lords, who, when they please, make up their quarrels, while we oftentimes remain poor and in distress." This speech was noticed by many on each side, for there was much truth in it,—and thus it very frequently happens.

After this meeting, the duke of Burgundy escorted his brother-in-law to his lodgings, and then went to his own. Shortly after, the duke and duchess of Bourbon visited the duke of Burgundy, when there were again great feastings and pastimes. On the morrow, the two dukes and the duchess heard mass in an oratory; and after dinner a grand council was held at the lodgings of the count de Nevers, when a peace was finally concluded between these two dukes on terms that were mutually agreeable; and the utmost satisfaction was now shown on all sides by the principals and their friends and dependants. The whole of the expense of these feasts, or at least the greater part, was defrayed by the duke of Burgundy, for he would have it so. As soon as this business was concluded, the constable of France (who had married a sister to the duke of Burgundy) and Regnault de Chartres, archbishop and duke of Rheims, chancellor of France, accompanied by some of the principal members of king Charles's council, and numbers of knights and esquires, arrived at Nevers.

The two dukes went out to meet them; and the greatest respects having been paid on each side, they all together returned to the town, where they were lodged in the best manner possible, each according to his rank. Within a few days many councils were held respecting a peace between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy; and various proposals were made to the duke concerning the murder of the late duke John that were agreeable to him, insomuch that preliminaries were agreed on, and a day appointed for a convention at Arras to put a final conclusion to it. When this was done, they separated most amicably; and news of this event was published throughout the realm, and other countries: notice of it was sent to the pope and the council at Basil, that all persons who chose might order ambassadors to attend the convention at Arras.

The duke of Burgundy now returned to Dijon, and made his preparations for going to Artois, to be ready for the meeting at Arras; and from this day forward, the borders of Burgundy enjoyed more peace than they had done for a long time before.

In these times, the young heir of Richmond, with seven or eight hundred English and Picards, whom sir John de Luxembourg had sent him, made an inroad on the country of Ardennes, sacking many towns belonging to Everard de la Marche; and having done great mischiefs there with fire and sword, returned in safety with a very large booty.

In this year, René duke of Bar caused the town of Commerci * to be besieged, to reduce it to his obedience, on account of the failure of some dues that he claimed from its lord; but through the interference of the constable of France, who was then in the adjoining country, peace was made between the parties, on the lord de Commerci promising to pay obedience to the duke of Bar. Thus was the siege broken up; and during this time the constable reduced many castles in Champagne by capitulation or by storm.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.—AMADEUS DUKE OF SAVOY TURNS HERMIT, AND RESIDES AT RIPAILLE †.

It was now that Amadeus duke of Savoy, who was about fifty-six years of age, turned hermit, and fixed his residence at Ripaille, about half a league from Thonon, ‡ where he had been accustomed to hold his court. This mansion he had greatly improved; and there was adjoining an abbey and priory of the order of Saint Maurice, which had been founded many years ago by the duke's ancestors. Ten years before, the duke had a desire to become a hermit in the manner he had now done, and had asked two of his most confidential servants

* Commerci, on the Meuse, five leagues to the westward of Toul.

† Ripaille,—a burgh of Savoy, in the Chablais, and principal commandery of the order of St. Maurice, founded by Amadeus VIII. He built there a mansion for six knights-hermits, to keep him company in this solitude, whither he retired in 1434, being a widower of Mary of Burgundy, and resigned the government of his duchy, &c. to his son.—*La Martiniere.*

This retirement was supposed to arise from ambition, and the hope of being chosen pope. In 1440 he was set up as an anti-pope, under the name of Felix V.; but he was soon obliged to resign his usurped dignity and retire to his former solitude.

‡ Thonon,—the capital of a small country of the Chablais.

if they were willing to follow his example and accompany him so long as he should please to remain a hermit, when they, having considered that he might change his mind, consented. One was sir Claude de Sexte; the other a valiant esquire named Henry de Colombieres.

The duke having, as I said, improved and properly altered the mansion of Ripaille for himself and his companions, left his palace at Thonon during the night with few attendants, and went to Ripaille, where he put on the dress of a hermit, according to the order of St. Maurice. It consisted of a grey robe, a long mantle with a grey hood, and a tippet of about a foot long,—a crimson bonnet over the hood, with a golden girdle above the robe, and on the mantle a cross of gold similar to what the emperors of Germany wear. The two noblemen joined him within a few days, and remonstrated with him on his manner of quitting Thonon, as it was not becoming his rank, and might be disagreeable to the three estates of his country, whom he had not summoned, to declare to them his intentions of becoming a hermit. He replied, that as he was not weakened in understanding or power, he would provide sufficient remedies for their dislike, and that their business was to keep the promises they had made to reside with him and keep him company. On this, seeing nothing better could be done, they were contented, and quickly clothed in similar dresses to what he wore.

The duke then summoned the three estates, and his son the count of Geneva, whom he created prince of Piedmont, and surrendered up to him, in the presence of the estates, the government of his country, reserving, however, to himself a power of taking it from him, and bestowing it on whomever he pleased, should he behave ill. He created his second son count of Geneva. But although the duke had put on the religious habit, and surrendered up the administration of affairs to his son, nothing of importance was done without his knowledge and approbation. With regard to his personal attendance, he retained about twenty of his servants to wait on him,—and his companions selected also a sufficiency to attend them according to their different ranks; but instead of roots and water, they were served with the choicest wines and most delicate food that could be procured*.

CHAPTER CLXIX.—THE COMMON PEOPLE OF NORMANDY ASSEMBLE IN LARGE BODIES BEFORE CAEN.

The commonalty of Normandy had not forgotten the ungenerous conduct of the English when they had last risen in rebellion. They again assembled by the exhortations of the lord de Merville and other gentlemen, who offered to lead them to battle, to the amount of about twelve thousand, in the country near to Bayeux,—whence their leaders marched them toward Caen, with the intent of taking that town by surprise, but it was well defended by the garrison and inhabitants. When they found they could not succeed, they departed thence, making great mockeries of their enemies, and marched to Avranches, before which place they remained eight days, in hopes that the duke of Alençon would come to their support with a strong force of men-at-arms,—but in this they were disappointed.

The English, in the mean time, collected numbers of men to offer them battle; but their intention being known to the leaders of this commonalty, they marched away towards Brittany and Fougeres; and soon after they separated without having done anything worthy of notice. For this conduct their captains were banished, and their estates and effects confiscated, together with those of all their accomplices and adherents; but afterward some exceptions were made in regard to several of the commonalty.

About this time William Coraon, the English governor of Meure, made an excursion as far as Yvis, in the country of Ligny, with only three hundred combatants, and was followed by Jean de Beaurain, with a company of six hundred, to give him battle, when he was defeated, and the greater part of his men taken or slain.

La Hire now took by storm the old fort of Amiens, wherein he remained eight or ten days. When he had pillaged it of all it contained, he returned to Breteuil, whence he had come.

* Hence, probably, came the French proverb, *faire ripaille*, to make good cheer.

CHAPTER CLXX. — THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY RETURN FROM THAT COUNTRY TO FLANDERS AND ARTOIS.

[A. D. 1435.]

At the beginning of this year, when the duke of Burgundy had with much labour freed his country from enemies, and concluded a peace between himself and the duke of Bourbon, he made preparations for his and the duchess's return from Burgundy to his territories of Flanders and Artois, that he might be ready to meet the ambassadors from the king of France at the convention at Arras. This convention was appointed to assemble on the second day of July, in the city of Arras.

The duke left Dijon with his whole army, having appointed sir John de Vergy governor of Burgundy, and advanced toward Euchoire* where he was met by a thousand Picards, whom he had ordered thither to accompany him on his return. They were under the command of sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, the lord de Saveuses, sir James de Brimeu, John de Brimeu, and other lords. Thence the duke marched towards Paris, crossing the river Seine at Montereau-faut-Yonne: he was joyfully received by the Parisians, who made very rich presents to him and to his duchess. Having staid there some days, he continued his march slowly to Arras, and dismissed all his men-at-arms so soon as he had crossed the Somme. He went soon after to visit his countries of Flanders and Brabant, where he consulted with his ministers on convoking all the nobles and gentlemen of those districts to the convention at Arras. He then sent an embassy to England, to inform the king and his council of this convention, and that it was purposely to treat of a general peace between France and England. The principal persons of this embassy were sir Hugh de Launoy, the lord de Crevecœur, and master Quentin Mainart, provost of St. Omer.

The king of England and his ministers gave them a handsome reception; and they were told that the king would send ambassadors to the convention. On receiving this answer, they returned to their lord the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CLXXI.—THE FRENCH GAIN THE TOWN OF RUE FROM THE ENGLISH.

In the beginning of the month of May, sir John de Bressay, lieutenant to the marshal de Rieux, Bertrand Martel, William Braquemont, the lord de Longueval, Charles de Marèts, and others of king Charles's party, assembled a body of well-tried men-at-arms, amounting to about three hundred. They crossed the Somme during the night at Blanchetaque, and advanced to the town of Rue, which they entered by scalado, and gained complete possession without meeting with much resistance. The noise they made awakened the garrison; and seven or eight Englishmen retreated to a bulwark which they defended for some time; but in the end it was taken by storm, and part of the defenders were put to death; the rest saved their lives on paying a large ransom. Many of the inhabitants were made prisoners, and others escaped over the walls.

The town was completely plundered; and the countries of Ponthieu, Artois, Boulogne, and others in that neighbourhood, were in great alarms, when they learnt that the enemy was so near them, and so well supplied with all sorts of stores and provision. These alarms were well founded, for shortly after having increased their numbers, they overran all those parts, committing infinite mischiefs by fire and sword. They even one day made an excursion towards Boulogne, so far as Samer-au-bois, when they took many prisoners and great numbers of horses and cattle.

On their return they burnt the town of Estaples, wherein were many handsome houses; and continued these excursions from Rue, doing every sort of mischief to the farmers of those countries. However, in one of the expeditions near to Montreuil, sir John de Bressay, Harpin, and de Richammes, were made prisoners; and at another time were taken the little Blanchefort, and one of the bastards de Reully; and on these accounts the country suffered the more.

* Euchoire. Q.—Not in Martiniere.

CHAPTER CLXXII.—LA HIRE, POTON, PHILIP DE LA TOUR, AND THE LORD DE FONTAINES, DEFEAT THE EARL OF ARUNDEL BEFORE THE CASTLE OF GERBEROY.

THE duke of Bedford was at Rouen when he heard of the capture of Rue. He was remonstrated with on the great prejudice this would be to those of his party, more particularly to the town and castle of Crotoy. To provide a remedy, he wrote to the earl of Arundel, then quartered near to Mantes, ordering him to collect all his men, and to march them to Gournay in Normandy, thence to Neuf-châtel d'Azincourt, to Abbeville, and to Ponthieu, instantly to besiege the town of Rue. The earl partly obeyed the orders of the duke, and marched eight hundred of his men to Gournay, with the intent of continuing the line of march prescribed to him. But from the representations of the inhabitants of Gournay, Gisors, and other places, he changed his mind; for having heard at Gournay that the French were repairing an old fortress called Gerberoy, between Beauvais and Gournay, he judged it would be very prejudicial to the English interests were they suffered to finish the works they had begun. In consequence, therefore, of the representations of the towns of the English party that were near to it, he determined to attack the French at Gerberoy, and take the fort by storm.

He caused a sufficiency of provision and artillery to be collected at Gournay, and marched from thence about midnight, accompanied by some of the garrison. At eight o'clock in the morning his van came in sight of Gerberoy, and the rest followed with the baggage, not aware indeed that the French were so numerous, or under such captains. The earl posted his men in a field inclosed with hedges, and detached a hundred, or six score, toward the barriers of the castle, that the garrison might not sally forth and surprise them.

While this was going forward, Poton, La Hire, sir Regnault de Fontaines, Philip de la Tour, and other valiant captains who had arrived there the preceding night with five or six hundred combatants, held a council how they should act, and whether they should wait or not for the enemy to attack them. This question was long debated by some, who strongly urged their being badly provided with provision and warlike stores, and that if they allowed themselves to be shut up in the castle, they would run great risks; others declared they would not wait a siege, and therefore advised to attack them on their arrival. It was at length unanimously concluded for an immediate attack; and that the three principal captains, namely, Poton, La Hire, and Regnault de Fontaines, should be on horseback, with sixty of the best mounted and most expert lances, and that all the remainder, men-at arms, archers, and guisarmes, should be on foot, excepting a few that were to remain behind to guard the fort. They likewise ordered that when the enemy should advance, but few should at the first appear, in order that their numbers might not be known. Having thus arranged their plan, they armed themselves, and made preparations for the combat.

When the earl of Arundel had properly posted his six score men by way of advanced guard, the remainder were encamping themselves to wait for the arrival of the main body and rear of their army. During this time, the watch the French had placed on the castle observed a very large and thick body of English advancing, by far more considerable than the first, and followed by a long train of waggons. They instantly informed their captains of what they had seen, who now, thinking it a fit opportunity for them to make their attack before the two bodies joined, ordered their infantry to sally out of the castle as quietly as they could, and fall on the English, whom they half surprised, and shortly defeated, putting the greater part to death. Then those on horseback (who had sallied out to prevent the earl from assisting his men whom he had posted near the barriers,) advanced toward the main body of the English, who were near at hand, and careless of the enemy because their commander was before them, and immediately threw them into confusion, and repeated their charges so vigorously that they could not recover themselves; great part retreated to Gournay, or fled to other places, while the rest were either slain or taken. La Hire chased the runaways full two leagues, when many were killed and made prisoners. The infantry had approached the earl of Arundel, who, with the remnant of his men, had retired to a corner of the field, having his rear to a thick hedge, and his front guarded by pointed stakes,

—so that this fortification could not be forced by the French. Seeing this, they had a culverine brought from their fort,—and, at the second shot, hit the earl near the ancle, so that he was grievously wounded, and could scarcely support himself.

When La Hire was returning from the pursuit, with the many prisoners he had made, he observed this body of English under the earl quite entire: collecting more forces, he began to combat them,—and they were soon reduced to a similar state with their companions, the whole of them being killed or taken. Among the last, those of name were, the earl of Arundel, sir Richard de Dondeville*, Mondot de Montferrant, Restandif† and others, to the amount of six score, that remained prisoners in the hands of the French. Upward of twelve score were slain,—and the remainder saved themselves by flight where they could.

When the business was over, the French collected their men, and found that they had not lost more than twenty. They were very joyful for this signal victory,—and, having devoutly returned thanks for it to their Creator, they returned to their castle. The earl of Arundel was removed thence to Beauvais, where he died of his wound, and was buried in the church of the cordelier-friars. The other English prisoners redeemed themselves by ransoms; and thus those in Rue remained unmolested. They daily increased their strength, and made excursions over the countries far and near.

CHAPTER CLXXIII. — THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY IS DISPLEASED WITH THE INHABITANTS OF ANTWERP.

In these days, while the duke of Burgundy was in Brabant, he collected a large force of men-at-arms from Picardy, and other countries under his obedience, whom he intended to march into Antwerp, by means of certain connexions which he had established in that town, to punish the magistrates and inhabitants, who had incurred his displeasure. The cause of his anger was, that a long time before they had seized by force a large vessel belonging to the duke, and filled with his men,—which vessel he had stationed at the mouth of their harbour, so that all vessels trafficking to Antwerp must pass close to it, on whom the duke's men laid several taxes that were, as they said, highly prejudicial to their commerce, and contrary to the oaths which the late dukes of Brabant had always made on taking possession of the dukedom, and which the duke of Burgundy himself had also taken.

On this account, the townsmen of Antwerp, without giving any notice to the duke, had seized the vessel, and confined those found within it in prison. The duke was so much displeased with their conduct that he had collected the force before-mentioned to punish them.—In the meantime, his intentions were known to the men of Antwerp, who, though greatly surprised thereat, lost no time in providing men-at-arms to defend their town, should it be attacked. They went in a body to the abbey of St. Michael, where the duke was lodged whenever he visited Antwerp, having suspicions that some of their enemies were in it; but after searching every part both above and below, and finding no one, they broke down the walls, to prevent them becoming places of defence. After this, they retired to continue their warlike preparations.

When the duke of Burgundy found that they had discovered his purposes, and were preparing to resist them, he disbanded his men-at-arms. At the same time, he caused it to be proclaimed through the principal towns in Flanders, Brabant, and his other dependencies, that no one, under pain of being capitally punished, should carry provisions or stores of any kind to Antwerp, nor give to the inhabitants any counsel or aid whatever. The Antwerpers

* Richard de Woodville, was seneschal of Normandy under Henry V.; constable of the Tower in 1425; lieutenant of Calais in 1427; and in 1429, served the king in his wars with one hundred men-at-arms and three hundred archers. In 1437, he married the duchess of Bedford (Jacqueline de Luxembourg) without licence, for which he was condemned to pay a fine of £1000. In 1448, he was created Lord Rivers; and in 6 Edward IV. (his daughter being then queen of England) was advanced to the dignity of earl Rivers, constable of England. Three years after he was beheaded by the Lancastrian party at Northampton.—*Dugdale.*

† Sir Ralph Standish.

were in great distress and dismay on hearing of these proclamations,—but they carefully guarded their town, and remained a considerable time in this situation. However, at length a treaty was entered into between them, by which the duke received a very large sum of money, and the magistrates recovered his good graces.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.—THE FRENCH CONQUER THE TOWN OF ST. DENIS FROM THE ENGLISH.

While these things were passing in Brabant, the French won the town of St. Denis from the English by storm. They were about twelve hundred combatants, under the command of sir John Foulcault, sir Louis de Vaucourt, sir Regnault de St. Jean, and other captains, who put to death some of the English whom they found in the town. The Parisians began to be alarmed by this conquest, as it was so near, and would probably cut off all provision coming to Paris,—for the French made frequent excursions to their walls. To prevent any supplies being delayed from Normandy, they sent deputations to the duke of Bedford at Rouen, and to Louis de Luxembourg, bishop of Therouenne and chancellor of France for king Henry, to request that a sufficiency of men-at-arms might be ordered to Paris, to defend them against the enemy.

By the advice of the chancellor, sir John bastard of St. Pol, Louis his brother, Waleran de Moreul, sir Ferry de Mailly, Robert de Neuf-ville, and some other gentlemen, with five hundred men, were sent to them from the frontiers of Picardy. They took the road from Rouen, and safely arrived in Paris, where they were most joyously received; and, with the counsels and aid of the lord de l'Isle-Adam, governor of Paris for king Henry, they commenced a sharp warfare with the French in St. Denis.

The French, notwithstanding the resistance they experienced, frequently advanced near to Paris; and many severe conflicts took place between that town and Saint Denis. They also gained the castle of Escouen, near Montmorency, from the English, and put to death about thirty whom they found in it. They then marched to the castle of Orville, near to Louvres, belonging to Anglois d'Aunay, knight, attached to the party of Henry of Lancaster. When they had been before it two days, a treaty was concluded for its surrender on a certain day, unless the English should appear there in force to offer the French battle. Before the term expired, the lords Talbot, Scales, and Warwick, with George de Richammes, the bastard de Thian, sir François l'Arragonois, and others, to the amount of three thousand combatants, assembled, and marched to join the lord de l'Isle-Adam in Paris; and, when united, they all came to the castle of Orville to keep the appointment made with the French for its surrender; but the French neither appeared nor sent any message, so that this castle remained in the peaceful possession of its lord. Henceforward, the English were superior in the field to their enemies in the Isle de France, and subjected the whole of the open country to their obedience, reconquering several castles held by the French.

CHAPTER CLXXV.—THE FRENCH, AFTER HAVING AGREED TO A TRUCE WITH THE BURGUNDIANS ON THE FRONTIERS OF THE BEAUVOISIS, OVERRUN THE BOULONOIS AND OTHER PARTS.

At this time, a truce was concluded by the partisans of the duke of Burgundy on the frontiers of Santerre and Mondidier, with La Hire and his men. The last engaged, for a large sum of money paid down, to demolish the strong castle of Bretueil, in the Beauvoisis, which was done. On the conclusion of this truce, the great and little Blanchefort *, Poton the Burgundian, and about six hundred combatants, marched away from the country of Beauvais to the town of Rue. They had not been long there, when they made an excursion, together with the garrison, into the country of the Boulonnois. They marched silently by the town of Estaples, not to alarm it, and advanced to Deure, and thence to Samer-aux-bois.

* Little Blanchefort is said to have been made prisoner, in the 171st chapter.

The inhabitants of this part of the country were totally unsuspecting of any attack likely to be made on them, and were therefore a defenceless prey to the enemy, who made prisoners of the greater part, bound them, and carried them away, with all their most valuable furniture and stock. They ransomed the town of Samer for a considerable sum of money; and on their return, spread themselves over the country, destroying everything with fire and sword without meeting any opposition. Having burnt many houses in the town of Fresnes, and done unnumbered mischiefs to the Boulonnois, they returned with a multitude of prisoners to Estaples, where they halted and refreshed themselves for some time; and because the inhabitants had retreated within the castle, and would not ransom their town, they set it on fire, and committed every damage on their departure, which was a grievous loss, for it was well built and very populous. They made their retreat good to the town of Rue, notwithstanding that sir John de Croy, the lord de Crequi, the lord de Humieres, and others of the country, had assembled, to the amount of three hundred combatants, in the hopes of cutting off their retreat: it was in vain, for the French rode in such compact order that no advantage could be taken of them; and they arrived safely at the places whence they had come.

When the French had remained some days at Rue, and divided their plunder, they made another excursion toward Dourlens and Hêdin, burning and destroying the countries they traversed, and bringing home many prisoners and great pillage of everything that was portable. They returned by La Broi, and made an attack on the castle; but it was so well defended by those whom the vidame of Amiens had placed therein, that several of the assailants were wounded. Perceiving that they were losing time, they retreated to Rue with their plunder. They continued these inroads on the territories of the duke of Burgundy; but, in one of them, Harpin de Richammes made prisoner sir John de Bressay near Montreuil. At another time, the little Blanchefort was taken by one of the bastards of Renty. In this manner did the French destroy those parts that were near to Rue: they even burnt the town of Cressi on the Authie, which was part of the proper domain of the king.

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